

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
35	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Brochure	Title: Young Voters for the President: The President's Record - Plus Fold Out Poster For Your Wall. 16 pgs.
35	1	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder tp Clark MacGregor. RE: Intellectuals for the President. 4 pgs.
35	1	8/3/1973	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Len Garment to Bob Haldeman. This document discusses and includes an outline of a plan developed by Paul Weaver and a debate on portion of platform-dealing with the issue quotas by James Q. 17 pgs.
35	1	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder and Fred Malek. RE: Intellectuals for the President. 2 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>
35	1	6/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Len Garment. This document discusses intellectuals at Harvard and MIT expressing distaste over the McGovern's nomination as well as support of the president. 1 pg.
35	1	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses document discusses McGovern and other individuals related to the campaign for the reelection of the president. 1 pg.
35	1	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document mentions speaking to Garment regarding intellectuals for Nixon. 1 pg.
35	1	7/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to Fred Malek. This document discusses the academic community and the campaign. 1 pg.
35	1	6/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses people at 1701 and "Intellectuals for the President." 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>
35	1	6/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Henry A. Kissinger to Bob Haldeman. This document discusses a letter from Max Ascoli offering services to the President's campaign. 1 pg.
35	1	4/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Max Ascoli to Henry A. Kissinger. This letter discusses assisting the president with reelection. 2 pgs.
35	1	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to Fred Malek. RE: Absentee Ballots. 1 pg.
35	1	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to Fred Malek. RE: One Million Volunteers. 1 pg.
35	1	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Frederic V. Malek and Jeb S. Magruder. RE: Meeting of the Political Coordinators. 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>
35	1	7/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Fred Malek. This document discusses a story regarding the New York Conservative Party. It includes handwritten comments. 2 pgs.
35	1	8/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to Fred Malek. This document discusses Mexican Americans and campaign organization. It includes handwritten comments. 1 pg.
35	1	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Fred Malek. RE: Projects Pending. 1 pg.
35	1	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bruce Kehrli to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses the July 28, 1972 News Summary. It also discusses McGovern. 2 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 316

Folder: Campaign 24 Part I July 29 - Aug. 11, [1972] [Folder 1]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
1	Return Private/Political "Young Voters for the President,"
2	Retain Open
3	Retain Open
4	Retain Open
5	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to Mac Gregor, 8-3-72
6	Return Private/Political Memo, Garment to HRH, 8-3-72
7	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Magruder & Malek, 7-27-72
8	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Magruder & Malek, 7-27-72
9	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Garment, 6-20-72
10	Retain Open
11	Retain Open
12	Retain Open
13	Retain Open
14	Retain Open
15	Retain Open
16	Retain Open
17	Return Private/Political Notes, "Garment ... " 7-10-[72]
18	Return Private/Political Note, "Mon 7/10 speak..." 7-10-[72]
19	Return Private/Political Memo, Colson to Malek, 7-5-72
20	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 6-28-72
21	Return Private/Political Memo, Kissinger to HRH, 6-26-72
22	Retain Open
23	Retain Open
24	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to Malek, 8-4-72

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 316

25	Return	Private/Political Memo, Magruder to Malek, 8-7-72
26	Return	Private/Political Memo, Magruder & Malek to MacGregor, 7-21-72
27	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Malek, 7-29-72
28	Retain	Close National Security Notes, "5 Irish..." 8-10-[72]
29	Retain	Close Invasion of Privacy Notes, "FM, TX..." 8-10-[72]
30	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Malek, 8-1-72
31	Retain	Open
32	Return	Private/Political Memo, Higby to Malek, 8-2-72



Young Voters FOR THE PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT'S RECORD-PLUS A GIANT FOLD-OUT POSTER FOR YOUR WALL



"Over 25,000,000 young Americans, between the ages of 18 and 21, become eligible to vote in a national election for the first time. Thousands of them are demonstrating their interest by getting involved in voter registration drives, door to door canvassing and get out the vote efforts in support of President Nixon."





Clos the

"There can be no generation gap. The Nation is not divided into young and old. We are responsible for each other. When we respond, history will judge us."

The majority of America's young people want nothing more than to be heard by those in Government and to participate in the future of their country. President Nixon stands 100% behind these young people—and what he's done proves it.



VOTING

Young people in America said that they wanted to vote—and the President said they were entitled to the right to vote. But action was needed, so the President actively supported the necessary legislation giving 18-year-olds the right to vote—and then signed it into law.

THE DRAFT

The whole draft system was a mess—and very unpopular. Something had to be done. It was. A new lottery system cut down the time young people spent wondering where they stood, and it even gave more in-service work opportunities to conscientious objectors. Also, the President made real progress towards his goal of an all-volunteer army by 1973: draft calls in 1971 were 40% lower than 1970, and, by the end of this year, they're expected to be down to a big fat zero.



VIETNAM

Faced with a war he didn't start, the President brought 493,000 troops home, eliminated U.S. ground combat participation, casualties by 95%, and spending by two thirds. Things are still tough in Vietnam, and the war isn't over yet. But President Nixon is doing what he has to do to end the war, to bring home our POW's and to give South Vietnam a chance to exist as a nation.

PARLEYS FOR PEACE

China is the largest nation in the world. Yet for 23 years no American leader had even spoken to the Chinese. President Nixon broke that silence. He went to China, the first American President ever to do so. That trip, and also his visit to Russia, had one purpose: peace, based on the belief that as long as you talk over your differences you're not likely to fight over them.

