

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
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Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
34	7	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Strachan. RE: viewing documentaries on RN and PN. 1 pg.
34	7	7/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Sedam to Hon. MacGregor. RE: Common Cause vs. TRW, Inc. 19 pgs.
34	7	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Sedam to Hon. MacGregor. RE: residency of college students for voting purposes. 3 pgs.
34	7	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to Klein. RE: convention communications plan. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
34	7	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Author unknown. RE: concerns between members of the re-election committee. 1 pg.
34	7	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Shumway to Hon. MacGregor. RE: interview requests. 3 pgs.
34	7	7/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Hon. MacGregor. RE: plans for the week. 2 pgs.
34	7	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder and Malek to Hon. MacGregor. RE: advance assistant. 1 pg.
34	7		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article, "Grass-Roots Drive is Outlined by GOP" by Lou Cannon for Washington Post. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
34	7	7/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Author unknown. RE: decision on call from Ann Armstrong's office. 2 pgs.
34	7	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to follow up. RE: Campaign Kick-Off memos. 16 pgs.
34	7	7/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Author unknown. RE: necessary memos and their recipients. 1 pg.
34	7		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From MacGregor to unknown. RE: draft of letter to State Chairman. 1 pg.
34	7	7/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle to Hon. MacGregor. RE: weekly report. 8 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
34	7	6/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Strachan. RE: strategy meeting, not yet approved. 5 pgs.
34	7	7/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle to Hon. MacGregor. RE: weekly report. 15 pgs.
34	7	7/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Reisner to Strachan. RE: copy of memo and attached book that went to MacGregor. 2 pgs.
34	7	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle to Hon. MacGregor. RE: weekly report. 12 pgs.
34	7	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle to Melencamp. RE: White House Processing of Campaign Mail. 3 pgs.

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34	7	7/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Chotiner to Armstrong. RE: "Welcome to Campaign '72" montage. 1 pg.
34	7	7/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman. RE: challenging McGovern's charge about contributions received. 1 pg.
34	7	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Morgan to MacGregor. RE: September Mailing Copy Points. 7 pgs.
34	7	7/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Strachan. RE: the youth vote memo. 6 pgs.
34	7	7/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman. RE: campaign slogan from Garment. 2 pgs.

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34	7		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Author unknown. RE: convention rules. 1 pg.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1972

12:45 p. m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

We will have ready, for Bob's viewing, five films. These are the 30-minute and 15-minute versions of the two documentaries on the President, "Nixon the Man" and "The Nixon Years". (These are only working titles.) We will also have the documentary entitled "Pat", the one on Mrs. Nixon.

We are arranging for these films (still in rough form) to be shown to Bob on Tuesday afternoon, August 1. I am having the equipment set up in the Roosevelt Room since that is the best place for the group to view the documentaries. We plan to have in attendance from the November group Peter Dailey and Bill Taylor; from the White House, Carruthers, Moore and Chapin; and David Wolper. The only other two people that we would expect to have are Haldeman and perhaps you.

Will you try and get the 2:00 p. m. time set for us on Haldeman's calendar.

Let me know  
Thanks  
C

X

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR. 

SUBJECT: COMMON CAUSE v. TRW, INC. - CONTRIBUTION TO CANDIDATES  
FOR PUBLIC OFFICE BY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS.

For your information, I have prepared an analysis of the lawsuit instituted by Common Cause against TRW, Inc., and have outlined the actions which we have undertaken to date in regard to that matter.

I. THE LAWSUIT

On May 15, 1972, Common Cause and John W. Gardner jointly filed a lawsuit in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia against TRW, Inc. The Complaint, attached at Tab "A", alleges that TRW, a major defense contractor, has been acting in violation of Title 18, Section 611 of the U.S. Code by soliciting political contributions from its officers and employees and distributing such to various candidates for public office. Plaintiffs have asked the court: 1) to declare defendant TRW's conduct and activities unlawful; 2) to enjoin TRW from continuing such unlawful activities; and 3) to grant plaintiffs such other relief as the court should deem appropriate.

II. COMMON CAUSE'S ALLEGATIONS

The plaintiffs allege that for a number of years TRW, which currently holds contracts with the Federal government for products and services worth in excess of \$237 million, its corporate subordinates and other persons under its control and acting for its benefit, have maintained and financed the administrative costs of an affiliated fund (TRW Good Government Fund), a political committee that is substantially involved in the collection of political contributions from executives and employees of TRW and the distribution of such monies for political purposes. The complaint states

that the three individuals managing the TRW Good Government Fund, one of whom serves as Director of Public Relations for TRW and another as Director of Public Affairs for TRW in Washington, have complete control over the disbursement of the funds at issue and utilize such in furtherance of TRW's relationship with certain candidates for public office.

### III. TRW'S DEFENSES

#### A. INTERPRETATION OF THE STATUTE IN ISSUE.

The principal argument in opposition to the substance of Common Cause's allegations centers upon the interaction between 18 U.S.C. 611, the pertinent provision prohibiting contributions by government contractors, and 18 U.S.C. 610, which generally prohibits political contributions by corporations.

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (Public Law 92-225) amended Section 610 to provide specifically that "the establishment, administration, and solicitation of (voluntary) contributions to a separate segregated fund to be utilized for political purposes by a corporation or labor organization" is not a prohibited corporate action. This revision, the so called "Hansen amendment" to Section 610, was adopted after questions were raised as to the constitutionality of the then existing unqualified prohibition against all contributions by corporations and labor organizations. Such view was grounded on the theory that the First Amendment precludes Congress from enacting laws which prevent voluntary contributions to Federal candidates by individuals acting through a political committee sponsored by a labor union or corporation. While not directly on point, the Circuit Court's holding in United States v. Pipefitters Local Union #562, 434 F. 2d 1116 (8th Cir. 1970), (reversed on other grounds, U.S. S. Ct., Slip Decision No. 70-74, June 22, 1972), lends support to this view and was often cited in Congress during debate on the Hansen amendment.

Public Law 92-225 also amended 18 U.S.C. 611 by 1) slightly altering the wording of language therein which proscribed contributions by government contractors during both negotiations and performance and 2) by specifically defining the terms "whoever" and "persons" as they appear in the statute and certain other related statutes to mean "any individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation or any other organization or group or persons."

In contrast to the lengthy debate which ensued in regard to the Hansen amendment, there is no discussion in the record which sheds any light on the rationale for the second of these changes as such relates to 611. Congress did not focus on the constitutional issue that would be raised if 611 were to be interpreted so as to prohibit, without qualification, the establishment and administration of voluntary political committees on behalf of the employees of corporations or members of organizations or associations

contracting with the Federal government. Nearly every major corporation is presently under some sort of contractual arrangement to provide services or materials to the government. As a result, if Section 611 were interpreted to prohibit the establishment and maintenance of political funds by such corporations, as is now expressly permitted of corporations generally by 610, the legislative intent of Congress in amending 610 to permit such activity would be severely undermined.

B. OTHER LEGAL DEFENSES

We have attached at Tab B a preliminary outline of the argument TRW plans to employ in support of a motion to dismiss the cause of action. Salient points, additional to the issue of the interaction between Sections 610 and 611 as discussed above, include the following:

1. Unless the action is dismissed the case will threaten the operation of this and similar voluntary funds and thereby infringe upon the First Amendment rights of individual voters to make voluntary political contributions in association with fellow employees.
2. Section 611 prohibits contributions by and solicitation of government contractors. While TRW is a government contractor, TRW has not made contributions and TRW employees and executives who have voluntarily contributed are not themselves government contractors.
3. The provision of administrative services to a voluntary independent employees' political fund is essentially a service for improved employer-employee relations and communication and is not a political contribution.
4. Common Cause can not, under law, entertain a private civil action for injunctive relief pursuant to a criminal statute wherein no provision for such relief is expressly provided.
5. Authority to enforce criminal laws is vested solely in the Attorney-General of the United States and the courts can not constitutionally interfere with his discretion in this regard.
6. Even if a civil action does lie, Common Cause has not demonstrated that its own interest is being harmed or immediately threatened to the extent necessary to secure injunctive relief.

IV. THE COMMITTEE'S RESPONSE TO DATE AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Shortly after institution of the suit, it was agreed that the Committee should explore the possibility of intervening itself or of securing the intervention of other parties on behalf of TRW. Concern was expressed at the time that the effect of the suit would be to deny the Finance Committee a significant amount of money it might otherwise have expected to receive in contributions. This analysis has proven substantially correct and the importance of a satisfactory resolution of the TRW suit has been heightened even further as a result of fears raised among corporate executives by the McGovern candidacy.

After initial discussions, it was decided that, while intervention by this Committee would be unwise, a suitable course of action would be to secure joint intervention by the RNC and DNC. Since the TRW Good Government Fund has traditionally been split on an equal basis between Democratic and Republican candidates, a good possibility of securing the intervention of the DNC existed. I was asked to advise TRW as to our planned course of action and to co-ordinate such with the RNC.

I thereupon discussed the details involved with Fred Scribner, Counsel for RNC, and he suggested that if we decided to go ahead, he would make contact with the DNC through a partner in his law firm who is a law school classmate of Joseph Califano, the DNC's General Counsel.

An immediate problem developed, however, when I contacted TRW's representative in Washington, Dick Snyder, to discuss with him the possibility of having the RNC and the DNC both file amicus briefs on his corporation's behalf. TRW originally felt that it would be better from a public image standpoint to defend on the merits without immediate aid from any politically oriented outside parties. I kept in contact with Snyder for several weeks to determine if a change in strategy was in the offing.

In mid-June, TRW decided that a unilateral defense on the merits would be both time-consuming and very expensive and concluded that a better course of action would be to make a motion to dismiss. Such motion, while relying primarily on technical points as to Common Cause's standing to secure injunctive relief, would include a broad attack on the basic issues as well. As part of this new strategy, TRW also changed its view as to the desirability of intervention and came of the opinion that its chances for a

The Hon. Clark MacGregor  
July 19, 1972  
Page 5

speedy, successful resolution of the lawsuit would be enhanced if both political parties filed amicus briefs on its behalf. In view of this change in strategy I have written to Fred Scribner to ask that he proceed as we had originally planned.

TRW has requested and has been granted two continuances to answer the Common Cause suit. A response is not now due until August 12th but TRW is presently making final preparations to file its motion to dismiss within the next couple of weeks.

One of the reasons for TRW's delay has been the complexity of the issues involved. A second has been the hope, until recently, that Congress might amend 18 U.S.C. 611 through passage of a bill introduced by Representative Devine of Ohio to specifically exclude contributions by corporations or labor organizations from its provision. On June 28th, the Department of Justice, responding to an inquiry from Chairman Hays of the House Administration Committee, announced for the first time that it supported the Devine measure since its adoption would "resolve the constitutional uncertainties of the existing provision and clarify ambiguity which makes effective enforcement difficult." However, Congress adjourned without taking further action on the matter and it is now improbable that the Devine Bill will be approved before the November election.

#### V. PROPOSED FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION.

Because of the McGovern nomination and the new leadership at the DNC, the chances that Fred Scribner will still be able to secure the DNC's intervention in behalf of TRW may now be more remote. However, I have asked Fred to go ahead and sound out Califano on the question. I will inform you of the results of that inquiry. Should it not prove fruitful, I plan to seek out, in conjunction with Fred, state Democratic organizations or individual Democratic candidates for Federal office who might also be willing to intervene in support of TRW. If we prove unsuccessful in this regard as well, we presently plan to have the RNC refrain from taking part when TRW enters its motion to dismiss the Common Cause complaint.

cc: The Honorable Maurice J. Stans

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

CASE NO. 980-72

COMMON CAUSE  
2100 M Street, N. W.  
Washington, D.C.

JOHN W. GARDNER  
5325 Kenwood Avenue  
Chevy Chase, Maryland

Plaintiffs

v.

TRW, INCORPORATED

Defendant

Civil Action No. \_\_\_\_\_

980-72

FILED

MAY 15 1972

JAMES F. DAVEY, Clerk

COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF

1. This action for declaratory and injunctive relief arises under 18 U.S.C. 611, as hereinafter more fully appears.

JURISDICTION

2. This Court has jurisdiction of this action under 28 U.S.C. §§1331, 1343(4) and 2201, 2202.

PARTIES

3. Plaintiff-Common Cause is a non-profit District of Columbia Corporation organized to promote, on a nonpartisan basis, social welfare, civil betterment, and social improvements

in the United States. Among its major purposes is to facilitate achievement of these objectives by making government more responsive to public needs and demands through reform of the political process. It has in excess of 230,000 dues-paying members in the several states and the District of Columbia. Its membership includes citizens of the United States who have been and intend to be: (a) registered voters for candidates for elective office (that is, the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, United States Senator and Member of the United States House of Representatives); (b) candidates for elective federal office; (c) contributors of lawful amounts to candidates for elective federal office and to political committees and political organizations; and (d) active participants in campaigns for election of candidates to elective federal office. Plaintiff and its members have a direct interest in the integrity of the elective process, in maintaining an electoral process free from contributions which undermine its representative character, and in insuring compliance with laws designed to preserve the foregoing interests, specifically laws relating to political contributions and expenditures for the benefit of candidates for elective federal office, including 18 U.S.C. §611.

4. Plaintiff John W. Gardner is a citizen of the United States, resident and registered to vote in the State of Maryland for candidates for elective federal office. He has been and plans to be a lawful contributor to campaigns for the election of one or more candidates for elective federal office, and has been and plans to be a lawful contributor to Political Committees and Political Organizations. As a member and Chairman of Common Cause and as a citizen, voter and lawful contributor to candidates for elective federal office and to Political Committees and Political Organizations, he shares the interests of Common Cause and its members set forth in Paragraph 3 of this Complaint.

CLASS ACTION

5. Plaintiff John W. Gardner brings this action on behalf of himself and all other members or classes of persons similarly situated. These classes consist of (1) all registered voters in the several states and the District of Columbia and all citizens of the United States who make lawful contributions from time to time to candidates of their choice for elective federal office and to political committees and political organizations and all citizens of the United States who otherwise participate in campaigns for the election of such candidates; and (2) all members of Common Cause who are also members of the aforesaid class. Said classes of persons are so numerous that joinder is impractical; there are questions of law and fact presented herein which are common to the entire classes of persons identified above; the claim of Plaintiff Gardner herein is typical of the claims of said classes, and Plaintiff Gardner will fairly and adequately protect the interests of the said classes.

DEFENDANT

6. Defendant TRW, Inc. is a corporation doing business in the District of Columbia and having as its agent for service of process C. T. Corporation System, 918 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. Defendant TRW, Inc. and subsidiaries thereof is one of the major defense contractors with the United States government and holds in excess of two hundred thirty-seven million dollars in contracts with the United States or agencies or departments thereof.

INCIDENTS IN QUESTION

7. For many years, continuing to the date of this Complaint, and threatening to continue in the indefinite future, Defendant, its corporate subordinates, and other persons under their control and acting for their benefit, have maintained and financed the administrative costs of an affiliated fund (TRW Good

Government Fund) registered with the Clerk of the United States House of Representatives.

8. TRW Good Government Fund is a political committee, as defined in 18 U.S.C. §591 (d), and has as its mailing address 23555 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44117, the corporate headquarters of Defendant TRW, Inc, and is substantially involved in the collection and distribution of political contributions for the benefits of candidates for federal office.

9. The principal officers of the TRW Good Government Fund are Robert A. Newman, Chairman, John L. Humphreys, Vice Chairman, and W. A. Hancock, Secretary. Mr. Newman is also Director of Public Relations for TRW, Inc. Mr. Humphreys is also Director for Public Affairs for TRW, Inc. in Washington, D. C.

10. The funds of TRW Good Government Fund are derived exclusively from executives and employees of Defendant TRW, Inc. and subsidiaries thereof, who contribute in response to solicitations by Defendant TRW, Inc., its officers and employees.

11. Messrs. Newman, Humphreys, and Hancock, who manage the TRW Good Government Fund, are the recipients of funds contributed by the executives and employees of TRW, Inc. and subsidiaries thereof, and as managers have exclusive and complete control over the disbursement of funds contributed to the TRW Good Government Fund. These funds are distributed to political candidates solely on behalf of TRW and in direct furtherance of TRW's position and relationship with those candidates.

#### CAUSES OF ACTION

12. 18 U.S.C. §611 makes it unlawful for any corporation in a contractual relationship with the United States or any department or agency thereof from directly or indirectly making any contribution of money or thing of value to any person for

any political purpose or use.

13. For many years, continuing to the date of this Complaint, and threatening to continue in the indefinite future, Defendant, its corporate subordinates, and other persons under its control and acting for its benefit, have consistently engaged in making political contributions and the making of political donations in violation of 18 U.S.C. 611, and in so doing have violated, aided and abetted and conspired in the violation of, these laws. Among other practices in violation of these laws, Defendant has engaged in the following unlawful activities:

(a) Solicited and received contributions from executives or employees of TRW, Inc. and subsidiaries thereof whose salaries are paid in whole or in part from moneys received directly from the United States Government by TRW, Inc., and subsidiaries thereof, government contractors as defined in §611.

(b) Maintained and financed the administrative costs of affiliated political fund, TRW Good Government Fund, which is under exclusive and complete control of designated officers of TRW, Inc., consists of funds contributed exclusively by executives and employees of TRW, Inc., and subsidiaries thereof, and which makes contributions to numerous political candidates on behalf of the Defendant.

(c) Induced potential contributors to believe that some or all of the above activities do not violate 18 U.S.C. 611.

14. Defendants' conduct in violating 18 U.S.C. 611 has frustrated and will frustrate the purpose of these laws which were designed to prevent the use of political contributions by those in a contractual relationship with the United States to subtly influence the treatment afforded them by government officials. Consequently, Defendants' conduct has caused and will continue to cause a wholesale breakdown in respect for the electoral process, cause the Congress and the Presidency to fall into disrepute, and frustrate and nullify the intent of Congress in its enactment of 18 U.S.C. 611 which was to preserve the

integrity of the political process and governmental regulatory, financial and other decisions by insulating government, particularly elected officials from the influence of political contributions by government contractors who have a direct financial interest in decisions made by government officials.