OUR ENVIRONMENT

A jetport was going to be built smack in the middle of the Everglades. The President blocked it. And a public health emergency was averted when air-polluting industries in Birmingham, Alabama were ordered shut down. An agreement was signed with Canada to reclaim and restore the Great Lakes. And President Nixon created the Environmental Protection Agency—the first Federal agency designed to protect our quality of life. In fighting air pollution, the President doubled the expenditures for control



**YOU
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*p in America. The destiny of this
and ours. It is one destiny. We
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s together."*

Richard Nixon

programs, set national standards for the major air pollutants and issued regulations to cut motor vehicle pollution by 90%.

The point is, while lots of legislators and politicians have been loudly talking environment, President Nixon has been quietly acting.

MONEY MATTERS

Even though he knew many wouldn't like it, the President has acted to tackle inflation in a no-nonsense manner—first, with a 90-day wage-price freeze, and then by establishing a wage and price control program for the long haul. Since the President took these actions, the rate of inflation has dipped to a pretty respectable 2.8%. Not perfect, but better than it had been—and a sure sign that the fight against inflation is beginning to be won.

Reordering our priorities? How about this fact: *For the first time in 20 years, the Federal Government is spending more money on human resources than on national defense.*

YOUTH IN GOVERNMENT

One-third of the White House staff is under 30. Lots of young people have



under 30. Lots of young people have been appointed to presidential advisory councils...and the President's environmental package was drafted by a 23-year-old. Get young people into things—that's the President's view. And that's exactly what he's been doing.

EQUALITY AND PEOPLE

America's minorities—and America's women—have not been forgotten by this President. No President has ever named more Black and Spanish-speaking people to Federal jobs than President Nixon. School integration? Here's that quiet action again: In 1969, 40% of America's Black students went to all-Black schools, but today only 12% do! And all kinds of job training, health and welfare programs are now working for *all* minorities.

As for the Equal Rights Amendment aimed at banning discrimination against women, the President gave it his gung-ho backing—and is making sure it's enforced to the hilt.

MOCK ELECTIONS

Did you know that President Nixon has won a majority (109 as of now) of the mock elections already held in high schools and colleges? Well, the fact that he has is proof that the things he's done are getting through to lots of young people. They're coming to realize that their President has been working for many of the things they believe in...and that this could only be the work of a man who sincerely wants to take hold of the gap separating the generations—and close it.