15. Innumerable candidates for federal office have been the beneficiaries of contributions from TRW Good Government Fund which have been solicited or received in violation of the aforesaid laws.

16. The aforesaid violations have caused and threaten to cause irreparable injury to the Plaintiffs in the following respects:

(a) The ability of Plaintiff Common Cause and its members to achieve its purpose and to protect the interests set forth in Paragraph 3 of this Complaint has been and will be impaired by the widespread violations of law charged in this Complaint. The ability of its members to seek elective office or to elect candidates of their choice for elective federal office, and the ability of Common Cause to persuade elected federal officials to adopt programs it favors are substantially threatened and diminished by these violations.

(b) Plaintiff John W. Gardner, individually and as representative of classes of persons similarly situated, has suffered and will continue to suffer injury as a citizen and voter and as a contributor to and participant in campaigns on behalf of candidates for elective federal office as a direct consequence of the aforesaid violations. The effect of his vote, his lawful campaign contributions and other political activities, and his ability to persuade elected federal officials to adopt programs he favors, are substantially threatened and diminished as a result of the aforesaid violations.

17. No United States Attorney General has prosecuted any of the defendants in this action, or any other person acting

similarly. No such prosecutions are reasonably likely in the immediate future, and the unlawful conduct complained of therefore threatens to continue.

18. Plaintiffs have no other adequate remedy, administratively or at law. The only remedy available to Plaintiffs by which to assert their direct and substantial interest in securing compliance with 18 U.S.C. §611 is to bring this action for declaratory and injunctive relief.

REQUEST FOR RELIEF

WHEREFORE, Plaintiffs respectfully request that this Court:

19. Declare that Defendants' conduct and activities complained of in paragraphs 11-15 and 18 of this Complaint are unlawful and in violation of 18 U.S.C. §611.

20. Restrain and enjoin Defendants from continuing such conduct and activity in violation of 18 U.S.C. §611.

21. Grant Plaintiffs and other similarly situated such other and further relief as the Court may deem appropriate.

Respectfully submitted,



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June 20, 1972

## MEMORANDUM

Re: Common Cause v. TRW Inc.OUTLINE OF ARGUMENT IN SUPPORT OF MOTION TO DISMISS

## INTRODUCTION

1. In this case, a political pressure group and self-appointed prosecutor seek unprecedented, and unwarranted, injunctive and declaratory enforcement of a criminal statute which first became applicable to political contributions by corporations contracting with the federal government on April 7, 1972.
2. The action's impact will fall, not upon contributions from the corporate treasury of the government contractor, but upon an independent fund contributed voluntarily by individual officers and employees of the corporation.
3. Unless it is dismissed, the case will threaten with chilling uncertainty the operation of this and similar independent voluntary funds, and thereby will impinge upon the full exercise of the First Amendment freedoms of these, and other individual contributors and voters similarly situated, who may desire to make political contributions in association with fellow employees in this Presidential election year.

4. Regardless of its final outcome, a trial of the substantive issues would inhibit qualified voters and contributors among employees of government contractors from the open group support of candidates and issues essential to the full participation in the political process which is the implicit objective of the laws regulating the conduct of federal elections.

5. The full disclosure and public accountability objectives of the recently enacted Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 would be defeated if the individual contractor employee must forego group contributions in free association with fellow employees in favor of direct contributions to the candidates. Such direct contributions which do not exceed \$100, would avoid the provisions in the law for full information to the public concerning the affiliations and interests of contributors, information clearly and readily available to the public for funds contributed through a group effort to an independent voluntary fund.

I. THE ACTIVITIES ALLEGED DO NOT VIOLATE § 611.

1. Section 611 did not apply to corporations until April 7, 1972 so that allegations of past violations are both disingenuous and irrelevant. (Memorandum of June 1, 1972, pp. 4-7).

2. Section 611 prohibits the solicitation of contributions only from government contractors. TRW employees and executives are not government contractors, and the suggestion that they might be is frivolous. (Memorandum of June 1, 1972, pp. 8-9, 21-23).

3. It is equally frivolous to suggest that ITO itself is making a "contribution" when the only funds given to candidates are admittedly those of individual officers and employees. (Memorandum of June 1, 1972, pp. 23-24).

4. The provision of administrative services to a voluntary independent employee political fund is essentially a service for the benefit of improved employer-employee relations and communications and is not a "contribution" within the meaning of the Criminal Code. (Memorandum of June 1, 1972, pp. 5-8, 9-21, 24-30).

5. [It is anticipated that the Attorney General's opinion will be available and usable for additional support here.]

## II. PLAINTIFFS DO NOT HAVE A PRIVATE RIGHT TO ENFORCE § 511.

1. Jurisdiction for a declaratory judgment and injunction is alleged under 28 U.S.C. §§ 1331, 1343(4) and §§ 2201, 2202. The Declaratory Judgment Act grants no additional jurisdiction, and thus the issue is whether there is jurisdiction to issue an injunction under §§ 1331 and 1343(4).

2. Section 1331 provides jurisdiction in "civil actions . . . where in the matter in controversy . . . arises under . . . laws . . . of the United States." Section 1343(4) grants jurisdiction of "any civil action authorized by law . . . to recover damages or to secure equitable or other relief under any act of Congress providing for the protection of civil rights, including the right to vote."

3. The complaint states that this action "arises under 18 U.S.C. [§] 611," a section of the Criminal Code, and thus jurisdiction under either of the cited statutes exists only if this particular criminal statute confers a private civil right of action for injunctive relief.

4. It is basic that express statutory authority is required before a court of equity can restrain a violation of a criminal statute. United States v. Jelas, 409 F.2d 358 (7th Cir. 1969); Nasif v. United States, 165 F.2d 119 (5th Cir. 1947). Section 611 contains no such authority for either the Attorney General or for private parties to supplement normal enforcement of the law by criminal prosecution. The court therefore lacks equitable jurisdiction over this case.

5. It is fundamental that authority to enforce the criminal laws of the United States is vested solely in the Attorney General and the courts cannot constitutionally interfere with his discretion in this regard. Newman v. United States, 382 F.2d 479 (D.C. Cir. 1967); Smith v. United States, 375 F.2d 243 (5th Cir.), cert. denied 389 U.S. 341 (1967); Pogach v. Klein, 193 F.Supp. 630 (S.D.N.Y. 1961); see also Connecticut Action Now, Inc. v. Roberts Plating Co., No. 71-1674 (2d Cir. March 21, 1972); Guthrie v. Alabama By-Products Co., 328 F.Supp. 1140 (N.D. Ala. 1971). This renders the case nonjusticiable and deprives the court of jurisdiction as well.

6. Section 611 was enacted as a self-contained penal statute designed to prevent campaign contributions by government contractors

from improperly influencing the award of government contracts, 86 Cong. Rec. 2982 (1940). It primarily benefits the government itself. If any group of the public can be said to also be a special beneficiary on a different footing from the average citizen it would only be government contractors. The statute confers no voting rights; in particular, it imposes no campaign spending limitations and is not directed primarily at candidates (cf. former §§ 608, 609). It authorized no civil actions; in fact, proposals to create private rights of action for the disclosure provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act, which are not so clearly penal, were rejected by Congress. It only became applicable to corporations two months ago and questions of its proper construction and enforcement are for the Department of Justice to resolve.

7. No case is known to exist which permits private enforcement of a provision of Title 18 of the United States Code, or permits the issuance of either an injunction or declaratory judgment against an alleged violation. The only known case which concludes that such an action would lie is Common Cause v. Democratic National Committee, 333 F.Supp. 803 (D.D.C. 1971), which rests on very special circumstances not present here: (1) The statutes involved, since repealed, were acknowledged by the Attorney General to be unenforceable, thereby precluding any subsequent criminal prosecution which could jeopardize the constitutional safeguards of the defendants or usurp the prosecutorial function of the Attorney General; (2) The court concluded that the statutes involved were regulatory provisions designed to protect a specific class rather than criminal statutes designed to protect the

public at large. The court found that because of these special circumstances only a civil action could secure the benefits intended by the statutes. Furthermore, the decision (1) misstates the prior law, and (2) makes a mistaken analogy between the availability of implied actions to recover damages for conduct that might be a crime (e.g. J. I. Case Co. v. Borak, 377 U.S. 426 (1964); Reitmeister v. Reitmeister, 182 F.2d 691 (2d Cir. 1947)) and an action for an injunction against the possible commission of the crime itself.

### III. PLAINTIFFS DO NOT HAVE STANDING TO BRING THIS ACTION.

1. As already noted, a private citizen cannot enforce the criminal laws, and thus Common Cause has no standing to bring an action that it itself alleges only "arises under 18 U.S.C. [§] 611." Cases granting standing to seek review of governmental action, specifically those relied on in Common Cause v. Democratic National Committee, *supra*, are not in point where one private citizen seeks to enforce the criminal laws against another. Connecticut Action Now, Inc., *supra*.

2. Even if a civil action would lie to enforce this criminal statute, at the very least the standing requirement must be as stringent as that for seeking review of governmental action, and Common Cause and John Gardner have not shown the "injury in fact" required. Sierra Club v. Morton, 40 U.S.L. Week 4397 (1972). "[A] mere 'interest in a problem' . . . is not sufficient." Id. (a) The members of Common Cause have not

been shown to have sufficient identity of interest in specific candidates to entitle John Gardner to bring a class action, or to entitle Common Cause to represent all of them as individuals. (b) There is no identification of any candidate to whom the TRW Good Government Fund has contributed or will contribute and to whose opponent Common Cause or John Gardner have made a contribution. (c) There is no allegation that Common Cause or John Gardner has been harmed in contracting with the Federal government because of any contributions made by the TRW Good Government Fund. (d) Plaintiffs' allegation that they will be impaired in their lobbying efforts is also speculative and non-specific.

IV. THE ACTION SHOULD BE DISMISSED FOR WANT OF EQUITY.

1. Discretion of the court to decline to entertain a declaratory judgment action is very broad, and more than mere standing is required before such an action can be brought. Lampkin v. Connor, 360 F.2d 505 (D.C. Cir. 1966).

2. There is no issue of immediacy which would justify equitable intervention. See Davis v. Ishord, 442 F.2d 1207 (D.C. Cir. 1970).

3. The relief requested could not settle any controversy that would exist.

4. The claims for jurisdiction, a cause of action and standing rest on novel legal theories into which the court ought not to venture in the circumstances, and the relief requested would be inappropriate. Cf. International Association of Machinists v. Street, 367 U.S. 740 (1961)

~~Strick~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MACRUDEK

FROM: GLENN J. SEDAK, JR.

SUBJECT: RESIDENCY OF COLLEGE STUDENTS FOR VOTING PURPOSES

You have asked that we undertake a study of the question of whether a student between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one may establish a voting residence at his college, separate from the residence of his parents, or whether he may be disqualified from voting in his college community on the ground that he does not satisfy state or local residency requirements for voting. Neither the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970, nor the Twenty-sixth Amendment to the Constitution, which lowered the voting age to eighteen, deal with this particular issue. While it is indisputable under the Voting Rights Act Amendments that a student between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, like all citizens, has the right to register up to thirty days before an election and to vote for candidates for the Presidency, it is unclear whether this may be done at a campus voting precinct or must be done, either in person or by absentee methods, at the domicile of the student's parents.

You may recall that a number of bills on this subject have been introduced into Congress. One sponsored by Senator Cranston would have required all states to enact laws specifically permitting college students to vote in federal elections at campuses where they are in attendance. Another measure, co-sponsored by Senators Brooke, Hart, Hartke, Hatfield, Humphrey and Montoya, would have amended the Voting Rights Act to require that any citizen who is otherwise qualified to vote in a federal election be permitted to vote in any state or political subdivision which he declares to be his residence for voting purposes, provided that he has not registered elsewhere and that he has resided in the locale in question for thirty days preceeding the date of the election. Finally, a joint resolution introduced by Congressman Devine sought to amend the Constitution to require that each citizen vote only at his legal domicile or "true,

The Hon. Clark MacGregor

July 24, 1972

Page 2

fixed and permanent home...to which, whenever he is absent, he has the intention of returning." None of these measures have come to fruition and, in the absence of further action by Congress in this area, the resolution of the question as it pertains to this November's election has been left largely to state and local governments, which have primary responsibility under the Constitution for establishing voting requirements.

We have undertaken to research this issue on a state-by-state basis and will report our findings to you at a later date. Our preliminary research indicates that an increasing number of states are allowing newly enfranchised college students to vote where they are enrolled instead of permitting them to vote only in their home towns.

Opinions by the Attorneys General of Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Washington have basically concluded that students may legally vote in the campus community if they so desire. These interpretations generally hold that, for purposes of registering to vote, a minor over the age of eighteen, whether or not financially independent, has the right to establish his own domicile with or without the consent of his parents or guardian. The fact that a minor voter who is a student resides in a dormitory or other college residence, and not in his own apartment, is generally of no relevance. The basic question to be answered is whether the student registrant plans to return to his former home when his course of studies is completed or whether he presently intends that his college community serve as a permanent residence for an indefinite period.

Courts in California and Michigan have declared certain statutes imposing special burdens on young people in the exercise of their franchise unconstitutional. In the Michigan case a statute creating the presumption that a student is not a resident of the campus town where his college was located was declared unconstitutional. In the California case as Attorney General's opinion barring unmarried persons under the age of 21 from establishing a residence for voting purposes different from that of their parents was held violate of state law and the United States Constitution.

We have been informed that requirements have similarly been liberalized by state court decision or legal opinion in Alaska, Colorado, Delaware, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Vermont, Wisconsin and the District of Columbia.

The Hon. Clark MacGregor  
July 24, 1972  
Page 3

While a general trend may be developing, it is not clear that the remainder of the states will all take a parallel approach to this issue. For example, an opinion by the Attorney-General of Missouri suggests that a declaration of abandonment of original residence and intent to reside in a college community for an indefinite period must be consistent with facts indicating such intent. Organizational membership and statements of residence on tax returns and contracts are cited as examples of such supportive facts.

Until recently there was wide variation in the factors which individual states applied in reaching determinations on the question of campus registration and in the emphasis placed on such factors. Two types of criteria were generally considered:

1. degree of freedom from parental control - both legally (e.g. emancipation by marriage) and financially (degree of self-support) and
2. degree of attachment to the new community. Factors which might be considered in examining this second issue might include the purchase or lease of property, permanent employment, payment of local taxes, location of one's bank account, registration of one's automobile, etc.

It is impossible to estimate in this report the effect which more stringent state and local requirements like those set forth immediately above will have in regard to the impact of the student vote in November. Surely, such vote would be less concentrated, and therefore less easy to organize, in those states where campus registration remains a more difficult process. It will be necessary to make inquiry as to both the existing statutory law in each state and the general practices followed by election officials in interpreting such law before we can provide a more definitive analysis of current developments on a per state basis.

X

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:                   MR. HERBERT G. KLEIN

FROM:                               CLARK MacGREGOR

SUBJECT:                           Convention Communications Plan

I want to thank you for your memorandum of July 21, concerning convention communications plans and for being brought up to date generally. It sounds as if all bases are covered.

I have one reservation, however, and that is whether it is appropriate and proper under our current guidelines for you personally to conduct press briefings in behalf of the Re-Election Committee at the re-election headquarters. It is my understanding that a policy had been previously established that for public relations and practical reasons the spokesman for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President should be an employee of the Committee and not a member of the White House staff. I believe this was a sound decision.

As for our convention press briefings, I hope to fulfill part of that role this year. Further, a suggestion was made some time ago and approved by John Mitchell and Bob Haldeman that Ann Dore of this Committee perform some of these tasks, as you indicated. I concur with this suggestion. Obviously, Herb, Ann and I will require the full support and assistance of you and your staff to pull this off well.

I am familiar with the superb job you did in 1968 and am aware of the need to provide a similar service for the press this year, but the circumstances now are quite different.

Thank you, Herb, for your thoughtful recommendations. I am gratified that meetings have been going on and that communications functions are being so well coordinated.

7/26

JSM

JM to cover w/ H that MacG reversing decisions on oral basis (ex H GK re spokes

Ex H GK on mtg on 7/20

at convention = JSM turning around; E → MacG re Ed Mc Danider - audio visual re of the Scott Peters)

JM → JSM made decision, rely on H input + realizing that no MacG input

JM - thinks Prez hinders an absolute disaster

MacG - not going to play substantial role + FM getting stronger + almost diff. debate as floor me

Ex - JM missed re MacG at speaking of part

Snider - GC - Sat. Press Conf + GC not attend AIP Conven

JM concerned that FM receive more pol input - should use her Rue - more use of Pol judgements

Stacy Chatter - no per JSM - memo for JM to meet w/ GWC 7/27 w/ Boulter, Faylor, Howard, Abrahms on "line"

*Strachan*

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB. S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: DEVAN L. SHUMWAY  
SUBJECT: Interview Requests

On the basis of your being a high visibility director of the campaign, I am submitting the following schedule of interviews for your approval or disapproval.

If you approve, we will work with your secretary for times. Also, obviously, there will be some dates where you already have plans and if you can indicate them, I will make the appropriate changes.

July 16 (Sunday) - Issues and Answers. ABC. Live at 1:30 p.m.; arrival suggested at 1 p.m. CONFIRMED as recommended by Mr. MacGregor.