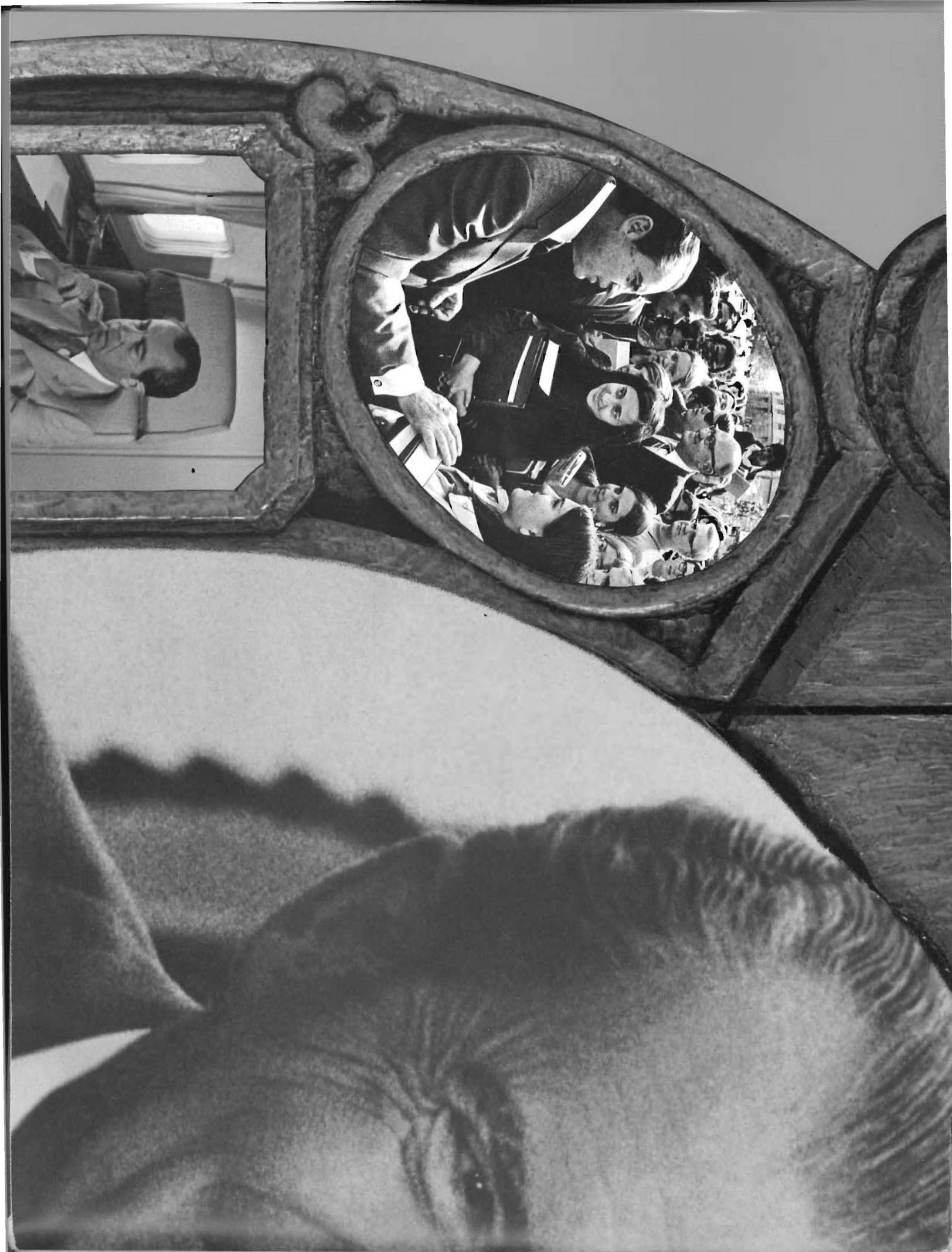
ing
ers
IDENT

Additional copies of this poster are available for \$1.00 each at your local Young Voters For The President Headquarters or by writing:

*Young Voters for the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006*















— PAID FOR BY FINANCE COM

... COATED WAS MADE FROM RECLAIMED PAPER



SEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT —
PENNSYLVANIA AVE., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

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N-1

**The Big Question:
WILL YOU BECOME INVOLVED?**

If you're 30 years of age or under, you're eligible to join the Young Voters for the President. And if you've also been yearning to get involved in a Presidential campaign, you're more than eligible!

What is our view of things as the campaign approaches? Simply this: In modern American politics, there's been too much emphasis on rhetoric and image, not enough on real accomplishment...and the time has now come to judge people in politics on the solid things they produce instead of the stirring things they say.

President Nixon has a record that can be seen and felt. If you've begun to realize this come and get involved in helping to re-elect this man by spreading the word about all the good things he's done, by participating in registration drives, rallies, door to door canvassing and many other campaign activities.

Then you *will* have become involved—as a Young Voter for the President!

To join and receive future issues of this publication, send your name, address and phone number to:

*Young Voters For The President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006*



**Young
Voters
FOR THE PRESIDENT**

*Young Voters for the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006*

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID

Young Voters
for the President

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Intellectuals for the President

There is an opportunity this year for us to make inroads into the normally liberal intellectual community. Consequently, we now have two groups that are working in this general area under Chuck Shearer's citizens operation and I would like to propose a third organization which could have even more impact on this community.

As you know, we have an educators group and an intellectuals group under Shearer's direction that is following the basic pyramid format in forming state and local organizations. Both of these groups are primarily oriented to second level types, i.e., teachers and professors without broad national reputations. I think both of these activities can be very helpful at the grass roots level and should be encouraged.

Len Garment and Paul Weaver, who is a Harvard professor, met with Fred Malek and me yesterday to discuss the formation of a third group which would be a small group (25-50) of imminent academicians and intellectuals who have been prominent in their relationship with the Democrat Party of the past. Their main objective would be to publicize their change in viewpoint towards the President and their support of his candidacy and their concern of a McGovern presidency. Their support of the President would be by implication and their main thrust would be to articulate opposition to McGovern within the academic and intellectual community as well as the public at large.

Paul Weaver would head up the operation as a volunteer. The list of individuals he plans to bring into this group are Nathan Glaser, Max Ascoli, Irving Krystol, and possibly Pat Moynihan among others.

The primary activity would be to run one full-page ad in the NEW YORK TIMES and the WASHINGTON POST carrying the group's declaration; mailing the ad, under a cover letter, to key leaders in the intellectual community throughout the country; and writing articles and letters to and for key publications throughout the country during the campaign supporting the President.

At Tab A is Weaver's proposal. Fred Malek and I recommend that you approve this concept and that we budget \$25,000 for this committee's activity.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

1. The Plan: to assemble a small group (25-50) of eminent academics and intellectuals, most of them Democrats and old-line liberals, who make a public "Declaration of Concern" attacking McGovern positions (especially isolationism, quota democracy, and lack of restraint and professionalism), stating positively their own views, and declaring their intention to vote for president on the basis of which candidate is closest to their position. The general idea is to establish a "middle position" -- focused on issues rather than candidates, formally independent of the Committee to Reelect the President, and only by implication supporting Nixon -- which is persuasive by virtue of the eminence of the people, their traditional independence of the GOP (in the case of some, their nonalignment with either party) and their concern with issues rather than men.

2. The Objectives: (1) to articulate and encourage opposition to McGovern in the academic and intellectual community and in the public at large, (2) to deny McGovern what has been an important symbol of his candidacy so far -- the myth of monolithic academic and intellectual support, (3) to encourage, at least indirectly, a movement of academically-oriented opinion toward Nixon, and (4) to stimulate independent local efforts and declarations of the same sort.

There are three operations planned for the period of August 1-September 15. (Plans for the campaign period will be developed later.)

- (1) By August 20, publication in the New York Times and Washington Post of a full-page advertisement carrying the group's declaration.
- (2) Sending a small number of observers (two to five) to the Miami convention, for possible media attention.
- (3) Distribution by direct mail of copies of the declaration, together with other materials for use in similar independent local efforts, to people who respond to the declaration and to selected mailing lists.

For the period August 1-September 15, this operation has three sorts of needs. Money: From private individual donors, preferably Democrats, no more than \$25,000 (\$20,000 for the ads, the balance for Miami observers, direct mail and office expenses). Paul Weaver would run the operation on a volunteer basis. Technical assistance: From August 7 to August 15, assistance in preparing, laying out, and placing the advertising copy; from August 15 to August 25, assistance in obtaining mailing lists and preparing, printing, and sending the direct mail effort; and during the Miami convention, escort or liaison services for the observers (who will know nobody at the Convention and have nothing in particular to do -- except "be available"). Cooperation and Coordination: Agreement by similar or related campaign operations not to approach, enlist, or use the people assembled in this group without prior consultation.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 3, 1972

*Hm
8/9
Len Garment
Have forwarded
plans Bob -*

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: LEN GARMENT

*Returned herewith w
balance of material -
L.*

Attached are two documents. The first is an outline of a plan, developed by Paul Weaver of Harvard, concurred in by Pat Buchanan and myself, and approved by Fred Malek. The second involves a debate on a portion of the platform-dealing with the issue of quotas-drafted by James Q. Wilson of Harvard. If the decision goes against the Wilson draft, the effort to enlist academicians (who feel most strongly about this issue) may never get off the ground.

4

attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR ED HARPER

Attachment A is the material revised by Ray Price's office and cleared with Berman et al.

Attachment B is the original draft from James Q. Wilson. The controversial material shown in brackets was eliminated in Attachment A.

Attachment C is the new, mutilated version. It cuts the heart out of the material submitted by Wilson, Lipset, Berman, et al. It eliminates the quota stand which is a fundamental point of contrast with the McGovern ideology. Doing so is bad policy and bad politics and likely to abort the whole effort to recruit independent academicians to support RN or oppose McGovern.

Attachment A is a clear statement of the President's philosophy, and not inconsistent with affirmative efforts on behalf of minorities and women. Attachment C is meaningless.

I strongly disagree with this piece of editing and hope it is reconsidered.



Leonard Garment

attachment

income tax schemes -- about workable ways to tap new sources of revenue for our schools.

We pledge a priority effort to develop such sources and make them available for property tax relief at the State and local level.

We here reaffirm our adherence to the two fundamental principles which the President has said must govern this effort:

- First, that the expanding Federal role in school finance must in no way undermine local school boards' control over local schools; and
- Second, that whatever revenue sources are developed as a substitute for property taxes -- whether the value-added or any other new tax -- must be non-regressive. "Tax reform," as the President has said, "should not be used as a cover for a tax increase."

The intellectual resources of this Nation are remarkable for their strength and public availability. This is our good fortune, for a free society can hardly flourish without those men and women whose professional lives have been dedicated to creative reasoning. American intellectuals have at least two important historical roles of which we are deeply conscious. One is to inform the public itself, the other to assist government by means of both criticism and consultation. At this significant moment in the history of our Nation, and indeed of the world, we ought to affirm our confidence in these functions and especially in the free play of ideas and discourse which they imply.

The contribution of intellectuals to American life has been vital and necessary; it has been most admirable when rigorously objective and independent of political conflict. Clearly it is in the public interest to foster disinterested debate, education of the highest quality and intellectual standards requiring no apologies. In brief, we affirm our faith in the importance of the life of the mind. We recognize those whose profession it has been to bring rationality to the discussion of public issues, and we take the responsibility of encouraging the growth of an informed and intelligent citizenry.

Much of our intellectual life takes place in universities, which are the largest in enrollment, the most distinguished in scholarship and the freest in opinion of any in the world. They now face problems of economic survival, which our Government must help them meet, and problems of intellectual integrity, which only they can meet.

We cherish our universities as centers of learning, as conservers of our culture, and as sources of criticism of our society and its institutions. Our party and Administration will continue to strive to insure the economic well-being of these colleges and universities. The financial aid that we have given and shall continue to give in the form of funds for scholarships, research, building programs, and new teaching methods must never be used as a device for imposing

political controls on our schools.

Universities are nothing if they are not centers of excellence where people who cherish the life of the mind can confront, by the application of reason and imagination, the problems eternally confronting us. To remain such centers, universities must recruit their faculty on the basis of ability to teach their students and admit students on the basis of their ability to learn. We know that excellence can be narrowly defined--that abilities can be overlooked and that social conformity can be mistaken for educational preparation, and we pledge ourselves to continue to assist colleges and universities in their effort to insure that no group in our society--racial, economic, sexual or regional--will be denied access to the opportunities that higher education can afford.

Affirmative actions to remedy ancient neglect of or indifference toward disadvantaged groups will continue, with this government's aid, in universities as well as in society at large, but we distinguish between affirmative action and quotas. We believe that the imposition of arbitrary quotas in the hiring of faculty or the enrollment of students has no place in our universities because such quotas would destroy the essence of the university.

Finally, this platform recognizes that the public should have access to the most rational and most effective kinds of education. There are two forms of this in which we believe: one develops our intelligence and the other allows us to use it. A nation soundly provided, as we are, with a basis of humanistic learning need not fear debate over public issues. And a nation rightly provided with career opportunities will always have the kind of men and women it needs for useful social life. It is our aim to provide such opportunities for all who can make use of them. It is our hope that the schools and universities will open vocational training to both young and old. We emphasize the importance of adult education, of trades and technologies, and of all those honorable vocations which provide a society with its basic necessities. This kind of training must complement our traditional forms of education--it will certainly relieve the pressures on our universities and help us adapt to the rapid pace of technological change. Perhaps most important of all, it should restore a sense of public importance to those jobs and trades which we cannot do without.