July 14 (Friday) - The Newsmakers. WTOG only. Taped at 2:30 p.m. Friday; broadcast from 7 to 7:30 p.m. Sunday; on radio Monday. Recommend Jeb Magruder.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

July 17 (Monday) - New York Times. Bob Semple interview; suggest week after Democratic National Convention. Recommend.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

July 18 (Tuesday) - Washington Window. UPI Audio. This goes to more than 400 radio stations and becomes the basis for a story on the UPI wire. Recommend accept.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

July 20(Thursday) - WTTG Metromedia. Interview. Covers Washington, Los Angeles, New York, Kansas City, Minneapolis. Recommend accept.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

More

July 21 (Friday) - Wall Street Journal. An interview with Alan Otten and Jim Gannon.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

July 24 (Monday) - Group W-Westinghouse Broadcasting Co. Interview with reporters for their stations. Cities represented: Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, New York, Fort Wayne and Baltimore.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

July 26 (Wednesday) - Capitol Cloakroom. CBS radio program where the person is interviewed by three CBS correspondents for 25 minutes. Recorded at convenience of guest any time between 9:30 a.m. and 2:30 p.m. Wednesday at CBS Washington studio.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

July 28 (Friday) - Background luncheon with Nancy Dickerson. Any day but Wednesday. Group includes Nancy, Charles Bartlett, Hugh Sidey, Peter Lisagor, Stu Alsop and Nick Thimmesch. Held in a private room downstairs at the Federal City Club. Recommend, but on-the-record.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

August 2 (Wednesday) - Agronsky Show. Tape for distribution into 35 cities. Recommend.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

August 4 (Friday) - Peter Edson Luncheon Group. Recommend.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

August 20 (Sunday) - Meet the Press. Also wants you and Herb Klein on a one hour special before the Convention. Recommend.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Open Date - Newsweek. Mel Elfin, Henry Hubbard and Hal Bruno would like to have lunch with you. Recommend.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

No date - Face the Nation. They would like you on August 20, the Sunday before the Convention begins. We will try for some other date.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

No recommendation on date - WDCR Radio, Hanover, New Hampshire. Dartmouth College Radio Station which would like to do a telephone interview because Dartmouth is your alma mater. Will leave this up to you as it is a personal matter.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 8, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Plans for the Week

As you requested in our telephone call today, I have asked for a list of the State Chairmen, a copy of which is attached for your use. Also, I thought that it would be helpful to you to have some indication of the meetings that Fred Malek and I have tentatively planned for the week. I understand that you have talked with Fred about some of them.

1. MONDAY, WEDNESDAY, and FRIDAY it will be important that you address the State Chairmen and Executive Directors who will be at the Mayflower for planning meetings. What will be needed will be the kind of remarks that you made at the Friday morning breakfast.
2. We will work to find an appropriate time for you to meet with Congressman Ford and Senator Brock and Timmons, Malek and myself to follow up on the progress of Operation Switch.
3. Tuesday afternoon we will work to get the kind of staff meeting "thank you" for John Mitchell that you and Fred Malek discussed.
4. As you know, we will have a meeting of the "in house" strategy group on Tuesday to review the priority states in view of the most recent polling results. The membership of this group has been Malek, Cliff Miller, Peter Dailey, Bob Teeter, Arthur Finkelstein, Fred LaRue, Gordon Strachan, and Bob Marik acting as secretary to the meeting.
5. On Thursday, we will work on an appropriate format for your visit to the RNC. We would anticipate that there will be a working session with Tom Evans and his staff and also a walk through tour with a photographer.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

6. We will also put together a review of the direct mail decisions for you for late in the week.
7. Also, we will bring you up to date on the present plans and activities in the entire surrogate program.

Fred and I have also discussed the need to get together with you on a routine basis. We can talk about this and any other additions that you would like to make to the above list on Monday.

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Waldeman

never sent

July 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: FRED MALEK  
JEB MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Advance Assistant

In the course of our discussions on staffing requirements, and in talking with Gordon Strachan about his experiences accompanying you to your luncheon on Thursday, the question of whether you might need advance assistance has been raised. If you feel that you do, it would seem appropriate to find someone who could perform the role of advance man/aide, particularly at times when you are out of the office.

Mr. Mitchell used a security officer and a driver for this purpose. Though it would not seem that you have a security need, it would appear you might find it useful to have an aide who could help you with your travel arrangements. If you agree that there is a need we will screen several candidates for your consideration.

# Grass-Roots Drive Is Outlined by GOP

By Lou Cannon  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Republicans will get out of the television studios and go back to the precincts under a revised re-election strategy outlined by Clark MacGregor, the President's campaign manager.

MacGregor, who took over from John Mitchell on July 1 as chairman of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, said yesterday

that the committee intends to spend "less than \$6 million" on television and radio advertising and "less than \$4 million" on advertising in newspapers and other publications. This combined total of under \$10 million in planned media spending compares with an authorized media spending ceiling of \$13.8 million.

While reducing the television budget, said MacGregor, he will increase the amounts that will be sent to state organizations for the opening of storefront offices, the recruitment and training of precinct workers and other items associated with a traditional grass-roots campaign.

Originally, \$8 million to \$9 million had been budgeted for these activities, said MacGregor, but the allocation under the revised plan is \$12 million to \$13 million.

The new strategy, outlined to reporters at a breakfast meeting, is intended to create 1,500 storefronts in 10 key states and one million Nixon volunteers by Labor Day.

It reflects MacGregor's belief that the Nixon re-election campaign needs far more decentralized and traditional political organization and cannot rely either on the President's present lead in public opinion polls or on a campaign that places primary reliance upon media advertising.

The committee also plans to spend about \$6 million on direct mail and telephone operations, MacGregor said. Overall, he estimated, the committee would spend between \$30 million and \$35 million in its efforts to re-elect President Nixon to a second term.

MacGregor also believes that the Republicans have an unprecedented opportunity to score major gains in Democratic strongholds and have "a slightly better than even chance" of winning both houses of Congress because of the nomination of Sen. George McGovern on the Democratic ticket.

"McGovern has to rely almost entirely on the thrust of the new movement and the fact there are more Democrats than Republicans," MacGregor said.

He said that only the District of Columbia had been written off for President Nixon and that a major effort will be made in all 50 states, including Massachusetts, a supposed McGovern stronghold. MacGregor cited a recent Boston Globe poll showing Mr. Nixon trailing by only three percentage points in Massachusetts.

But the cutting edge of the Nixon campaign, and the highest fund allocations, will be felt in 10 key states that MacGregor said are regarded as priority re-election targets.

These 10 key states include five that were carried by Mr. Nixon in 1968: California, New Jersey, Illinois, Ohio and Missouri. Also on the list are New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, Michigan and Maryland, all of which went for Hubert Humphrey in 1968.

MacGregor rated California in the 1972 election as "razor-thin" and predicted very close races in New York, Texas, Missouri and Michigan.

When he took over the re-election committee reins on July 1, MacGregor cautioned against overconfidence. He appeared more confident yesterday as he outlined a strategy that he said would stress the President's record and, by implication, deemphasize the negatives in the 1972 campaign.

While MacGregor didn't say

so directly, the tone of his remarks stressed a campaign far removed from the law-and-order themes used by many Republican senatorial candidates in 1970.

The positive tone of the Nixon campaign also was stressed later in the day at an informal news conference called by Michigan Gov. William G. Milliken, chairman of the Republican Governors Conference.

Milliken said that MacGregor had assured him the re-election committee would conduct "a broad-based campaign" appealing to young people, ethnic groups and blacks.

"No one is going to be excluded," Milliken said.

Both MacGregor and Milliken predicted that President Nixon would again select Vice President Agnew as his running mate but Milliken said that Agnew's rhetoric has not always been an asset to the Republican Party.

The Michigan governor said he hoped that the 1972 campaign would be conducted on "a high level" and added that "this wasn't entirely true for the campaign that was run in 1970."

Asked his opinion of Agnew's June 30 speech in New York in which he described McGovern as a "fraud," Milliken replied:

"It's not the kind of rhetoric I would use—or ever have used."

MacGregor said the Republican campaign would stress "peace and prosperity" themes but also would criticize McGovern proposals for reductions of \$32 billion in the defense budget.

"What Nixon has accomplished is because we have military strength to give muscle to our diplomatic efforts," said MacGregor.

In one respect the campaign appears to have changed little from Mitchell to MacGregor. Both the original plan, outlined by Mitchell in a mid-May interview with The Washington Post, and the strategy discussed by MacGregor yesterday call for keeping the President's direct campaigning to a minimum until October.

The present plan envisions a campaign kickoff in Southern California in mid-September followed by weekend speeches by Mr. Nixon until the last three weeks of the campaign, when the President will campaigning intensively.

MacGregor discounted reports that he has less authority at the committee than his predecessor and will have to clear decisions through presidential aide H.R. Haldeman or presidential assistant John Ehrlichman.

"Gentlemen, I don't have to check with anybody," MacGregor said. "I make the decisions and I act on the decisions."

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1977

*Post*  
*H*  
*FU*  
*7/27*

PHONE CALL  
ANN ARMSTRONG's OFFICE

Ann Armstrong would like to meet with you for about half an hour some time next week, if possible. She'd like to discuss the role the Women's Division will have in the campaign.

*G. G. mellel*  
*7/22*  
*wants to*  
*handle*  
*instead of*  
*H.*

Try and schedule meeting.

She should talk with MacGregor.

Other check AS on this.

484-6735

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FOLLOW UP

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

G

Check on June 15 on the status of the California and  
Women analysis at 1701.

↓

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FOLLOW UP

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

G

For the September Campaign Kick-Off which is scheduled to appear in follow up after the return from California, make sure Chapin's report regarding the survey is re-raised.

*Deal in Cal-Report*

*7/29*  
*forget it*  
*7/24*

ADMINISTRATIVELY  
CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

H  
EU  
7/17

June 13, 1972  
3:30 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN  
VIA: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN and RON WALKER  
FROM: MICHAEL RAOUL-DUVAL   
RE: CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF

1. In a joint effort with Magruder and Foust we have checked with the following concerning the Gettysburg events: General Schultz, Len Hall, Lang Washburn, Bryce Harlow, etc. It appears that there were three or four "picnics" at Gettysburg each involving different people. The campaign kick-off appears to have been a one day cook-out on September 12, 1956. (The Republican Convention was late August.)

There were about four speakers including President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, the Governor of Pennsylvania and Len Hall. According to Hall the invitations, sent by the RNC, were for a "Republican Campaign Kick-Off" at Gettysburg. The following were invited:

- All National Committeemen and Committeewomen
- All State Republican Chairmen
- Leaders of the Citizens for Eisenhower
- Youth for Ike
- Wives of the above

NOTE: There may have been others. Len Hall is sending a newspaper clipping which supposedly lists the attendees.

All totaled, there were about 500. The Eisenhower Citizens Committee arranged for hotel rooms in Washington and chartered busses for the trip to Gettysburg. The busses departed here at 1:30 p.m. and the buffet dinner was at 4:00 p.m. Cigarette lighters were given as souvenirs.

2. Since we are considering a major T. V. address in conjunction with the San Clemente events, it might be appropriate to include a broader range of people than were invited to Gettysburg. This would underscore campaign unity and add to the atmosphere of the event.

I recommend that you ask the 1701 Committee to work up a specific invitation list for approval along the lines of their May 18, 1972 memo (attached). The total with wives would be in the 1500 range.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Option:

Invite Citizens Committee, RNC, Celebrities and Athletes, etc., but not Senators, Congressmen and GOP candidates unless they are surrogates.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

3. According to Gordon Luce, the San Diego Convention Hall is available on September 14th. It can hold nearly 5000 in a rally set-up. The 1701 Committee can lock it up through Gordon without indicating Presidential participation.

Approve reserving Convention Hall \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove reserving Convention Hall \_\_\_\_\_

4. Concerning costs, Jeb will recommend to Mr. Mitchell that the participants pay their own way to San Diego, but that the Committee pay for:

- Hotel, Food in San Diego,                   \$120,000  
and busses to San Clemente
  
- T. V. time and production               \$ 80,000 (+)  
costs (including hall rental)

In addition, I recommend that the Committee pay for whatever preparations are required at San Clemente. Although we do not have all the cost figures for this, the following would be involved:

- Preparation of an area (turfig)
- Food and beverage (Mexican style)
- Tents, chairs and tables

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

5. I recommend that a survey of the Convention Hall and San Clemente be done when the advance people go to San Clemente later this month in connection with the President's trip to California.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Kick-Off Event

H  
F/U  
~~6/9~~  
~~6/29~~  
7/17

Jeb Magruder gave the attached plan on the Campaign Kick-Off in San Diego and San Clemente to John Mitchell on May 18. Mitchell discussed the proposal with Governor Reagan. Reagan enthusiastically supports the idea but suggests delaying the announcement as long as possible. Mitchell agrees.

Mike Duval did a preliminary survey for Dwight Chapin, based on earlier information from 1701. It also is attached but will be updated after the Russia trip.

GS/jb

F/U - 6/5

- H's  
- Duval survey

ADMINISTRATIVELY  
CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 13, 1972  
3:30 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN  
VIA: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN and RON WALKER  
FROM: MICHAEL RAOUL-DUVAL  
RE: CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF

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*Handwritten notes:*  
C  
Fu JWS 29  
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7/17  
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- 2. Since we are considering a major T.V. address in conjunction with the San Clemente events, it might be appropriate to include a broader range of people than were invited to Gettysburg. This would underscore campaign unity and add to the atmosphere of the event.

I recommend that you ask the 1701 Committee to work up a specific invitation list for approval along the lines of their May 18, 1972 memo (attached). The total with wives would be in the 1500 range.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ **C** Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Option:

Invite Citizens Committee, RNC, Celebrities and Athletes, etc., but not Senators, Congressmen and GOP candidates unless they are surrogates.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ *2/c* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

- 3. According to Gordon Luce, the San Diego Convention Hall is available on September 14th. It can hold nearly 5000 in a rally set-up. The 1701 Committee can lock it up through Gordon without indicating Presidential participation.

Approve reserving Convention Hall \_\_\_\_\_ **C**

Disapprove reserving Convention Hall \_\_\_\_\_

- 4. Concerning costs, Jeb will recommend to Mr. Mitchell that the participants pay their own way to San Diego, but that the Committee pay for:

- Hotel, Food in San Diego, and busses to San Clemente \$120,000 *? why*
- T.V. time and production costs (including hall rental) \$ 80,000 (+) ✓

In addition, I recommend that the Committee pay for whatever preparations are required at San Clemente. Although we do not have all the cost figures for this, the following would be involved:

- Preparation of an area (turfin)
- Food and beverage (Mexican style)
- Tents, chairs and tables

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ *C*                      Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

5. I recommend that a survey of the Convention Hall and San Clemente be done ~~when the advance people go to San Clemente later this month in connection with the President's trip to California.~~

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ *C*                      Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Committee for the Re-election of the President

May 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

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

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

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

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

*A list of who invited to  
DOE Netanyahu deals*

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

*Is that all we have?*

The number of participants could be reduced, if deemed advisable, by not inviting (a) the Republican Congressmen who are not surrogate candidates, (b) the Assistant Secretaries, and (c) selected Agency Heads. This question becomes relevant in connection with cost considerations and the proposed barbecue (or fish fry) at the residence in San Clemente. We have been advised that the areas available for that event are either the golf course, or the area immediately to the east. Both areas at the residence could handle "1,000 plus," but 1,580 might exceed the comfortable limit unless the areas were combined. NO

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

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Never!*

*No*

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

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

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*See how this was handled for DOE betty...*

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

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

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

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

cc: Mr. Herbert L. Porter

## PROPOSED AGENDA

Thursday, September 14, 1972

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

Friday, September 15, 1972

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

7/17

Mark

Bill Shriver - Planner + Supervisor  
Nancy Brattas, devel all  
teleph bands in Sts (Priority)

Bob Morgan - Direct, Mail  
Memo of 7/14. - + acquis  
of Voter Registration

Biba Wagner - supervises  
w/ offices on St Books  
- Research

Art Findelstein - Demographer  
Replacement for Rick Fore - (for Malek)

- Training w/ Sts - Voter ID, Regis.
- under Jerry Jones
- coordinate strategic decisions  
made in Strategy Sessions
- Work closely w/ Fuller w/ of Strategy
- "Pol line" - Determined by ISM + disseminated

Advised H of Direct Mail - \$5m.

Strachan

DRAFT -- Letter to State Chairman enclosing "We'll kill them" poster

Dear :

Both my predecessor John Mitchell and I have repeatedly warned that our greatest enemy this year is apathy. To reinforce that point, I have enclosed a poster recording Mr. Gary Hart's views on the subject.

Although the polls show the President with a commanding lead of 19% over Senator McGovern, I know you will agree that we must do everything in our power to insure that our campaign staffs -- professional and volunteer -- "run scared" from now until November 7.

Senator McGovern's experience in the California Primary, when a 20% lead almost completely evaporated in one week, should serve as a lesson to our campaign.

The enclosed poster is one weapon you can use to combat overconfidence and apathy in your state's campaign. I urge you to post it in a conspicuous place in your headquarters.

Thank you.

Sincerely,  
Clark MacGregor  
CAmpaign Director

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

*R.C.O.*

Attached is our weekly report.

~~bcc:~~ Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

## ADVANCE

On Monday, June 26, Mr. Edgar Bergen, one of our confirmed celebrities, appeared at the Missouri Republican Finance Committee Fund Raising Dinner in St. Louis at which the Vice President was the speaker. The reports we received both from the Finance Chairman, Mr. Al Fleischer, and our advancemen were that the event went very well. Mr. Fleischer was particularly appreciative of the Committee's efforts in securing Mr. Bergen. In addition to performing at the dinner, which was attended by about 1,200 at \$100 per plate, Mr. Bergan appeared as a guest on the "Afternoon Show" hosted by Dick Ford on KSD-TV. The Committee is to receive 15 percent of the gross proceeds of this dinner.

The Vice President appeared at three fund raising dinners June 26, in St. Louis, June 29, in Nassau County New York, and June 30, in New York City. The Tour Office coordinated the payment of expenses and Committee's percentage with the Nassau County Republican Party, the Missouri Republican Finance Committee, and our Finance Committee. Additionally, the Tour Office performed the same functions for Secretary Butz' appearance at a fund raiser for the Mississippi Republican Party on June 26.

For the thirty events that occurred last week, the Tour Desk did telephone advance work and schedule building.

## AGRICULTURE

Clayton Yeutter conferred with some of the leaders of the cattle industry regarding the Administration's decision to remove all quotas on meat imports. As expected, the decision was not greeted with enthusiasm. Most cattlemen realize that removal of quotas will have little, if any, effect on cattle prices. But they are much disturbed by the precedent that is established. They fear (1) that controls may not be reinstated on January 1, 1973, and (2) that they'll be removed in the future every time the consumer lobby makes a lot of noise, and in every election year. We will certainly suffer some political damage in the Great Plains from this move. How much, and how lasting it will be, remains to be seen.

The Administration also placed price controls on certain raw agricultural products subsequent to the first sale. Since the first sale is by farmers, they will not be affected directly, and perhaps not very much indirectly. In fact, if this decision succeeds in squeezing the profit margins of others in the marketing chain, farmers will benefit. But these benefits will probably not be realized prior to November 7. So the net effect of the decision on agriculture will probably be nominal. Hopefully, this decision, coupled with the above mentioned decision on imports, will have a positive net effect on the consumer vote.

Madson traveled during the entire week, meeting with Farm Families for the President chairmen in eight states. Yeutter met with the South Dakota and Nebraska chairmen while attending some of the Republican State Conventions in the Midwest.

BALLOT SECURITY

In New York, we have a new chairman, Thomas Spargo, who is replacing Joseph Forstadt who was recently elected president of the New York State Young Republicans.

In Texas, Alan V. Rash has been confirmed as the Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) chairman for that state.

BLACKS

On the completion of the kick-off campaign fund raiser, we convened an Ad Hoc group of key planners to evaluate the fund raiser.

At the request of Stan Anderson we prepared a list of key Black Republicans who will receive a platform committee questionnaire.

After preliminary assessment, we identified several Black Democratic notables for the planned San Clemente conference with the President.

Athlete liaison was sustained by phasing the athlete special interest group into the State Organizational operation and firming up their role in connection with the National Campaign.

CITIZENS

During this past week work was continued in the organization of various Citizens Committees.

Tom Evans of New York has been named as an Advisor to the Citizens Committee and will be assisting us from time to time.

Life underwriters leaders cleared and appointed as follows: Herbert Mischke, Minnesota, Chairman; Lewis Yount, Washington, Vice Chairman; Philip Hoche, Florida, Vice Chairman. They are assembling a list of thirteen.

Optometrists leadership identified. Leadership meeting scheduled for July 12.

Securities industry leadership being contacted. Leaders will be in for meeting at 1701 July 18th or 20th.

Financial institutions leadership is being contacted. Date is not yet set.

Pharmacists and veterinarians leadership meetings are firm for July 6 or 7th.

Sportsmen: contact made with NRA and wildlife people. Leadership meeting is scheduled at 1701 for July 12.

Pilots' meeting was held at AOPA headquarters. They also have a 750,000 pilot mailing list we can get. They are sending us names of leaders to contact to set up leadership meeting.

Motorcyclists' leadership has been contacted and a leadership meeting is scheduled to take place at 1701 on July 13.

In addition to the above, two new areas have been added: Mobile Home Owners and Bowlers.

Meetings were held with voter bloc heads and political coordinators to broaden understanding of 1701 capabilities and set stage for co-operation on state assignments later.

#### LAWYERS

During the past week we have appointed Lawyers Committee Chairmen in New Mexico, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Colorado and Oregon. This addition brings the total number of states in which Lawyers Committee Chairmen have been selected to thirty.

We have submitted a special telephone campaign plan for July to Mr. John J. Fallon, the Lawyers Committee Chairman for Western Missouri. It is expected that a Lawyers Committee Telephone Campaign will be conducted in Kansas City, Missouri involving some fifteen hundred lawyers during the month of July. This campaign will serve as a pilot for the Lawyers Committee Telephone Campaigns which are to be conducted in each state after the National Convention.

The objectives of the Telephone Campaign have been previously described in detail and briefly stated are: (a) to identify lawyers who support the President and to insure that they vote by a get-out-the-vote letter in late October which includes absentee ballot information for the specific voter involved; (b) to secure volunteer assistance for Nixon State Chairmen, Lawyers Committee Chairmen and the Ballot Security Chairmen; (c) to identify sources of financial support and (d) to appeal to the undecided lawyer-voter by an offer of information which may favorably influence his vote.

Lawyers Committee Meeting in Washington, D. C. August 3, 1972. A one-day meeting will be held in order to brief State Lawyers Committee Chairmen, their selected Key Chairmen, selected National Advisory Committee members and the spouses of all of these lawyers. The schedule will include a morning briefing for the lawyers, a special morning briefing for the spouses conducted

by the spouses, a joint luncheon, an afternoon briefing for the lawyers with optional activities for their spouses and an early evening reception.

It is expected that the recommendations for the National Advisory Committee will be completed and that appointments to the Committee will begin early next week.

The "Lawyers Committee Chairman's Handbook" will be distributed this week. It includes a description of the goals and organization of the Lawyers Committee and programs, sample speeches and issue materials.

A public relations program for the Lawyers Committee will be developed with Mr. McDonald and Miss Harris this week centering on the activities at the Convention, the Lawyers Committee Washington Conference and other activities. In this connection we expect to use our extensive mailing list.

Press Releases. We are now preparing to release announcements of the thirty State Lawyers Committee Chairmen. These will be coordinated with each Nixon State Committee and with the Lawyers Chairmen.

We now have and are committing to data processing, a list of the legal publications in the country on a state by state basis for use primarily in connection with the activities of each State Lawyers Committee.

#### PHYSICIANS/DENTISTS

We are working with Finance Division's Direct Mail people on logistics of a fund-raising letter for physicians and dentists.

We are continuing contacts with Nixon State Chairmen regarding the formation of State Dental Teams.

#### SPANISH-SPEAKING

Alex Armendariz traveled to Beaumont, Texas, to participate in the LULAC National Convention.

Alex met with Gil Chavez to discuss HEW's bilingual program and develop an additional information program.

Frank Almaguer attended the Republican Congressional Candidates' Conference and participated in a panel discussion on Spanish-speaking voters along with Phil Sanchez and Manuel Giberga. About fifteen Republican candidates attended this conference.

## SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

We have prepared a schedule of campaign activities during the months of September and October for the surrogate candidates.

The Attack Plan was prepared after preliminary consultations with John Whitaker. In addition, we have now submitted the prepared Attack Plan for comment to Messrs. Foust, Howard, Malek, Marik, O'Donnell, Parker, Shumway, Teeter, and Whitaker. Additional copies have been submitted to Messrs. Magruder and Strachan for informational purposes. To date, we have received written comments from Messrs. Malek, Marik, O'Donnell, Parker, Flemming, Teeter, and Whitaker. We are revising the Attack Plan to reflect these comments.

In preparing this plan, we considered the following:

1. Key States. It has been suggested that surrogate candidates appear only in the fifteen key states, with emphasis on media centers in those states. The rationale for that suggestion is that it is the electoral votes in those states that are essential for the President's re-election.

Surrogates have been scheduled to campaign in selected key states no more than three days per week. This allows for sufficient flexibility to permit a limited number of appearances in essential forums in non-key states, or a complete shift in emphasis should a revision in the key states occur.

2. Surrogates. Various factors were taken into consideration in scheduling each surrogate. Those factors included (a) the surrogate's native geographical area, (b) the surrogate's particular constituency and political appeal, (c) the surrogate's existing schedule and other responsibilities, (d) the surrogate's known limited availability, and (e) the surrogate's office responsibilities.

3. Saturation Levels. The appearances of surrogates in key states were scheduled according to the state's rank in the list of key states, the geographical size of the state, the number of media markets in the state, and the number of electoral votes.

4. First Family. We have agreed with Dave Parker that he will schedule appearances by the First Family in coordination, or in conjunction, with the Attack Plan.

5. Expenses. The Tour Office's preliminary estimates of the Attack Plan, using maximum variables, indicate that the cost will be within the budget.

We have begun plans for the Convention in August. The plans include the extensive use of surrogates, celebrities and other key spokesmen

in several groups of caucus teams. These teams would be programmed to provide both substantive and political briefings to selected key state caucuses and voter-bloc groups.

Ray Caldiero has been added to the staff. He has taken leave from the Marriott Corporation, where he is a vice president. Caldiero is developing the plan to maximize the resources of these celebrity groups; Celebrities for the President, Athletes for the President and American Music for the President.

#### TRANSIENT

During the past week the staff concentrated on developing the overseas organization in Europe and the Far East. Mr. McAdoo met with Mrs. Anna Chennault to develop a coordinated plan for fund raising and absentee voter canvasses in major Asian countries including Japan, Thailand, Hong Kong, Okinawa and Taiwan. Several telephone conferences were held with the leadership of the European Re-election Committee regarding Mr. Rumsfeld's September trip and implementation of the absentee voter campaign in twelve European countries.

The Special Ballot field representatives began contacting the state campaign leadership to develop plans for implementing the state special ballot canvass program. These contacts indicated several states are well along with their plans and designated a special ballot chairman to supervise the effort.

Demographic information on military voters aged 19 to 24 was gathered and analyzed by the polling staff. Their recommendation was that no broad based absentee program be developed for this group since the demographic profile showed them to be from economic groups that are heavily Democrat. Therefore, the military special ballot effort will be limited to the officer ranks and senior career enlisted men. A detailed persuasion program will be completed by July 15 and will be implemented domestically and overseas beginning August 1.

#### VETERANS

A briefing was held on Monday at the White House for about twenty of the principal national veteran leaders followed by a reception at the Blair House. The President made an appearance before the group.

Much of the week was spent preparing for the veterans kick-off meeting held on June 30. About twenty members of the Veterans National Advisory Group were present for the meeting. Mr. Malek, Mr. Magruder and Mr. Shearer spoke to the group during the morning session. Colonel Borman, National Chairman of the Veterans Committee, addressed the group and a press and photo session was conducted by the Committee's PR group. The afternoon session centered on the veterans campaign plan and the role

of advisors in the overall organization. Rufus Wilson of the Veterans Administration spoke to the group about the Administration's veterans record. A reception at the Taylor House followed the meeting.

We also worked on the development of a surrogate plan to be used during the campaign.

Veterans Chairmen were named in Maine and Arizona.

Jim Smith met with veteran leaders in Detroit, Kansas City, Oklahoma City and Topeka regarding the organization of veteran committees in their states.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

June 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

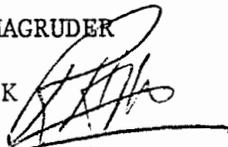
That attached memorandum has not been approved  
yet.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: BOB MARIK   
SUBJECT: Strategy Meeting

The Tuesday Strategy Group met on June 27th to discuss recommendations for campaign activities during three important periods:

1. Between the Democratic and Republican conventions.
2. Between the Republican convention and the campaign kick-off on September 14th.
3. During the seven weeks of the campaign between the kick-off and Election Day.

BETWEEN THE CONVENTIONS

Objectives:

1. To identify McGovern with extreme and untenable positions on the issues.
2. To demonstrate that the Democratic Party is fragmented, with substantial defections to the President.

Activities:

1. Ed Failor will run a "Truth Squad" in Miami during the Democratic convention.
2. "Monday" will take on McGovern on the issues and publicize the criticisms of his positions by other Democrats.

3. Defections from the Democratic ranks. It was the general feeling of the group that defections should follow two patterns.

- (a) Immediate, volatile negative reaction to McGovern by several labor leaders. Preferably, this would take place at the convention, and receive wide-spread publicity.

Recommendation

That you approve the immediate defection strategy if it can be implemented.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

- (b) The establishment of a Democrats for Nixon Committee about one week after the convention (for example, Thursday, July 20). This would be formed by several solid, prominent Democrats. The slight delay would underscore the seriousness of the move--a courageous act of conscience. There would only be enough Democrats announced at the outset to establish the committee. Others, including many of the more prominent figures, would make announcements on a continuing basis, week by week, throughout the campaign. It will be important to have sufficient activity between the conventions to counter McGovern's efforts toward party unity. It will also be effective to have some major figures announce their support as late as October.

Recommendation

That you approve the proposed general time frame for the establishment of Democrats for Nixon (one week after the convention) and the strategy of continued additions to the Committee throughout the campaign.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

4. It was proposed that, immediately after the Democratic convention, the Re-election Committee take out full-page newspaper ads in all major media markets. These ads would feature the slogan, "President Nixon. Now More Than Ever." The purpose of the ads would be
  - a) To set the tone of the upcoming campaign with regard to issues.
  - b) To capitalize on McGovern's extreme positions to deflate his recent "coronation" as the Democratic standard-bearer.
  - c) To "show the flag" of the Nixon Campaign Organization, since it has had relatively low visibility during the primaries.

These ads should contain a coupon for volunteers and cash contributions. We should avoid the charge of an extravagant campaign expenditure by turning it into an opportunity to ask for help and raise funds. The ads would be on a one-shot basis, right after the convention, and before the announcement of the formation of "Democrats for Nixon." The estimated cost would be \$300,000 which would not be chargeable to the media spending limit after the Republican convention.

Recommendation

That you approve the concept described above for newspaper ads immediately after the Democratic convention, at an estimated cost of \$300,000.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

5. Use of Surrogates. Throughout the period between the conventions, our surrogates should be speaking in support of the President and his record. They will show the McGovern programs to be inadequate by comparison. There should be a balance between the positive treatment of the President's record, and the direct, negative attack on McGovern.

One of the issues to be dealt with early is that of Welfare. Senator Javitz and Secretary Richardson will be the leading spokesmen. Other issues will be raised during the remaining weeks between conventions. Each issue should be carefully orchestrated, with all surrogates covering that issue during the given time period. The objective is to gain publicity for the issues at least at the local level, and thereby to force McGovern on to the defensive.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 -

Recommendation

That you approve the use of surrogates to raise the issues on an orchestrated basis, week-by-week, between the conventions, as outlined above.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION AND THE CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF

The group raised the question of what activities would be most productive during this period. A low-key tone should be maintained, so that the campaign does not appear to be in full swing before the kick-off. These suggestions were:

1. A series of local barbecues across the country to build early enthusiasm among volunteers and supporters of the President. These would be attended by surrogates, but formal speeches would be kept to a minimum.
2. Local emphasis on recruiting of volunteers and initiation of precinct-level activities. Surrogates and others would make appearances in support of organizational efforts. In particular, approximately 250 telephone centers will be opening during this period.
3. Campaign trains or chartered campaign planes carrying surrogates to many speaking stops within populated areas.

More analysis will be done before formal recommendations are presented for this period.

CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF TO ELECTION DAY

It was agreed that this phase of the campaign should be planned week-by-week, with programmed shifts from issue to issue, to keep McGovern on the defensive. More detailed planning should be the subject of a subsequent Strategy Group meeting.

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 14, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

~~✓~~ bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

## ADVANCE

On Tuesday, July 4, Senator Brock delivered a speech to the Southeast Regional B'nai B'rith Convention in Biloxi, Mississippi. Our advance-man reported to us that the event went very smoothly without any problems. At the request of Harry Flemming, there was no political activity on the trip and no secondary events. There were 400 people at this event.

The Tour Office advanced the appearances of Congressman Gilbert Gude and Mr. Richie Petitbon of the Washington Redskins at the annual Fourth of July Parade in Woodacres, Maryland. The Committee Scheduling Office arranged these appearances at the request of Mr. Philip R. Carr of the Oliver T. Carr Company. After riding in the Parade, Congressman Gude and Mr. Petitbon addressed a crowd of about 2,500 persons at a flag-raising ceremony. Both speeches, especially Mr. Petitbon's, were well received. WTOP - Channel 9, the local CBS affiliate, carried film clips of the event on its 6 o'clock news shows. The clips were part of a feature story on local Fourth of July celebrations.

Mr. Harry S. Dent, through the Committee Scheduling Office, accepted an invitation to deliver the keynote address at the annual Independence Day Celebration in Tyler, Texas. Due to sudden illness, Mr. Dent's appearance was cancelled, and Mr. Wallace B. Henley spoke in his stead. The Tour Office expanded Mr. Dent's schedule to include a press conference and a reception with local civic and business leaders as well as the originally scheduled speech. To insure the proper execution of this expanded schedule, the Tour Office sent two advancemen to Tyler. When it was learned that Mr. Henley was coming in place of Mr. Dent, the press conference was cancelled. However, the reception was attended by 125 persons, and Mr. Henley's speech was well received by an audience of 5,000 persons. The media coverage given Mr. Henley's speech was good. The July 5 Tyler Morning Telegraph gave the appearance front page coverage and printed the Presidential Message delivered by Mr. Henley in its entirety. In addition, television station KLTW, Tyler, Texas, taped segments of Mr. Henley's speech for presentation on its July 5 news programs.

Members of the Tour Office met with administrative assistants of Senators Cook and Taft during the past week. These meetings are part of a continuous program to meet and get acquainted with administrative assistants of all surrogates at least twice prior to the Convention.

There were ten schedule building and telephone advance activities last week.

AGRICULTURE

We've begun to lay tentative plans for bringing our state Farm Families for the President chairmen to Washington, D. C., for a concentrated one-day briefing session in late July or early August. A proposed agenda will be available soon.

A basic campaign pamphlet for agriculture is about in final draft form. We're working closely with the November Group in attempting to get this publication in print for use at county fairs, some of which are already underway.

U.S. News & World Report published, in their July 3 issue, a three-page story on agriculture which was highly favorable to the Administration. We are now evaluating the possibility of obtaining reprints of that article for county fair usage, too.

Because of the geographic dispersion of farmers, and for a number of other reasons, direct mail is a major element of the agricultural campaign plan. At the moment, we are having difficulties in negotiating for the use of Farm Journal's excellent farm mailing list, but we hope to resolve the problem within the next few days. Bob Morgan has been intimately involved with us in this situation.

As expected, the Democratic agricultural platform is pie in the sky. It probably promises more than any farm platform that this country has ever seen. But this will appeal to some farmers. Our judgment is that McGovern will campaign heavily in the farm states -- perhaps second only to the key states in his emphasis.