It is important that our education system not simply instruct in a vacuum, unmindful that the students ultimately will leave the system to engage in a career. Our institutions of learning, from first grade to graduate school, can perform a vital function by

Drafted for platform by James Q. Wilson

B
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We cherish our universities as centers of learning, as conservers of our culture, and as sources of criticism of our society and its institutions. Our party and Administration will continue to strive to insure the economic well-being of these colleges and universities. The financial aid that we have given and shall continue to give in the form of funds for scholarships, research, building programs, and new teaching methods must never be used as a device for imposing political controls on our schools. [This is true whether the object of that control is popular or unpopular, whether it is designed to end intellectual dissent or help disadvantaged minorities, or whether it is motivated by the instincts of vengeance or benevolence.] *deleted*

Universities are nothing if not centers of excellence where people who cherish the life of the mind can confront, by the application of reason and imagination, the problems eternally confronting us. To remain such centers, universities must recruit their faculty on the basis of ability to teach their students and admit students on the basis of their ability to learn. We know that excellence can be narrowly defined--that abilities can be overlooked and that social conformity can be mistaken for educational preparation. We pledge ourselves to continue to assist

colleges and universities in their effort to insure that no group in our society--racial, economic, sexual or regional--will be denied access to the opportunities that higher education can afford.

At the same time, we believe that quotas in the hiring of faculty or the enrollment of students have no place in our universities because any quota, benign or malign, destroys the essence of the university, which is to judge men and women only by what they know. Affirmative actions to remedy ancient neglect of or indifference toward disadvantaged groups will continue, with this government's aid, in universities as well as in society at large but we must guard against those excesses of bureaucratic zeal and those misunderstandings of our purpose that can lead, although unintentionally, to changing a university from a gathering of minds to a lump of statistics.

Finally, this platform recognizes that the public should have access to the most rational and most effective kinds of education. There are two forms of this in which we believe: one develops our intelligence and the other allows us to use it. A nation soundly provided, as we are, with a basis of humanistic learning need not fear debate over public issues. And a nation rightly provided with vocational opportunities will always have the kind of men and women it needs for useful social life. It is our aim to provide such opportunities for all who can make use of them. It is our hope that the schools and universities will open vocational training to

revised

both young and old. We emphasize the importance of adult education, of trades and technologies, and of all those honorable vocations which provide a society with its basic necessities. This kind of training must complement our traditional forms of education--it will certainly relieve the pressures on our universities and help us adapt to the rapid pace of technological change. Perhaps most important of all, it should restore a sense of public importance to those jobs and trades which we cannot do without.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Education Section
of Platform
Draft.

From: Ed Harper

C

We have significantly advanced efforts to combat mental retardation, and established a national goal to cut its incidence in half by the year 2000. We have also improved consumer protection, occupational safety and health, health education, and accident prevention programs. And in Moscow this year, President Nixon reached an agreement with the Soviets on health research which we hope will yield substantial benefits in many fields in the years ahead.

Since 1969, we have increased the Federal support for family planning activities threefold. We believe deeply in the right of parents to determine the size of their own families, free from constraints by public authorities.

We support expanded family planning programs so that more parents will be able to plan the number and spacing of their children should they wish to do so. In no circumstances will we allow any of these activities to become compulsory and infringe upon the religious convictions or personal freedom of any individual.

EDUCATION

We take pride in our vigorous leadership these last four years in lifting both quality and equality in American education -- from pre-school to graduate school -- to a higher standard than ever before.

The two most pressing issues in education for the 1970's are how to assure good schooling for all children, and how soundly to finance the steadily rising costs of education on an equitable basis. We have effectively dealt with both.

41

We deeply believe compulsory busing of schoolchildren for the purpose of establishing an arbitrary racial balance is unnecessary, counter-productive, and wrong.

Months ago President Nixon placed before the Congress a comprehensive proposal to deal with the busing problem. The first part of this proposal is the Student Transportation Moratorium Act of 1972 -- legislation to halt at once all further court-ordered busing and give the Congress time to devise permanent new arrangements for assuring desegregated, quality education.

The details of such arrangements are spelled out in a companion bill, the Equal Educational Opportunities Act. This measure would:

- provide \$2.5 billion in Federal aid funds to help promote quality education while preserving neighborhood schools;
- accord equal educational opportunities to all children;
- include an educational bill of rights for Spanish-speaking people, American Indians, and others who face special language problems in school;
- offer, for the first time, a real chance for good schooling for those hundreds of thousands of children who live in urban centers in concentrations too numerous for even the most massive busing program to take them to better schools in the suburbs; and
- give the people's elected representatives in Congress a meaningful role in enforcing the 14th amendment, as that amendment itself provides, rather than leaving the task to judges appointed for life.

We remain committed to guaranteeing equality of educational opportunity and to completing the process of ending de jure school segregation -- a process that has advanced farther and faster since 1969 than in any previous period.

At the same time, we remain irrevocably opposed to busing for racial balance. Such busing fails its stated objective -- improved learning opportunities -- while it achieves results no-one wants -- division within communities and hostility between classes and races.