Secretary Shultz made some comments relative to 1973 meat import levels in his July 7 press conference. These comments implied that quotas could be quite liberal -- which lends credence to the fears of cattle producers that the decision to "temporarily" lift quotas for the remainder of 1972 may turn out not to be temporary. If statements like this continue, we will be in real trouble with the cattle industry.

Yeutter and Secretary Butz have discussed this, and both agree that the Administration cannot afford to make anymore actions this year that are actually or potentially damaging to the interests of the cattleman. He's about ready to vote Democratic even though cattle prices are high.

A major sale of grains to Russia was announced over the weekend. It is the largest sale of its kind ever consummated and will be most welcome news in grain producing areas.

BLACKS

At the request of Laura Walker of the November Group, we provided a magazine placement index oriented to Black media. Here, articles, ideas and key people were identified -- each featuring strong Administration achievements for Blacks to be used for special feature articles.

A meeting with Bill Novelli of the November Group, resulted in the updating and revising of the Black Americans brochure. A second edition of 95,000 is due in two weeks and many requests are already coming in from across the country.

An exchange of concerns with Nixon State Chairmen on July 7 resulted in identifying areas requiring greater effort and coordination for Black State/City campaign organization.

We met with Ohio Black Republican and Democrat supporters. With them, we planned and took action to assure the success of the Canton, Ohio planning workshop scheduled on July 15 for all Ohio representatives from eight key participating cities.

Throughout the week our efforts concentrated mainly on orchestrating the following state organization activities:

- Ohio -- Campaign strategy.
- California -- Resolving organization difficulties.
- Arizona -- Structuring state organization and coordination.
- New York -- Identifying key supporters and moving toward implementing state organizational plans.
- Texas -- Campaign preliminary procedures.

A Black Delegate Convention and Communication Plan was developed. Here, we detailed time and action steps and expanded beyond our original Convention Plan. We also met with a group of Black supporters concerned over the role of Blacks at the Convention. They later conferred with Senator Dole, Tom Evans of the RNC and Stan Anderson of the White House staff, to detail the request for accelerated Black involvement on Convention Committees and keynote and/or seconding speeches.

We worked closely with disenchanted Democrats who are joining our Democrats for the Re-election of the President team. We also shared this information with Ed Failor who is coordinating our effort from Miami.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

As of last count, 226 cities have City Chairmen. We will have 300 - 350 cities, or areas, organized before we finish.

Organization of Business Advisory Councils in the organized cities is on its way. Two cities report over 100 people on their Advisory Councils.

Kit material has been received from the November Group. Kits are being assembled and will be distributed at Regional meetings.

Regional meetings start next week. We will cover the country by the Convention.

CITIZENS

A leadership meeting with the veterinarians was held and Dr. Clarkson of New Hampshire has accepted the chairmanship of the committee of 13 and Dr. Knowles of Florida and Dr. Wertman of Iowa have accepted the co-chairmanships. A full meeting of the committee is scheduled for August 2.

A leadership meeting with the pharmacists was held and Mr. Hennessy of Michigan, who chaired the effective 1968 group, and Mr. McConnell of Arizona have agreed to be co-chairmen. Each represents one of the two major organizations to which pharmacists belong and the changed committee structure will help get fuller cooperation. A full meeting of the committee of 12 is scheduled for July 25. They have asked if the President could speak to their October 1-5 convention of 4,000 pharmacists and their families in Chicago. We have forwarded the request through channels.

Key leadership for sportsmen, motorcyclists, optometrists, pilots, and the securities industry has been identified and meetings are scheduled for all five of these groups as follows: optometrists and sportsmen, July 12; motorcyclists, July 13; pilots, July 14; and the securities industry, July 20.

The nine representatives of the securities industry are the cream of the crop, and it would be particularly helpful if Clark MacGregor and Fred Malek could appear briefly at this, which will be held at 9:30 a.m. on the 20th at 1701.

Leadership is still being identified for the financial institutions group, and the leadership group for the life underwriters is in the process of setting up the meeting of 13.

During the week, thanks to Al Kaupinen, it was possible for me to meet and talk with the Nixon Chairmen and their staffs from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Delaware, and the District of Columbia. Thanks to the good talks by Fred Malek and Chuck Shearer, plus Al's interest and help, plus our obviously cooperative approach, I think we have turned around any hostility to Citizens' activities that existed in these states, and I anticipate good cooperation.

A luncheon meeting with Asian-Americans leadership group was held on July 6 and co-chairmen representing the Japanese and Chinese Communities were accepted: Tad Ikemoto of California and Wilbur K. Woo of California.

A leadership meeting of architects on July 6 attended by Robert Hastings of Michigan, Max Urbahn of New York, and John Train of Illinois arranged for a meeting of the full committee to be held on July 24. Areas were selected based on A.I.A. regions. MacDonald Becket of California was selected as National Chairman. The group suggested changing the name to "Environmental Professionals" and including engineers and others in related industries.

A meeting was held July 7 with C. D. Ward regarding Mayors, State Legislators, and City, County and State officials. He will furnish us with names and suggestions very soon. There is some confusion regarding the question of an earlier selection of a chairman.

#### PR/MEDIA

Last week the press section concentrated, toward the end of the week, on Senator McGovern's welfare proposal in an effort to discredit it before he was prepared to change it. As a result, we distributed about 25 speeches inserts attacking the program -- inserts produced both here and in Ray Price's shop -- to our surrogates and other speakers -- with moderate success. The press did not, in all candor, appear to be terribly interested in this aspect of the McGovern record.

Our audio division was exceptionally busy during the week, particularly considering the fact that Congress was out of session. Pennsylvania audio service has begun on a call out basis. Out of Washington we were able, during the week, to move actualities on Johnson of the VA, Congressman Gerald Ford, Dr. Jerome Jaffee, Secretary Shultz, Secretary Laird, Mr. MacGregor and Attorney General Kleindienst. The Butz' comments on our newly announced grain deal with Russia were called to regional networks and UPI audio and our counter indicated 123 stations called in for the statement

Our public relations division is developing plans for the various constituency groups. Meanwhile we helped arrange for Ken Rietz and Gregg Petersmeyer to be interviewed in Indianapolis and a press conference was held in Miami announcing that state's young voters program. We furnished audio to the radio stations.

We have added a magazine placement editor to the staff, Laura Walker, and in her first week of activity she indicated about 60 magazine contacts and said interest in various types of articles ranging from farm stories to ski stories was expressed by a large number of those magazines.

Our new campaign director had a very successful press conference on Wednesday and appeared on The Today Show on Friday morning.

#### SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

We met with Dan Slane, Director of Scheduling for the Ohio Committee for the Re-election of the President, for the purpose of discussing the National Committee's scheduling program. In addition, we discussed surrogate activities, and the Attack Plan for Ohio during the months of September and October.

We are arranging meetings with each of the surrogate candidates and selected members of their staffs for the purpose of discussing the proposed Attack Plans for September and October. To date, meetings have been held with Secretaries Butz and Richardson.

We are continuing to solicit and receive comments concerning the proposed Attack Plan, and we are revising the plan to reflect that comment.

We met with Mr. Burgess of the Republican National Committee to discuss the proposal of having a low budget ethnic presentation at the Republican National Convention.

Mr. David Brown has been hired as Chairman of the Executive Committee of Celebrities for the President. Mr. Brown is a Vice President with Warner Brothers, and will be based in New York City.

#### WOMEN

On July 4, Mrs. Hutar met with Messrs. MacGregor and Malek to report on the program plans for the Volunteer Division. A portion of the discussion was devoted to the overall plan. Mr. MacGregor stressed the importance the President believed should be placed on women's activities. Mrs. MacGregor, Cabinet wives, women appointees and

wives of White House staffers will participate as a "task force" team to visit states during a nine-week period. They would be scheduled to be in the states Tuesday through Thursday. Major emphasis will be placed on media coverage to multiply the total number of persons to receive their message on the President's record of achievement. These women are articulate and attractive spokesmen for the President.

On Thursday, Mrs. Hutar attended the meeting of State Re-election Committee leaders and participated in the program. The presentation included the State Hostess/Business Telephone Program, training programs, utilization of Regional Directors, Pledged to the President's Volunteer Recruitment program, Volunteer Manual, and special promotion programs planned to focus on the President's record of achievement in the area of Women's Rights and Responsibilities in addition to other key accomplishments of the Administration.

Friday was devoted to meeting with the individual State Re-election Committees to discuss their needs and how to implement programs for volunteer recruitment, telephone and door-to-door canvassing, etc. The meetings were most helpful in establishing rapport and establishing priorities.

On Saturday, Mrs. Hutar and Mrs. Lampe prepared materials for use in the door-to-door canvass and telephone canvass sheets to be used in the Canvass Kits for the non-priority states. This included designing the form, writing the instruction sheet for canvassers and writing the message to be given by both door-to-door and phone canvassers. Statistical data was gathered for use in ascertaining ordering and distribution of forms. Writing proceeds on material for the telephone program.

#### YOUTH

We now have 125,000 young people enrolled in the Young Voters for the President organization. The target for September 1 is 300,000 and November 1 is 500,000. At this stage, most of these young people are working in voter registration drives either of their own making or under the direction of the state Nixon chairman.

Events of this month include:

- July 14 - Youth Day in Chicago sponsored by the Illinois Young Voters and featuring Mary Ann Mobley.
- July 19 - Youth celebrity recruiting event in Nashville featuring Secretary of Interior Morton.

July 22 - Nixon-Baker youth involvement rally in Nashville featuring Chad Everett.

July 28 & 29 - Wisconsin YVP state leadership meeting.

July 29 - Ohio TAR meeting featuring Pam Powell (YVP celebrity).

July 30 - Maine YVP Lobster Roast. Governor Sargeant and Ray Stevens will be the highlights.

The YVP college recruiter has had real success in Michigan and Pennsylvania. In each of these states he has recruited over 100 college students who will play key leadership roles in the months ahead.

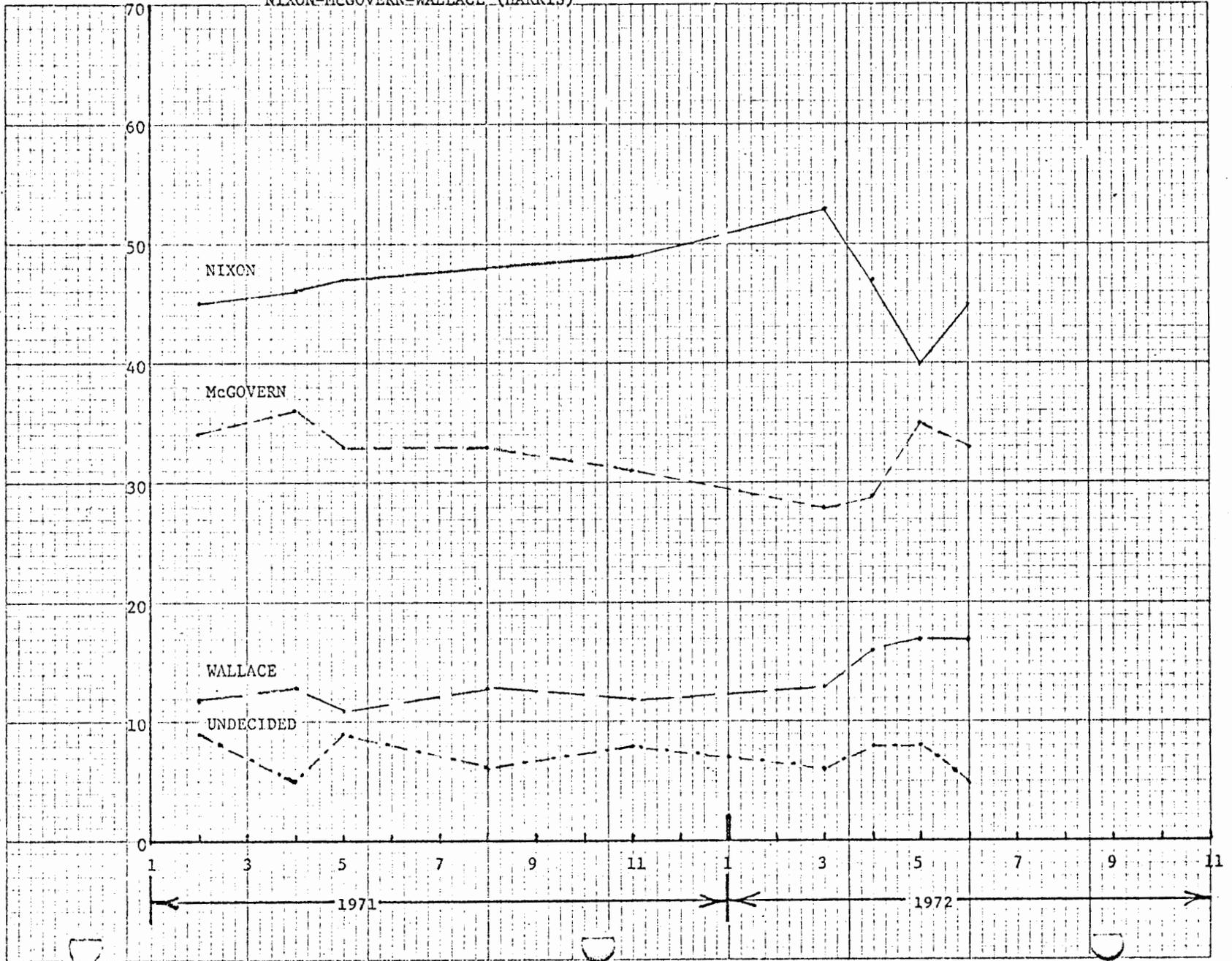
#### POLLING AND STRATEGY

The design of canvassing lists for California was completed as well as identification of the vendor to produce the lists. (California is unique in that pollwatching is accomplished via lists of voters in street number sequence as opposed to alphabetical). In addition, the lists will be prepared using computer-output microfilm, a process ideally suited for voter lists on the basis of delivery speed, appearance of the form and cost.

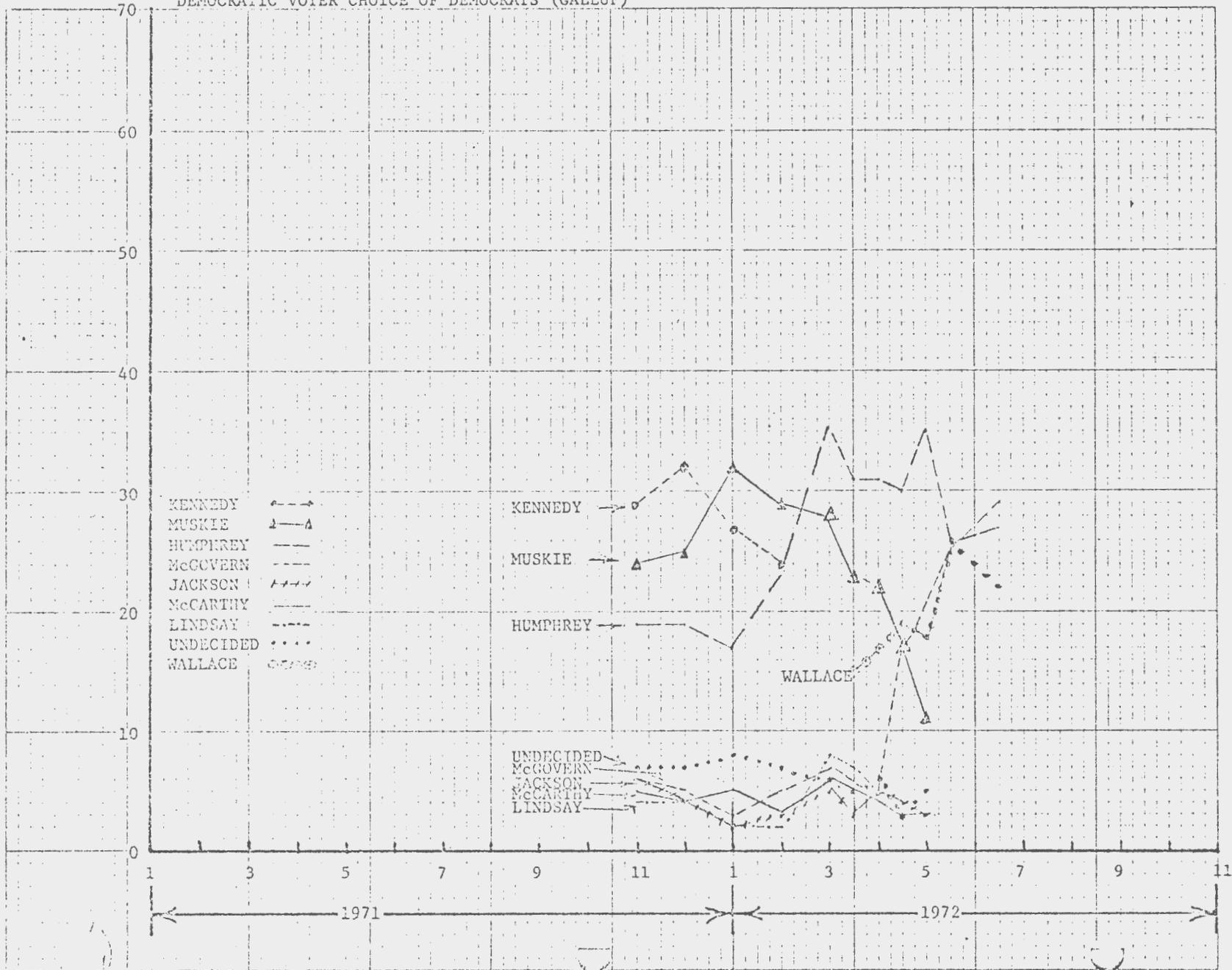
A study was undertaken to determine how the technology of Compass Systems Incorporated might be used to greater advantage in California during the remainder of the campaign. Compass' capabilities include a data base comprised of historical election data and demographic data for most of the state. Also, included is the ability to retrieve data from either of these sources given only the boundaries of an arbitrary geographical subdivision within the state. This technology could be used to aid in prioritizing precincts for all forms of canvassing, determine precinct codes assigned to telephone centers, and select target areas for surveys, direct mail and media. This study, being conducted jointly by the Washington and Los Angeles headquarters staff, will be completed in two weeks.

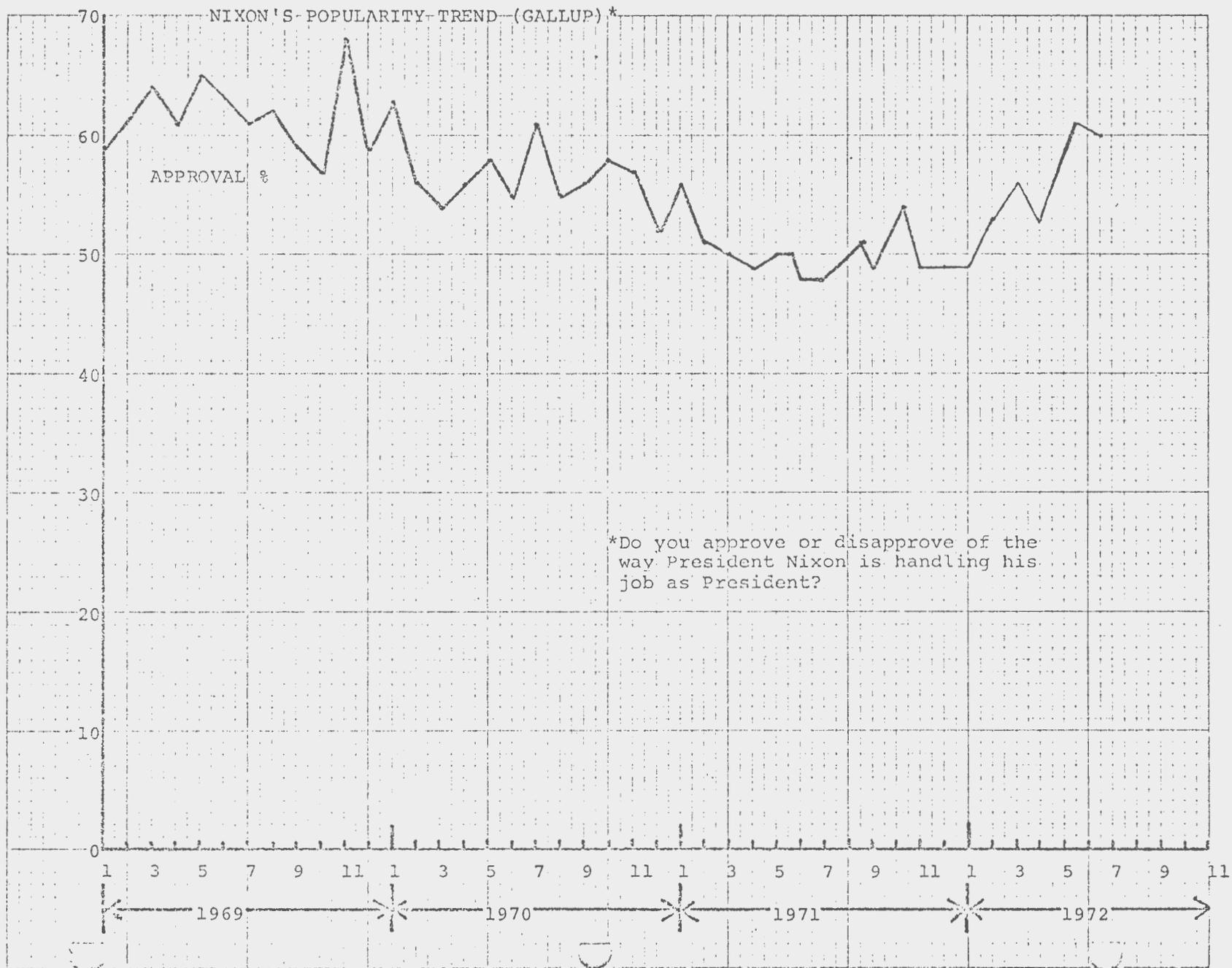
Attached are updated charts showing recent trends in various published polls.

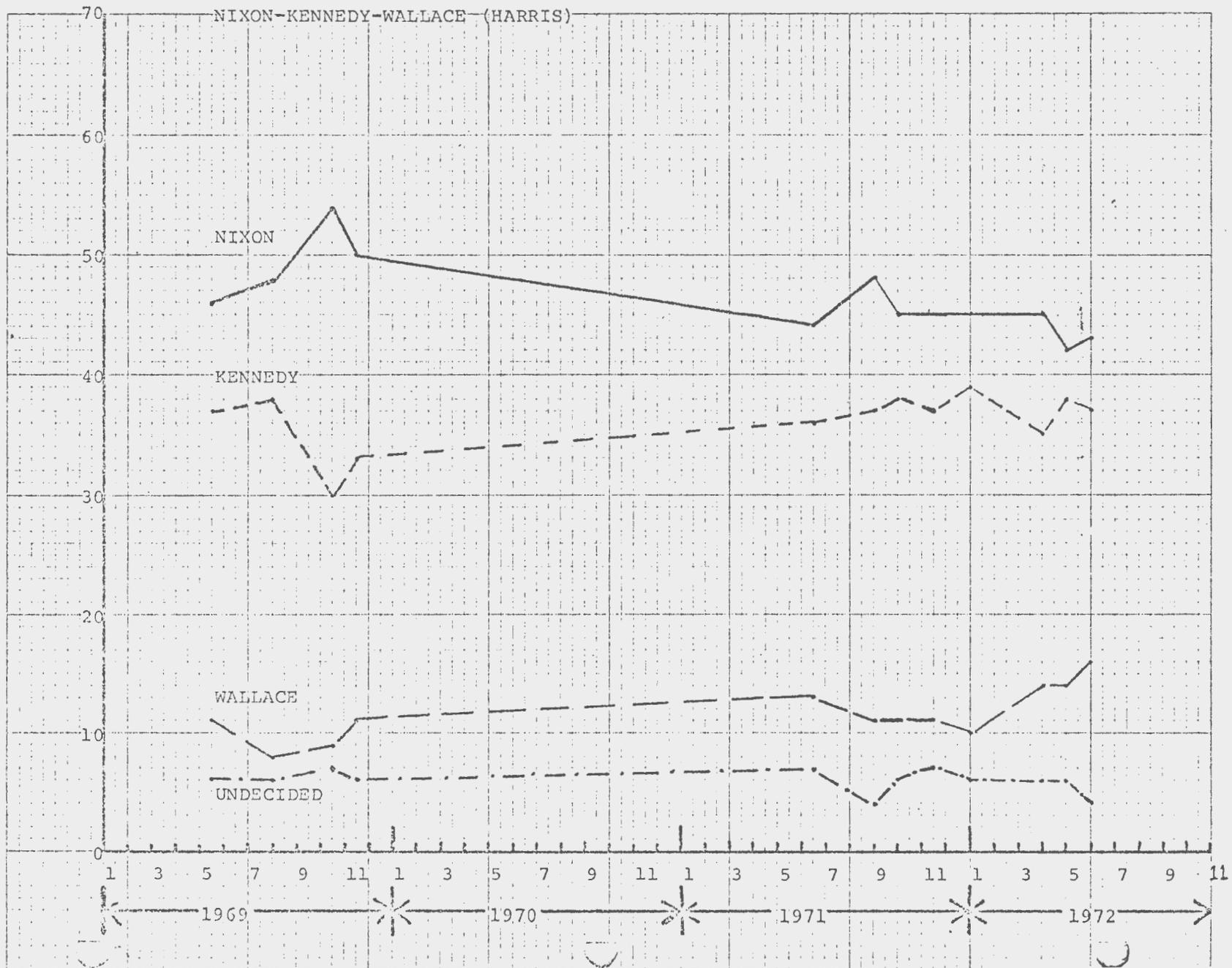
NIXON-McGOVERN-WALLACE (HARRIS)



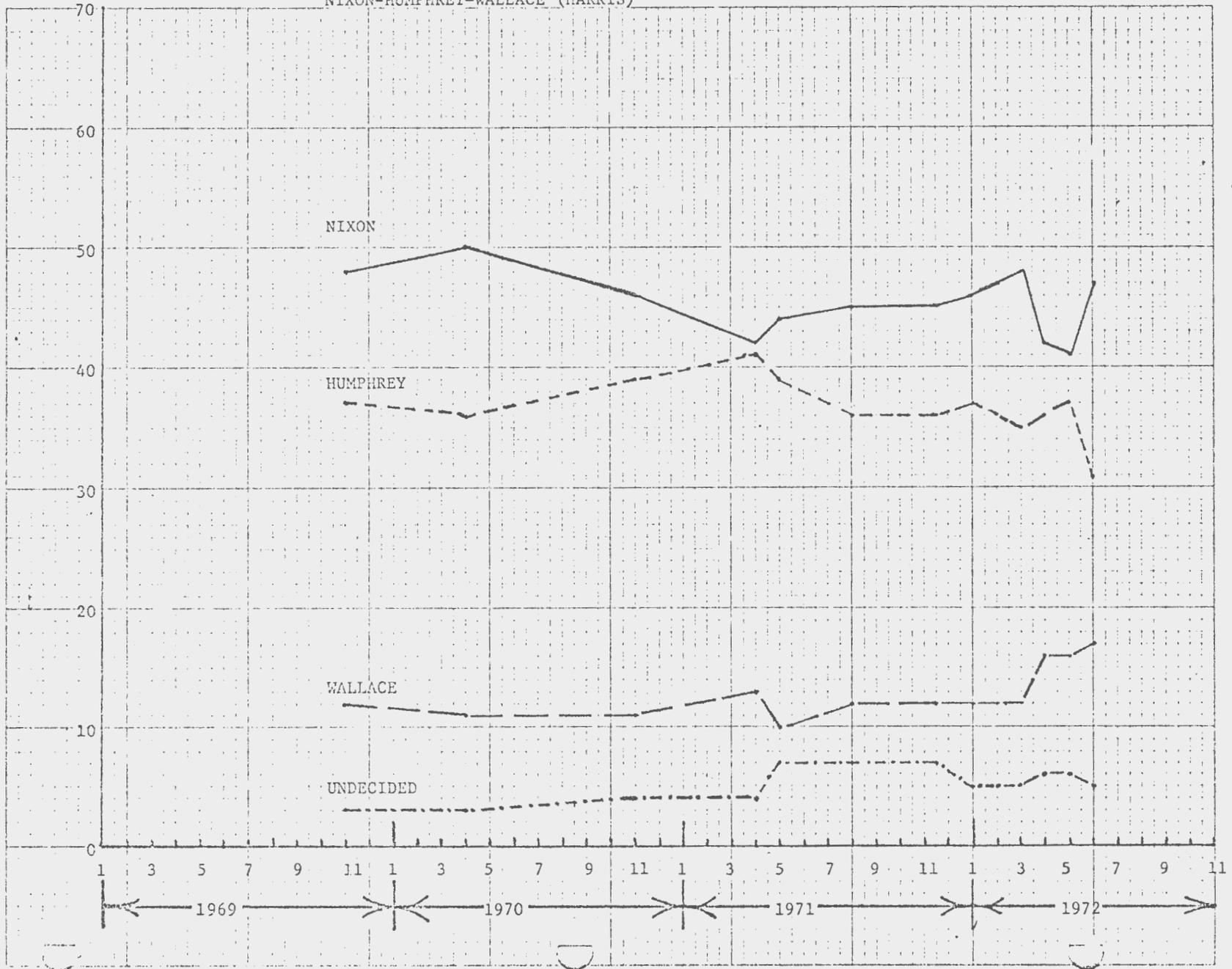
DEMOCRATIC VOTER CHOICE OF DEMOCRATS (GALLUP)



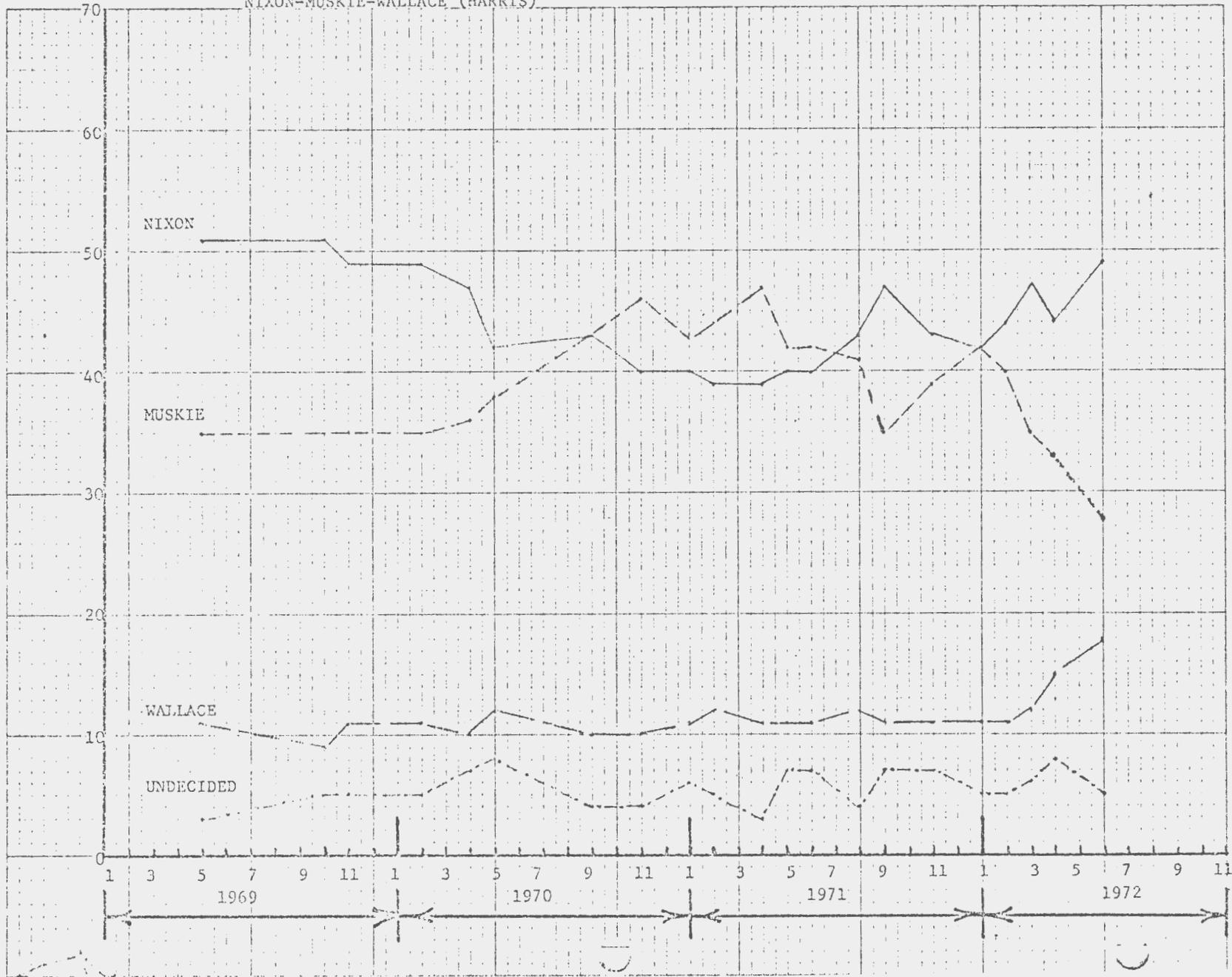




NIXON-HUMPHREY-WALLACE (HARRIS)



NIXON-MUSKIE-WALLACE (HARRIS)



COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

July 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON C. STRACHAN  
FROM: ROBERT REISNER *R*

There is only one copy of the book referenced in the attached memorandum and that copy went to Mr. MacGregor.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAGREGOR  
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: PETER H. DAILEY

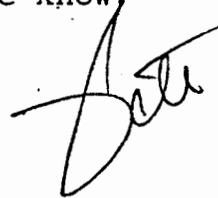
In our meeting today, you asked for state maps showing television coverage.

In the attached book each state is broken into television areas, also known as areas of dominant influence, or ADI's. These are the heavy black lines on the state map. The primary city in each television coverage area is indicated along with the percentage of that state's vote that Richard Nixon received in 1968 in that coverage area.

For each state, additional voting analysis data has been broken out by television coverage areas instead of the usual manner of presentation, county by county.

Also Bob Teeter's research will be providing us issue breakouts by television areas.

If you have any questions, let me know.



Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 21, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

~~cc:~~ Mr. H. R. Haldeman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## ADVANCE

Mr. Wallace Henley, Staff Assistant to the President from Mr. Harry Dent's office, appeared at a "Strike for Governor" rally and dance, which was held on the University of Utah campus in Salt Lake City on July 14. The Tour Office sent two advancemen to help prepare for the event which had been scheduled by the Youth Division. Mr. Henley and Mr. Nicholas Strike both addressed the crowd. Following this Mr. Henley held a question and answer session which went over very well. Before the event, Mr. Henley was the guest on "The Woody Wilmer Show," KSTX radio. The program consisted of questions being called into the station from the public. Mr. Henley was asked to be on both half-hour sessions of the program and responded very well considering some of the questions that were asked of him were an attempt to embarrass the President. The event went very well and everyone was pleased considering all the factors involved.

On Friday, July 14, Pam Powell, one of the Celebrities for the President, appeared at a reception in Chicago for the Youth Division of the Illinois Committee for the Re-Election of the President. Miss Powell replaced Mary Ann Mobley who was ill and unable to attend. The total attendance was approximately 250 people which our advancement felt was due at least partially to the methods used by the Illinois Committee staff in inviting guests. In fact our advancement reported that his back-up advancement, through his own personal contacts, was responsible for getting over half of the people who attended. Miss Powell also was a guest on the "Jim Conway Weekend Show" which is a call-in talk show on WTVS radio in Chicago. She was on for nearly an hour responding to phone calls from listeners. Also, the CHICAGO SUN TIMES carried a brief story about the event.