We favor better education for all children, not more transportation for some children. We favor the neighborhood school concept. We favor the decisive actions the President has proposed to support these ends.

In the field of school finance, we favor a coordinated effort among all levels of government to break the pattern of excessive reliance on local property taxes to pay educational costs.

We pledge to develop workable new sources of revenue for our schools and make them available for property tax relief at the State and local level. We reaffirm adherence to these principles which must govern this effort:

- First, that the expanding Federal role in school finance must in no way undermine local school boards' control over local schools; and
- Second, that whatever revenue sources are developed as a substitute for property taxes must be non-regressive.

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public, the other to assist government by criticism and consultation.

We affirm our confidence in these functions and especially in the free play of ideas and discourse which they imply.

We cherish the nation's universities as centers of learning, as conservers of our culture, and as sources of criticism of our society and its institutions. We will continue to strive to assure their economic well-being. The financial aid we have given and will continue to give in the form of funds for scholarships, research, building programs, and new teaching methods must never be used as a device for imposing political controls on our schools. We further pledge to continue to assist colleges and universities in their effort to insure that no group in our society -- racial, economic, sexual or regional -- will be denied access to the opportunities that higher education can afford.

Finally, we recognize that the public should have access to the most rational and most effective kinds of education. We hope the schools and universities will open vocational training to both young and old. We emphasize the importance of adult education, of trades and technologies, and of all those honorable vocations which provide a society with its basic necessities. Such training must complement our more traditional forms of education; it will relieve the pressures on our universities and help us adapt to the rapid pace of technological change. Perhaps most important, it will help to restore a public sense of importance to these essential jobs and trades.

Moreover, we believe our educational system should not instruct in a vacuum, unmindful that the students ultimately will engage in a career.

I

Our institutions of learning, from first grade to graduate school, can perform a vital function by coupling an awareness of the world of work to the delivery of fundamental education. We believe this kind of "career education," blended into our school curricula, can help to prevent the aimlessness and frustration now experienced by large numbers of young people who leave the education system only to find that they don't know which way to go next.

By every measure, our record in the field of education is exceptionally strong: The U. S. Office of Education is operating this year under its highest budget ever -- some \$5.1 billion. Federal aid to elementary and secondary education has increased 60 percent over the past four years. Federal aid for college students has more than tripled.

We are proud of these accomplishments. We pledge to carry them forward in a manner consistent with our conviction that the Federal Government should assist but never control the educational process. But we also believe that the output of results, not the input of dollars, is the best yardstick of effectiveness in education. When this Administration took office in 1969, it found American schools deficient at many points. Our reform initiatives have included:

- An Office of Child Development to coordinate all Federal programs targeted on the first 5 years of life and to make the Head Start program work better;
- A Right to Read Program, aimed at massive gains in reading ability among Americans of all ages;
- A Career Education curriculum which will help prepare students for the world of work;

- A National Institute of Education to be a center for research on the learning process; and
- A proposed National Foundation for Higher Education.

We have also proposed grant and loan programs to support a national commitment that no qualified student should be barred from college by lack of money. The Education Amendments of 1972 embodied substantial portions of that proposal and mark the nation's most far-reaching commitment to make higher education available to all.

Our non-public schools, both church-oriented and non-sectarian, have been our special concern. The President has emphasized the indispensable role these schools play in our educational system -- from the standpoints of the large numbers of pupils they serve, the competition and diversity they help to maintain in American education, and the values they help to teach -- and he has stated his determination to help halt the accelerating trend of non-public school closures.

We believe that means which are consistent with the Constitution can be devised for channeling public financial aid to support the education of all children in schools of their parents' choice, non-public as well as public. One way to provide such aid appears to be through the granting of income tax credits.

For the future, we also pledge Special Revenue Sharing for Education, continued work to develop and implement the Career Education concept, and continued efforts to establish a student financial aid system to bring higher education within the reach of any qualified person.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 27, 1972

H
FC
8/1
8/7

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER
FRED MALEK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Intellectuals for the President

As I have mentioned to both of you several times, this program is moving with or without your guidance. Not only are there isolated incidents which keep popping up (most recent example - Max Ascoli), but also Len Garment is bringing a fellow by the name of Warren Weaver here to Washington on Tuesday. He will begin working full time running this operation. Just thought you would be interested in knowing as it seems that the void at 1701 will be filled in any event.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 27, 1972

H
FU
8/7

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER
FRED MALEX

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Intellectuals for the President

As I have mentioned to both of you several times, this program is moving with or without your guidance. Not only are there isolated incidents which keep popping up (most recent example - Max Ascoli), but also Len Garment is bringing a fellow by the name of Warren Weaver here to Washington on Tuesday. He will begin working full time running this operation. Just thought you would be interested in knowing as it seems that the void at 1701 will be filled in any event.

GS/jb

7/31 - on trail - Moyn involved
Garment to run via
Warren Weaver

Mag / Malek / Garment

H
FU
~~6/28~~

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LEN GARMENT

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

~~7/6~~
~~7/10~~
~~7/23~~
7/17
~~7/24~~
7/31

Pat Moynihan called Bob on June 16 to say that an amazing number of people around Harvard and MIT are extremely upset at the prospect of McGovern's nomination. Those upset include many liberal Democrats. One particular individual that Moynihan thought you should contact on behalf of the President is Ithiel de Sola Pool of MIT.