On July 13, The Tour Office advanced Mr. Clark MacGregor's appearance at a luncheon at the Capitol Hill Club, where Mr. MacGregor gave a speech which received excellent press coverage.

Thirteen events involved telephone advances and schedule building last week.

As part of a continuing program to visit administrative assistants and/or advancemen of surrogates at least two times prior to the Convention, the Tour Office met with five such staffs last week.

## AGRICULTURE

The grain sale to Russia looks better every week. Secretary Butz now believes that we'll sell at least \$1 billion worth of grain, rather than the \$750 million minimum over the next three years - and perhaps even more. The minimum for the first year (beginning August 1) is \$200 million, but the chances are reasonably good that purchases will

considerably exceed that sum. Hopefully some, if not all, of the first year sales announcements will come prior to November 7.

Secretary Shultz met a few days ago with representatives of countries which supply meat to the U. S. and encourage them to increase their exports to us during the coming months. He indicated that he would reward those countries which were able to cooperate in this regard with higher quotas in 1973. As one might expect, this infuriated the cattle industry.

Late last week Secretary Peterson announced the imposition of export quotas on hides. Coming on the heels of the jawboning on meat imports, the announcement very nearly set the plains on fire. The Executive Director of the American National Cattleman's Association told us that it has been years since his members have been as irate over the actions of an Administration as they are now.

We have a lot of political wounds to suture between now and November 7.

The July crop report was encouraging. Corn acres were two million below what was anticipated, and soybean acres a million higher than expected. Both changes are good news politically.

Our basic campaign pamphlet is now before the Domestic Council for clearance. If this can be accomplished quickly, we can still have it ready for many of the county fairs around the country.

#### BALLOT SECURITY

We are inspecting the operation of voting machines at the factories so as to alert our Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) chairmen as to what should be watched on election day.

We held a regional meeting for the Eastern Division of Voters' Rights chairmen in Boston, Friday, July 14.

A meeting for the Mid-West Region will be held in St. Louis, Missouri, on Friday, July 21, and the Western Region chairmen will meet in Denver, Colorado, on July 22.

We have two new Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) chairmen since our last report. They are James Bush of Arizona and Arthur Stock of Minnesota.

#### BLACKS

We conferred with Ohio Republican/Democrat representatives in a preliminary meeting prior to visit to Ohio for organizational purposes.

Met with the head of Committee for the Re-election of the President's attorneys citizens group and local Black attorneys and developed an approach to be taken at the upcoming National Black Bar Association's Convention to secure Black attorneys for service on Black citizens committees and on overall attorneys groups.

Met with the Executive Director of the Black Manufacturers Association to discuss their role in the campaign.

The recently formed New Jersey Black Republican delegation visited us and spent time discussing the role they will play in the Nixon state operation.

Dr. J. H. Jackson, President of the National Baptist Convention contacted us and gave stronger indications that he is becoming interested in receiving official recognition as well as an invitation to play an active role in supporting the re-election of the President.

We held a luncheon meeting with the Executive Director of National Newspaper Publishers Association and received detailed briefing on the political leaning of each member of the paper.

Black Democrats attending the National Convention in Miami Beach have indicated to us their desire to support the President.

Through White House contacts we have initiated new efforts to assist Charles Wallace, President, Wallace and Wallace Fuel Oils, in overcoming present constraints to expand his business. This has, for the time being, allowed us to assist a staunch Nixon supporter.

We hosted a delegation of 20 Black students (16-18 years old) from Green County Alabama who are participating in the Experimental School Program sponsored by HEW. Invited Re-election Committee's Youth Division to address the group. Distributed Black campaign information to each and held a lengthy briefing. Also, arranged a tour of the White House with Black White House intern.

In a meeting with various State Chairmen we were able to establish specific approaches for a Black State organization campaign plan.

#### BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

This week was spent assembling, packaging, and sending Re-election kits to our Chairmen in preparation for our regional meetings beginning on July 17.

In addition, constant contact was maintained with those State Chairmen not having a full complement of City Chairmen. In those states where the full complement of City Chairmen have been appointed, we discussed with the State Chairmen the necessity of completing the formation of the Business Advisory Councils in each city.

It is of interest that we have received a number of calls from prominent businessmen throughout the country volunteering their services to the Business and Industry Committee. These calls, they tell us, were the result of the article in the July 8 issue of Business Week which reported on an interview with Donald Kendall, our Chairman, and with a number of our Regional and State Chairmen. The article discussed, in some detail, the organizational concept of the Business and Industry Committee, together with its objectives.

#### CITIZENS

The National Committees have been formed for four of our groups: Real Estate, Insurance, National Automobile Dealers, and Certified Public Accountants. Organization of these committees took place at meetings on Tuesday, July 11 and Wednesday, July 12.

Attending the meetings held July 11 were representatives of the Real Estate, Insurance and New Car Dealers, CPA's professions.

Mr. Robert P. Gerholz of Flint, Michigan was selected to serve as National Chairman of the Real Estate group and his Vice Chairmen will be Mr. Jack Justice of Miami, Florida and Mr. Burton E. Smith of Bellflower, California.

The National Chairman of the Insurance group is Mr. Jack Doetzer of Baltimore and he will be assisted by Mr. Howard Strandburg of Rocky Mount, North Carolina and Mr. Hy Hendren of California.

The Automobile Dealer group has chosen Mr. Hal McBride of Santa Maria, California to serve as National Chairman of their group. His Vice Chairmen are Mr. Ed Soukup of Hempstead, New York and Mr. John Cooper of Ontario, California.

Mr. R. T. Baker, Managing Partner of Ernst and Ernst in Cleveland will serve as National Chairman of the CPA group and will have Mr. Ralph E. Kent, Managing Partner of Arthur Young & Company, and Mr. Thomas Hogan, Managing Partner of Haskins and Sells, as his assistants.

It should be noted that the remaining members of these committees will serve as regional chairmen. These men will be providing us with lists of their state chairmen within two weeks.

It should further be noted that each of these groups has displayed a high degree of motivation and competence. All 13 members of each committee should prove to be excellent assets in the coming elections.

Captain Raymond W. Gimmler, of East Rockaway, New York, President of the Uniformed Fire Officers Association, has been approved by

Governor Nelson Rockefeller to serve as National Chairman of the Fireman's group. At present there is some re-organization and it appears that this group will come under the auspices of Mr. DeLury under the labor group.

The Volunteer firemen are proving difficult to organize as there is no national organization. They are organized on a state basis and only a small percentage are organized (less than 50%). We are currently contacting other sources for additional information.

A concentrated effort is now underway to organize the Clergy and Layman group. Contact has been made with prominent members of the Jewish community and we are currently in the process of identifying the leadership of the various Protestant groups. Mr. Fred Rhoads is aiding us in this area. Contact is also underway in the Catholic community. Concrete results are expected within the next week in the organization of this group.

The Life Underwriters have completed selection of a National Committee and will meet on July 26.

Pharmacists have designated eight members of the National Committee and await only the appointment of four more Regional Chairmen. The National Committee will meet July 25.

The Optometrists' key men met July 12 and chose a National Chairman, Dr. Melvin Wolfberg, and two Vice-Chairmen, Dr. Arthur Glenn and Dr. Bill Baldwin. Regional Chairmen remain to be selected. The National Committee will meet July 25.

The Veterinarians have appointed the entire National Committee, save one Regional Chairman. They will meet August 2.

Motorcyclists' key men met July 13. They are to submit their nominees for the National Committee by July 20. The National Committee is tentatively scheduled to meet August 1.

Key men in the High Performance (Hot Rod) Industry met July 13. They selected a National Chairman, Vick Edelbrock, and two Vice Chairmen, Bob Draper and Dick Day. Regional Chairmen remain to be appointed. The National Committee will meet July 27.

Pilots' key men met July 14. They are troubled with the Administration's general aviation policies but are basically inclined to work in the campaign. They are drafting a paper which we have promised to forward to appropriate officials. The paper will be completed by July 21, and we will meet again to consider organization.

Key men among Financial Institutions have been contacted and will meet July 19.

Key men in the Securities Industry will meet July 20.

Several tentative groups have been cancelled. After meetings July 12 and 13 with Harold Glassen, past President of the NRA, and C. R. Gutermuth, Director of the Wildlife Institute, we concluded Hunters and Fishermen did not constitute a fruitful field for organization. We agreed to discuss later the possibilities of a mass mailing.

We were forced as well to discontinue efforts to organize bowlers. They turned out to be a blind alley.

During the week, we were able to meet with State Directors or their representatives from South Carolina, North Carolina, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. These conversations served to clarify our organization and function, and to establish channels for future contacts.

A leadership meeting with the architects is scheduled for July 24. The following are expected to attend: Charles Poll, Jack Train, John Graham, Vince Kling, Mike Trower, McDonald Becket, John F. Hennessy and Robert Hastings. The name of environmental professionals has been deleted in favor of architectural professionals at the suggestion of Don Mosiman due to the possibility of mis-interpretation by "pure" environmentalists.

Asian-Americans: Dr. Joel Fisher, Chairman California Citizens' Committee called to clarify the relationship between our national co-chairmen (Messrs. Woo and Ikemoto) and the designated California co-chairmen. The problem is enhanced by the preponderance of Asian-Americans living in California and that groups' sensitivity to their relative status. A suggested solution was presented.

Community Leaders: Judge William Walk, past president Rotary International, and Robert Bailey, a Rotarian, were called July 17 and requested to join the national committee scheduled to meet July 20. Confirmation is expected on July 18. Six people have accepted as of July 17.

Indians: The advisory committee meets on July 19 to submit suggestions for a national committee and program.

Legislators, Mayors, State and County Officials: Met with C. D. Ward on July 13. Mr. Charles Shearer will clarify the present status of Mayors on July 18. Calls will be placed July 18 to establish national committees.

Travel Agents: Mr. Anthony Spielmen, Waters Travel Agency, meets on July 19 to discuss the selection of key-men.

Barbers: Barbers were transferred to the Labor representative on July 17.

## LAWYERS

On July 14, we met with Willie L. Leftwich and Richard Clark in an attempt to develop a National Black Lawyers Advisory Council. Paul Jones, Frank Carpenter and Edwin T. Sexton, Jr., were consulted and participated in the meeting.

It is the combined judgment of the group that a visible black lawyers group with a distinct identity will be beneficial to the re-election of the President. (Naturally black lawyers will be included in every phase of our overall program.)

The National Bar Association will hold a meeting in Miami, July 31 through August 4, 1972. Mr. Clark, with the assistance of Mr. Leftwich and Mr. Jones will develop a committee at the meeting.

The format for their activities will be a reception in a suite at the bar meeting. I strongly recommend support for the organizational efforts outlined.

After the group has been developed we expect to have the capability to present through black lawyers issue statements attacking the proposals of Mr. McGovern and supporting the President's proposals.

## PR/MEDIA

A contingent of the press section spent last week in Miami at the Democratic National Convention to help promote the re-election of the President at that heavy gathering of press. The results included stories on the UPI, in The New York Times and The Washington Post, and over ABC and NBC. All were relatively favorable and this effort seemed to have worked quite well. A report on that operation is forthcoming.

Our other activities included arranging for Senator Dole to go to California on Thursday and Friday as a West Coast representative to respond to the Democratic National Convention. He spoke to the California Broadcasters Association and held a press conference in Los Angeles which got excellent coverage. He was advised in advance of the line Mr. MacGregor took at his speech before the Capitol Hill Club, Thursday. In addition, Counsellor Rumsfeld was placed on the Lee Phillips Show in Chicago and spoke to the Commonwealth Club, appeared on the Dunbar Show and had editorial board meetings with the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle as part of our program to radiate appearances of surrogate speakers.

Our audio division reports it had at least 572 call-ins on its national audio wire -- not included are those cases where we called out to specific stations with information. For example, we fed to each radio station in 80 cities where crime was reported to have decreased, a 30-second cut from Attorney General Kleindienst. That same cut also went to stations in the south, Rocky Mountain area, New York, California and Pennsylvania areas.

Mr. MacGregor's talk to the Capitol Hill Club was fed to all of the regional networks -- it was covered by the major networks in person and received 101 calls on our incoming WATS line from stations around the country.

We also arranged for an Issues and Answers interview for Mr. MacGregor and assisted in research for that effort as well as a New York Times interview which presented our side of the election year story very well.

With our new magazine writing program we have begun to work with Ray Price's office in an effort to divide the work and get written items so we can begin to fill some of the 80 requests for magazine articles which our placement manager has already received.

#### SPANISH-SPEAKING

We met with Tony McDonald to review the Public Relations program and services available to the Spanish-Speaking Division, emphasizing the tie-in with the Spanish-Speaking program. Diana Lozano will coordinate the program.

We also met with Sally Willis, New York's November Group, Miss Callahan, Diana Lozano, Coordinator for the Spanish-Speaking Division, and Ernesto Cervera, Spanish-Speaking Consultant to the November Group, to review the work done by Cervera with the November Group in preparing copy strategy to be utilized in the development of Advertising material.

We initiated requests for increased action in bringing Puerto Ricans into the Federal Government and for compilation of the President's record affecting Puerto Rican voters.

#### SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

On July 10, 12 and 14, we attended meetings at the Campaign Planning Conference, held at the Mayflower Hotel, for the purpose of discussing the Spokesman Resources Division with state campaign officials.

We continued to meet with surrogate candidates and members of their staffs to discuss their proposed campaign schedules. To date, we have met with Secretaries Butz, Hodgson, Peterson, Richardson, Romney, Volpe, Senator Scott, Congressman Rhodes, Messrs. Kleindienst, Blatchford, Rumsfeld, Ruckelshaus and Dent.

Charles Reisler has commenced work with us as a scheduler. In addition, Mr. Reisler will handle advance responsibilities for Clark MacGregor.

We met with Paul Russo and Mike Scanlon, of the Republican National Committee, for the purpose of discussing scheduling procedures and

coordination during the campaign. In addition, we specifically discussed the appropriate procedures for scheduling Senator Dole.

We met with Dwight Chapin and other White House staff members to discuss the use of celebrities by the Democrats during their convention. We have profited from their mistakes and are now planning the celebrities' program for the Republican National Convention.

We met with Harry Dent and Lionel Hampton, individually, to discuss the possibility of our celebrity participation in the Southern United States.

#### TRANSIENT

The organizing of overseas re-election committees is proceeding on schedule with volunteer committees now fully operational in sixteen of twenty target countries. These committees are now canvassing American citizens in major population centers abroad, identifying supporters of the President and providing these voters with absentee application information.

The special ballot division field representatives have met with the leadership of the Re-election Committees in thirty states to discuss the procedures for processing absentee ballot requests that are identified in the voter identification canvasses. It is expected that special ballot teams down to the county level will be in place in all target states by August 1 with the remaining states operational by August 15. The staff has completed the first draft of a special ballot manual which will be used to train volunteer workers and special ballot supervisors.

On July 24, the field staff will begin contacting the 250 largest national employers to encourage use of the non-partisan management employee's absentee voter program designed with the help of Bernard Windon of G.D. Searle and Company.

A program to encourage career military personnel to support the President by exercising their absentee voting rights began last week. This program, designed to reach senior enlisted men and officers, has the goal of achieving a twenty point increase in this vote over 1970. This has the potential of increasing the President's national vote total by 624,000.

#### POLLING AND STRATEGY

Arthur Finkelstein is performing the demographic analysis and developing political strategy for the direct mail campaign in the key states,

in conjunction with Bob Morgan. The objective is to identify those segments of the population, either by geography or other demographic category, which ought to receive particular types of mailings. The tone of the mailing and recommendations on who should sign the letters will be developed.

### Direct Mail

Contracts for acquisition of register voter files for direct mail:

The following contracts for data base development were finalized and signed:

CompuGraphics (Ohio)  
Ed Nichols Associates (Pennsylvania)  
C. Howard Wilson (California)  
Cambridge Opinion Studies (Connecticut)

The contract among Premier Printing and Letter Service, Texans for Tower and the Committee was sent to Senator Tower's office for execution and subsequent signing by Premier.

Draft contract between Products of Information Systems (California) and the Committee was sent to vendor for review and/or revision.

Initial payment to A.R.A.P. (New Jersey) was sent June 12, 1972.

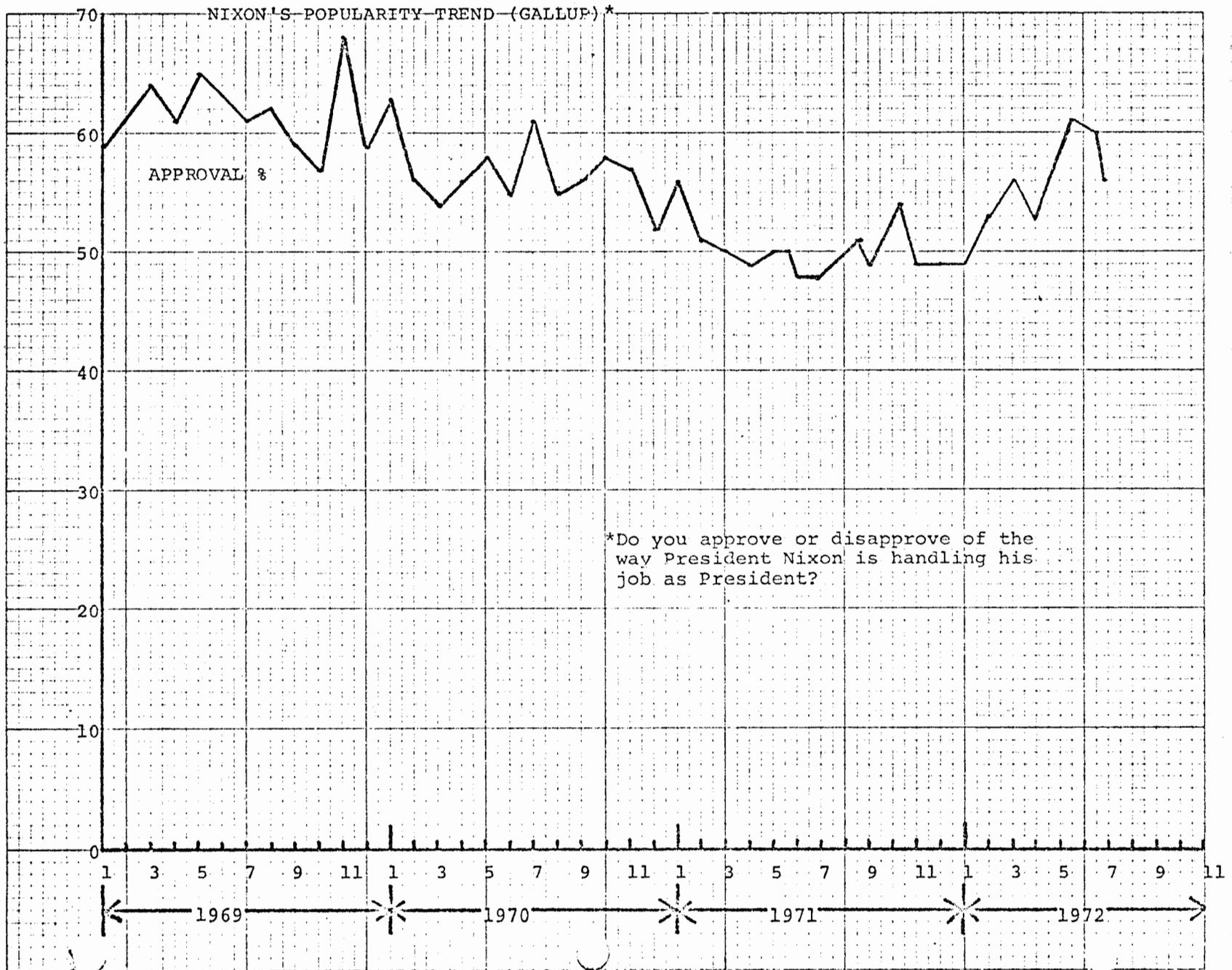
Attached is an update of the most recent Gallup Nixon Popularity trend.

### Telephone Campaign

Two major efforts are currently under way. First, we are attempting to recruit the leadership personnel for the telephone campaign in those key states where this has not already been done. At this stage, Texas, New York, Michigan and New Jersey still need both the full-time paid Telephone Coordinator and the State Volunteer Telephone Chairman.

Secondly, two orientation sessions, for a total of 200 telephone center people in California, will take place this Saturday, July 22.

The Volunteer Chairmen and Coordinators from most other key states will attend the first of these two meetings (in Los Angeles) as a demonstration of how to do the job properly. This week end should be highly instructional and motivational to these people; in addition, they will attend a special session to cover the specific problems and status of implementation in their respective states.



Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. NOBLE MELENCAMP  
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.  
SUBJECT: White House Processing of Campaign Mail

Following up on our conversation the other day, White House correspondence concerning either working in the campaign or the campaign in general is acknowledged by the Roland Elliott operation and is forwarded to the Committee at 1701. The Committee then acknowledges by referring the correspondent back to the state committee using the appropriate committee headquarters address.

The above method is redundant and costly.

Because most letters are addressed to the President, White House response is the only appropriate initial response. The reply, however, should focus on the grass roots nature of this election and simply suggest that the writer participate at the local or state level. The address of the state committee should be included to assist the individuals' efforts in taking part in the political process and thereby eliminate the redundancy of reply. A copy of the correspondence should then come to 1701.

Attachment A is the current White House letter.

Attachment B is suggested language for the White House reply.

Attachment C is a current state committee address list.

Thank you.

cc: Mr. Bruce A. Kehrli  
~~Mr. Gordon C. Strachan~~ without attachment C

~~Page 3~~

Re: For reply to letters and telegrams supporting the P and which specifically mention political activity, campaigns, conventions, candidates, etc., and in THE WHITE HOUSE which the writer clearly states he wants to work in the campaign

WASHINGTON

, 1972

Dear /s/

The President has asked me to tell you of his appreciation for your recent // //. He was especially grateful for the deep concern for our nation's well-being that prompted you to share your thoughts with him on the current public debate. The days ahead promise to be particularly spirited, and because of your expression of support and interest in participating in the activities preceding the coming election, I have forwarded your letter to the Committee for the Re-election of the President.

With the President's best wishes,

Sincerely,

Roland L. Elliott  
Deputy Special Assistant  
to the President

/s/  
//  
//  
//  
//

cut - 7/18/72 - bef  
proofed - CBS/bef  
(Rec. 7/17/72)

RLE:/s/

cc: with copy of incoming to Andy Lawrence at th  
Committee for the Re-election of the President.

, 1972

Dear /s/

The President has asked me to tell you of his appreciation for your recent ///////////////. He was especially grateful for the deep concern for our nation's well-being that prompted you to share your thoughts with him on the current public debate. The days ahead promise to be particularly spirited, and because of your expression of support and interest in participating in the activities preceding the coming election, I would suggest that you contact your state Committee for the Re-election of the President, which is located at \_\_\_\_\_.

With the President's best wishes,

Sincerely,

Roland L. Elliott  
Deputy Special Assistant  
to the President

/s/  
////////////////////  
////////////////////  
////////////////////

RLE:/s/

cc: with copy of incoming to Andy Lawrence at the Committee for the Re-election of the President

X

LAW OFFICES  
**REEVES & HARRISON**  
SUITE 500  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
TELEPHONE 202 298-9030  
TELEX 440376 CRDK  
CABLE "REEVLAW"

MARION EDWYN HARRISON  
ERNEST GENE REEVES  
ROBERT F. SAGLE  
MYRON SOLTER  
CHARLES EMMET LUCEY

OF COUNSEL  
MURRAY M. CHOTINER

July 5, 1972

Mrs. Anne Armstrong  
Co-Chairman  
Republican National Committee  
310 First Street, S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Anne:

Congratulations on the montage "Welcome to Campaign '72"  
issued by the Women's Division.

How about one dealing with the appointments of women by  
the President and their activities.

It will show that there are more than a few who are ex-  
cellent reasons for the re-election of the President.

With best wishes,

Cordially,



Murray M. Chotiner

MMC:bh

bcc: H. R. Haldeman ✓  
Clark MacGregor

Harlow

X

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 5, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

Bryce Harlow and I came up with a plan to counter McGovern's charge concerning the President's Campaign Committee refusal to disclose the list of contributions received before April 7. McGovern will play that tune from here on to November.

Has the plan been received? Prompt action is necessary to prevent it becoming an issue.



MMC:bh

CONFIDENTIAL

*Strachan*

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 27, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN *LM*

SUBJECT: September Mailing Copy Points

The copy points that will go into the non-Republican letter for California, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Cook County, Illinois have been developed and our copy is presently being written for these letters. The copy points were arrived at through an analysis by Arthur Finkelstein using all available source data. They were mutually agreed upon by Dr. Marik and myself. TABS A, B, C and D show the voter segments for these states, the percent that we anticipate from the total non-Republican universe, and the major copy points by segment.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the issues by state as shown in TABS-A, B, C and D.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

There will be four (4) different brochures going with the various voter segments -- a general brochure; one geared to Older Americans; one designed for the Spanish-speaking; and one for the peripheral urban ethnic (PUE) constituency. TAB E shows the various brochures along with the issues to be included. These issues were also developed by Arthur Finkelstein based on the available source data, and agreed to in detail by Dr. Marik and myself.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the issues to be included in the various brochures.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

The September mailing in California and New Jersey to Republicans will include the general brochure to non-Republicans. The RNC Contributor File for California and New Jersey will be identified and sent computer letters in order to maximize the dollar return. The other mailings will be personalized only on the Volunteer/Contributor Card.

The decision has to be made within the next two (2) weeks as to who signs the non-Republican letters, as well as the Republican letters in the different states. Dr. Marik will head up an Ad Hoc Committee to recommend who signs the letters, coordinating with the White House. He will also arrange for the signer's approval.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the Ad Hoc Committee with Dr. Marik as Chairman to decide who signs the letters and obtain the signer's approval.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

- TAB A
- TAB B
- TAB C
- TAB D
- TAB E

cc: Mr. Arthur Finkelstein  
Dr. Robert H. Marik

CALIFORNIA

<u>PERCENT</u>	<u>SEGMENT</u>	<u>LETTER - COPY POINTS</u>
5.0	Italian	Local, Busing, Taxes, Parochial Aid, Drugs
5.0	Other Jewish	Social Security, e.g., Humanitarian, Israel, Education, Environment, Defense, Peace
6.7	Los Angeles Spanish	Education, Government Jobs, Local, Health, Opportunity
3.3	San Diego Spanish	Education, Government Jobs, Local, Health, Opportunity
1.7	Other Spanish	Education, Government Jobs, Employment, Housing, Health, Opportunity
16.7	Peripheral Urban Ethnic Ring	Amnesty, Crime, Drugs, Inflation & Taxes, Employment, Busing
16.7	Other Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation
6.7	Veterans	Amnesty, Defense, Vietnam, Peace
15.0	High Income	Taxes, Economy, Defense, Peace
23.3	Middle Income	Drugs, Defense, Inflation & Taxes, Busing

NEW JERSEY

<u>PERCENT</u>	<u>SEGMENT</u>	<u>LETTER - COPY POINTS</u>
5.9	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Italian	School Aid, Peace, Muggers, Local
5.1	Other Jewish	Social Security, e.g., Humanitarian, Israel, Education, Environment, Defense, Peace
24.6	Peripheral Urban Ethnic & Other	Amnesty, Crime, Drugs, Inflation & Taxes, Employment, Busing
5.9	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation, Drugs, Crime
14.4	Other Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation
16.9	High Income	Taxes, Economy, Defense, Peace
22.0	Middle Remain	Drugs, Defense, Inflation & Taxes, Busing
5.1	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Jewish	Israel, Defense, Education, Crime

PENNSYLVANIA

<u>PERCENT</u>	<u>SEGMENT</u>	<u>LETTER - COPY POINTS</u>
4.9	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Italian	School Aid, Peace, Muggers, Local
4.2	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Irish & Polish	School Aid, Crime, Welfare, Busing
4.2	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Jewish	Israel, Defense, Education, Crime
6.3	Other Jewish	Social Security, e.g., Humanitarian, Israel, Education, Environment, Defense, Peace
7.0	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation, Drugs, Crime
17.5	Peripheral Urban Ethnic & Other	Amnesty, Crime, Drugs, Inflation & Taxes, Employment, Busing
17.5	Other Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation
17.5	High Income	Taxes, Economy, Defense, Peace
21.0	Middle Income Remain	Drugs, Defense, Inflation & Taxes, Busing

COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

<u>PERCENT</u>	<u>SEGMENT</u>	<u>LETTER - COPY POINTS</u>
7.3	Italian	Local, Busing, Taxes, Parochial Aid, Drugs
6.2	Irish	Local, Taxes, Parochial Aid, Welfare, Busing
6.2	Polish	Local, Taxes, Drugs, Peace/Defense, Busing
6.2	Jewish	Local, Israel, Humanity, Ecology, Taxes
26.0	Other Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation
10.4	High Income	Taxes, Economy, Defense, Peace
22.9	Middle Income Remain	Drugs, Defense, Inflation & Taxes, Busing
3.2	Spanish	Education, Government Jobs, Employment, Housing, Health, Opportunity, Parochial Aid

BROGHERN

GENERAL BROGHERN

Crime  
Defense  
Drugs  
Energy  
Environment  
Foreign Policy  
Health Care  
Peace  
Stability  
Taxes  
Vietnam

OTHER

Crime  
Defense  
Drugs  
Inflation  
Peace  
Social Security  
Stability  
Taxes  
Transportation  
Vietnam

PUT

Amnesty  
Basing  
Demands  
Drugs  
Deployment  
Inflation  
Jobs  
Peace  
Taxes  
Welfare

SPANISH

Defense  
Drugs  
Education  
Environment  
Health  
Housing  
Initiative  
Opposition  
Peace  
Spanish in Government

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

FOR: Gordon Strachan

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- Take necessary action
- Approval or signature
- Comment
- Prepare reply
- Discuss with me
- For your information
- See remarks below

FROM: Fred Mulek

DATE: 7/17/72

REMARKS:

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20540  
(202) 343-5426

July 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEE MAGRUDER  
PAUL KALEK

FROM:

KEN RIEtz *KR*

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.

As outlined in the initial youth plan written a year ago, the thing we have to overcome with young people is the peer group pressure they are subject to. This pressure in the past year has been largely anti-Nixon. The pressure building now is pro-McGovern. This makes our job a little tougher but not much different.

McGovern is a media created youth candidate. He has no right to the title other than the fact that he has a large army of young volunteers. After all, what's so young about Mankiewicz, Salinger, Patton, etc. But, that is not what the media has played up. They have concentrated on his younger volunteers - the ones in the street going door-to-door. Today a young person supports McGovern because he feels other young people are.

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 Veterans 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.

By emphasizing young people's support of the President during the next six weeks we will accomplish several objectives:

- 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.
- 5) Build a positive youth image for the President that will be emphasized at the convention with over 3,000 young volunteers.

I suggest the following youth media plan over the next six weeks:

July 24 (week off) - press conference with Mr. MacGregor and Senator Brock to announce and explain the young voters convention program. This is the first time any political party has provided for 3,000 under 30 age people to attend its national convention.

July 25 - youth speakers school in California to be covered by CBS. Conducted by Ken Smith, youth speakers bureau director.

July 29 - Wisconsin Young Voters for the President youth leadership school. Press coverage should be maximized. CBS again covers for the feature it is doing.

July 30 - Maine Young Voters for the President Lobster day featuring Governor Sargeant and Ray Stevens. Press coverage should be maximized.

July 31 (week off) - mail press releases to local newspapers about young people attending the convention.

July 31 (week of) - YVP press conferences in key states kicking off youth voter registration drives.

August 5 - YVP national youth registration day. Emphasis on key states. Young people going door-to-door with voter registration kits. Maximize local and national press coverage.

August 7 - announcement by Brock of YVP schedule of events at the national convention.

August 7 (week of) feature articles in national news magazines about the 125,000 youth volunteers, youth voter registration drives and the special convention program.

August 14 (week of) - press conferences in the states with young people who will be going to the convention.

August 14 (week of) - national feature articles on 6-10 of the young people who have earned their own money, etc. to be able to go the convention.

August 14 (week of) - special youth testimony at the platform hearings.

August 19 - young people begin arriving in Miami. All will be photographed on arrival and photos sent to hometown newspapers.

August 20-23 - convention city press activities will include:

- special youth events every night designed for maximum press coverage.

- 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.

- press conferences to announce:

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

- 2) Student leaders for the President - we have 200 now and will have about 400.
- 3) Vocational education leaders for the President - we now have 3 of 7 who represent more than 1-1/2 million vocational education students.
- 4) Young labor leaders for the President - we have just started work on this.

-An effort for feature articles including:

- 1) Young celebrities for the President who will be present - including Mary Ann Mobley, Chad Everett, etc.
- 2) Professional tennis players who will put on an exhibition tournament. We hope to have Stan Smith.
- 3) Young blacks involved, etc.

Additional ideas to be developed during the six week period:

- Press conference by Richard Solomon and his associates. These are the people who developed the youth poster -- all long haired California types. They want to hold a press conference to display the poster and talk about why they support the President. They would generate and handle this themselves. It would probably make particularly good press in youth-oriented publications.
- Special publicity on youth celebrities. Many of these people have their own publicity agents and with a little urging and direction will be willing to publicize their involvement with the President.
- Some months ago Hays Corey did a Time feature on the Young Voters effort. It's time for a follow-up feature. We should allow Hays or some other reporter for a national news magazine to come into the youth campaign for a week and see it operate. The story should be timed for release just before the convention.
- Members of the YVP Congressional Advisory Committee should be encouraged to speak out on the YVP program and youth involvement using facts and figures to back up our claim for the youth vote.

AGREE

DISAGREE

COMMENT

*AM*

*Great plan - let's charge ahead & get every element implemented.*

We are developing now a program of special youth events in the key states. These will be rallies, concerts, dinners, etc., to be held in September and early October. The plan and budget for these events will be submitted by the end of next week.

cc: Angela Harris

*Garment*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/8

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Garment's suggestion on the slogan  
will be forwarded to Dailey  
for inclusion in the campaign  
advertising. *done  
7/22*

I will follow-up with Garment on  
Rinfret.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

July 5, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By ag NARS, Date 4-2-82

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

1. Here is a slogan for the campaign that I rather like:

"KEEP AMERICA GREAT - REELECT THE PRESIDENT"

Its originator is one of King Hussein's principal advisors, a very shrewd public relations expert named Salah Abuzeid. He coined it during a dinner discussion of the President's "preeminence" among world leaders, his second term "missions", etc. (The President may remember meeting Abuzeid who accompanied the King when the two met in the U.S. before 1968.) The virtue of the slogan is that it is clear, simple and unambiguous; and it expresses what the President and most people want for the country.

2. I have your note on Rinfret. Coincidentally, I ran into Pierre in Honolulu last week. (I saw him on the local TV news praising RN and lashing away at McGovern's economics so I called and invited him to the PAO Conference where he did more of the same in a spectacularly effective fashion). I talked to him on Tuesday and will have him down for a meeting with Colson and MacGregor next week. He's delighted with the assignment.



Leonard Garment

McWhorter

5-10 mins w/lt on Convention  
Rules - 7/28

Timmons + MacG + McW  
for help on rules

Pro people going off in  
million directions.

If we're going to do something  
let's have it get credit

Women's + Young - prob  
everyone would accept

Get out  
7/24  
memo  
on Timmons

Timmons + Cramer looking for  
narrow point of view.

- Played too narrowly

Raise where BT has action