After the Democratic Convention many of these Democratic intellectuals will support the President, according to Moynihan.

John Mitchell has seen a few of the intellectuals, and Jeff Hart recently wrote a story indicating that you and Mitchell were conferring with a large number of individuals who are "not normally frequenters of the White House".

GS/jb

7/2 - ~~Garment~~ working on the
Intell's w/ Malek
designee
- review on 7/10

7/13 - to meet w/ Malek +
Mag then Garment.
~~Malek~~ 7/20 - Malek - will meet
w/ Garment on 7/21
to resolve Intell's for P.
~~Malek~~ 7/25 - will see him in
7/25 - JSM w/ FU

7/10

Garment

Intel for P

- Number of things going
- Neil Carnuthers, well intentioned self starter

Buchanan + Ron Berman wrong man
Need hi-pwr Dems + will oppose
Mc G + not n

Seek man named Weaver,
to put on salary + line
up people

Talked w/ Pat Moynihan ^{Dem's} will
be involved in various
levels

~~Ken~~ - Needs clear cut authoriz that
calling shots.

Will cover Max Ascoli
w/ Maguider

Will cover Kristol + Carnuthers
w/ Malek

Mon 7/10
speak to
Garment
re
Intellectuals
for
Lyon

July 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK

FROM: CHARLES COLSON

Who is organizing the academic community for the campaign? Keep in mind that Irving Kristol is undoubtedly available to us and Ethia Desola Poole at MIT wants to work with us, and in fact wants to take the responsibility for organizing a committee. I hope we have someone on this -- the sooner the better.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 28 1972

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN.
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

*For whom
Make sure this
is not dropped &
let it know the
results -*

Kissinger is asking you to help his friend Max Ascoli get in touch with the right people at 1701. I asked Magruder who Kissinger's office called at 1701 and Magruder couldn't find out.

Magruder was apologetic and will personally call Max Ascoli. He will be asked to write articles and columns for a start. When the "Intellectuals for the President" is formed (planned for after the Democratic Convention) Ascoli will be asked to join that group.

How many other

fm

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER *HK*

Attached is a letter to me from my good friend Max Ascoli offering his services to the President's campaign. Ascoli was editor and publisher of The Reporter magazine, an eminent liberal weekly that perished about five years ago, deserted by its academic constituency because it didn't follow the anti-war fashion. He is now retired, but a man of strong conviction and great talent. He would be valuable as a writer or as a contact with other potential friends in the intellectual community.

My office went to the campaign people directly and was given no leads other than elderly volunteers' work.

Could you pass this on to someone in the campaign who could make more effective use of Ascoli's ability?

Attachment

MAX ASCOLI
660 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

(212) TE 2-8800

April 27, 1972

Dear Henry:

Last night, I sent to Mr. Nixon the following wire:
"You have made a great speech Mr. President and even your domestic pro-Vietnam opponents should be grateful to you stop As one who voted for you last time I would be happy to do what I can for your re-election. Devotedly."

When Marion saw me scribbling while dialing over and over again Western Union, she asked, "Are you going to wire Henry, too?" If I wired you every time I think of you with pride and ever-renewed friendship, even I would get frustrated for lack of adequate words.

In the haste of writing my wire to the President while dialing, I made a silly mistake that I hope nobody who reads the text--assuming anyone does--will notice. Instead of pro-Vietnam, I should have written pro-Hanoi. A little bit more serious is the mention of doing what I can for the President's re-election. You know me, Henry: I would do it with all my heart. A few thousand dollars in campaign contributions of course I will give, but a check is no substitute for action. Writing is still my trade. I know in my heart that there must be a rather large number of people for whom the word liberalism had a rather positive meaning, who used not to like Mr. Nixon but who now see the country in the most tragic danger and could not possibly conceive of any other President for the next term than the one we are lucky to have.

Next time you happen to be in New York, come and see us, with Nancy, of course. We need to talk.

With all my heart,

Affectionately,



The Hon. Henry A. Kissinger
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500



The Hon. Henry A. Kissinger
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Personal

2

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 4, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Absentee Ballots

As you know, the telephone canvass operation for voter identification in the large states will focus predominantly on Democrats and Independents. (Republicans are assumed to be for the President, and will be called only for volunteer recruitment and to get out the vote.) When we identify a favorable Democrat or Independent voter, we have designed the telephone conversation to ask whether an absentee ballot is needed.

There is some inherent resistance among local Republicans to sending absentee ballots to Democrats. They feel that it will result in votes for opposing candidates at the state and local level. Our viewpoint, however, is that a strong showing by the President will have a positive effect on state and local Republican races. Since Republicans are in a minority, such a strong showing would have to include sizable support from Democrats and Independents.

The purpose of this memorandum is to point out to you that this attitude problem among Republican party workers exists beneath the surface in several states. We need the support of your Regional Directors to assure that our program is carried out and that the absentee ballots are provided to all Nixon voters who need them. If there is any state where other political considerations dictate the opposite approach, I would like to discuss it with you before the policy is cast in concrete.

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER 
SUBJECT: One Million Volunteers

As you know, one of the most frequently stated near-term objectives of our campaign has been the recruitment of one million volunteers by Labor Day. I am becoming very concerned that we might be publicizing more than we can deliver on this project and may suffer some credibility consequences as a result.

One million volunteers nationally, if apportioned to the states in relation to their electoral votes, translates to over 75,000 volunteers in New York, nearly 85,000 in California and almost 50,000 in Texas. Even with our substantial head start of about 35,000 volunteers from the California primary, it will be difficult to recruit the other 50,000 by Labor Day.

I would like to meet with you at your earliest convenience to discuss where we stand in the recruitment process and whether more resources should be allocated toward the project, or the objective should be modified.

CONFIDENTIAL

- Snaefson

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FREDERIC V. MALEK

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Political Coordinators

As you may know, every few weeks there are meetings of the Political Coordinators which are held by Harry Dent in the East Wing. This group represents the political contacts that Harry's office works with in the Government on a day-to-day basis and it has been our practice to try and assist in any way possible to be sure that Harry has the kind of support that he needs from us here at 1701.

Next Thursday morning there will be such a meeting and Harry Dent would like you to address the group. There will be a 45-minute meeting in which it will be possible for us to present a status report to the Political Coordinators on the campaign.

If you think it is appropriate, we could have other staff members, such as Pete Dailey, invited to attend the meeting to brief the group on the status of our advertising for the campaign.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 29, 1972

H
FC
8/3

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

You probably noticed this morning's story regarding the New York Conservative Party indicating that there is some question as to whether they will endorse the President in New York. Apparently, they want several conservative planks in the Platform. Who is your direct contact with the New York Conservative Party? Does he see any problem?

GS/jb

FM → JM
last week
& we're
OK

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

*W/S
What is
the answer
to this?*

You probably noticed this morning's story regarding the New York Conservative Party indicating that there is some question as to whether they will endorse the President in New York. Apparently, they want several conservative planks in the Platform. Who is your direct contact with the New York Conservative Party? Does he see any problem?

GS/jb

August 2, 1972

H FU
8/7

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK

FROM: L. HIGBY

Bob would like to know what visible roles we have Mexican Americans playing in the campaign organization. This is of course necessary and we must make sure we include it.

LH:kb

FU
per FM

(These two memos brought about
by action memo)

Gordon ^{8/2}

H
FU
8/4
↓
8/5

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Projects Pending

A review of my notes from our telephone conversation on Saturday, July 29, indicates that you were going to submit four follow-up memoranda:

1) Description of your plans to better coordinate the hostess telephone program with the Brataas paid phone bank system. It was my understanding that both would be under Dick Schreiber; ~~Shriver~~

2) A memorandum describing the materials distribution system -- whether there were any problems and John Freeman's analysis of what may or may not be a November Group screw-up;

3) An updated report on where we stand with Women in the campaign. In particular, you were going to report on your meeting with Ann Armstrong on Bob's behalf;

4) The Older Folks -- You mentioned you were going to submit an updated report for Bob's review in light of the ongoing interest in this subject.

Memos here - forgot we'll get it will be in Friday early next week

Friday 8/1

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 28, 1972

HF 8/4
✓

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI BAK

Please note the attached comment from the July 28 News Summary.
Gordon Strachan will follow up here unless you have any objections.

Helen Bentley said bra-burning feminists are harming the women's rights movement and alienating those who support it.

Dean Burch is asking the FCC to reconsider its prime-time-access rule which eliminated 1/2 hr. of evening network TV, Rep. Goldwater said. ... Sen Nelson announced a "citizens committee for justice" supporting strikes by mostly Mex-Amer workers against Farah Mfg. Co., one of the largest manufacturers of slacks.

POLITICS

GOP-RELATED

UPI leads a report: "McG has turned his back on Amers of Spanish descent, 5 Democrats of that minority declared, announcing their support of RN" and the formation of "Spanish-speaking Democrats for Nixon." Alfred Hernandez of Houston, who said he campaigned tooth and nail against RN in 1968, said, "in spite of our continuous loyalty, the Dem Party has kept us outside the decision-making process. We are not leaving the Party. We are all Dems. and intend to remain Dems. We cannot support its nominee for Pres." ... AP's report led: "6 Spanish-speaking persons who said they were lifelong Democrats endorsed RN, and a 7th who was supposed to do so said he had decided to hold out a while longer." AP further notes the conference was nearly an hour late and it ended ahead of schedule after the "surprise holdout announcement" was made.

McG is behind in 62% of the states, according to Congressional Quarterly survey. Dem chances are rated poor in 31 states, while they are better in 19. Only in DC, Mass., Hawaii, Rhode Island, Oregon, S. Dak., and Mo. is McG given an excellent chance. Gov. O'Callaghan of Nev. said RN "would be really tough to beat under any circumstances," and that Dem platform "just won't sell" in Nev. Rep. Brademas said only a landslide could win Indiana for Dems, while a W. Va. Dem said McG "is going to hurt everybody" in local races. Rep. Gibbons predicted RN would win Fla., while Briscoe of Texas felt McG would have little chance there. Dem Howard Samuels said: "I think we've got a particularly bad time in NY" and he listed reasons: 1) Rocky's strong organization with up to \$10M budget; 2) new and untried Dem organization; 3) Jewish population unsatisfied with McG. Docking of Kansas said McG will have a tough time in farm areas. But Cranston felt McG could win Calif., and Iowa Dem Chrnm. said McG "has a good chance to ride the farm issue to victory."

*1/17 - be sure
John is prominent in
the 49 states
the day
greg*