

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	2	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Fred Malek. RE: "Tribune" Article. 1 pg.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: General Stratgey Memorandum. This document discusses strategy against McGovern, committees, scare tactics, and the press. 3 pgs.
35	2	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William D. Novelli to Gordon Strachan. RE: Advertisement for Farm Voters. 1 pg.
35	2	5/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Fred Malek. "Is Paul Jones programming this part of the RNC effort?" 1 pg.

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35	2	5/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	From the Republican National Committee. This document discusses Part IV of the Supplementary Report on the Nixon Administration. 1 pg.
35	2	6/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Fred Malek. "Would you and Paul Jones review the attached in light of your campaign?" 1 pg.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	This document discusses the black vote and the reelection of the President. 5 pgs.
35	2	3/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Sally Anne Payton to Ken Cole. This document discusses the black vote, the National Black Political Convention, and campaign potential. 1 pg.
35	2	4/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From John D. Ehrlichman to Bob Haldeman. This document discusses Sally Anne Payton's memo on the black vote. 1 pg.

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35	2	3/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Sally Anne Payton tp Ken Cole. RE: The Black Vote. 4 pgs.
35	2	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Democrats for Nixon. 1 pg.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Annoucing Democrats for Nixon: We're Not Leaving the Party But We Cannot Support Senator McGovern. 2 pgs.
35	2	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jerry Jones. RE: Clearance Request for Volunteer Advertising Test. 1 pg.
35	2	8/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. From Dwight Chapan to Gordon Strachan. "Let's handle via the PC..." 1 pg.

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35	2	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Stephen Bull to Dwight L. Chapin. RE: Ken Khachigian's Memorandum of July 24. 1 pg.
35	2	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Kenneth Khachigan to Mr. Haldeman. This document discusses Johnson, the President, and campaigning. 1 pg.
35	2	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dwight L. Chapin to Stephen B. Bull. This document discusses a synopsis of opinions from Ken Khachigan. 1 pg.
35	2	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William D. Novelli (cc: Peter H. Daily and Phil Joanou). RE: "Announcing: Democrats for Nixon" Advertisement. 1 pg.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	Title: Announcing: Democrats for Nixon - We're Not Leaving the Party. But We Cannot Support Senator McGovern. 3 pg.

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35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses a recruitment ad and voting. 1 pg.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Notes. These documents are administrative correspondence. 1 pg.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Announcing Democrats for Nixon: We're Not Leaving the Party - But We Cannot Support the Ideas George McGovern. 2 pgs.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Democrats for Nixon: Advertising Guidelines. 2 pgs.
35	2	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Peter Dailey to Charles Colson. RE: Democrats for Nixon Ad. 1 pg.

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35	2	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Newspaper - We Have Always Voted for the Democratic Presidential Nominee. Here's Why We Can't This Year. 2 pg.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Form	Dex- Information Sheet. From Situation Room to H.R. Haldeman. 1 pg.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses Democrats for Nixon and a newspaper ad. 1 pg.
35	2	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to Gordon Strachan. This document discusses a mock-up of a bumper sticker - Nix on McGovern. 2 pg.
35	2	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Rietz to H.R. Haldeman (for the Young Voters for the President). This document discusses Christian Leaders and support for youth events. 1 pg.

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35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: We Didn't Leave the Democratic Party. Senator McGovern Did. 1 pg.
35	2	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. "Since there was a considerable flap over this release by Clark McGregor..." 1 pg.
35	2	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	Title: Statement by Clark MacGregor, Director, Committee for the Re-Election of the President. 3 pgs.
35	2	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Glenn J. Sedam through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Update of Governor Wallace's Ballot Position. 2 pgs.
35	2	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: DNC Convention. 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	2	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Action Memo. "Someone should get in touch with Bud Wilkinson and get him involved somewhere in the Campaign..." 1 pg.
35	2	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	Action Memo. "The President wants to see the lists of committees in each of the fields, our support committees on taxation, economic policy, national defense, etc. 1 pg.
35	2	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Economy	Memo	From L. Higby to Gordon Strachan. This document discusses economic policy. 1 pg.
35	2	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	Action Memo. RE: The Vice President. "The Vice President should knock off golf and use the White House tennis courts. 1 pg.
35	2	7/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From the President to Bob Haldeman (Sunday - July 23, 1972 Camp David). This document discusses a Gallup poll, youth registration, and expanding attention beyond elite youths in universities. 2 pgs.

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35	2	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>		Memo	Action Memo. This document discusses the President and Q & A s. 1 pg.
35	2	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From H.R. Haldeman to Herb Klein, Ron Ziegler, Chuck Colson (cc: Ray Price and Dwight Chapin). RE: Written Q & A's. 1 pg.
35	2	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Action Memo - Klein. This document discusses the President speaking with Connally at Camp David. 1 pg.
35	2	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Action Memo. This document discusses Campaign songs. 1 pg.
35	2	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Action Memo. This document discusses the President and the reelection campaign. 2 pgs.

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35	2	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Bruce Kehlri to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses and includes information regarding the July 28 News Summary. 2 pgs.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Title: Talking Paper for Ehrlichman Political Group. RE: General Matters. 2 pgs.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Title: Talking Paper for the Ehrlichman Political Group. RE: General Matters - Not Discussed. 2 pgs.
35	2	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From the President to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses advantage over McGovern, a telethon, and Democrats for Nixon. 3 pgs.
35	2	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to Clark MacGregor and Charles Colson (cc: Jeb Magruder, Dwight Chapin, Dave Parker, and John Whitaker). This document discusses key ethnic groups. 2 pg.

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35	2	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From H.R. Haldeman to Clark MacGregor and Chuck Colson. This document discusses a political attack lined developed from "McGovernites." 1 pg.
35	2	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From E.D. Failor through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark MacGregor. RE: Counterattack Group. 2 pgs.
35	2	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From L. Higby to Gordon Strachan. This document discusses and includes a note and ideas by Pat Buchanan. 2 pgs.
35	2	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From E.D. Failor through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark MacGregor. RE: Attacking the MacGovern-Eagleton Ticket on Advocating Tax Increases. 3 pgs.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry. "Even though Nofziger may not be pushing in Cal., his mind still grinds on." 1 pg.

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35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Gordon to Larry. This document discusses the 'current' democratic vice presidential candidate, McGovern and Eagleton. 1 pg.
35	2	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses Democrats for Nixon, Advertising, Malek, and McGovern Polling. 1 pg.
35	2	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Democrats Committee. 4 pgs.
35	2	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Phil Joanou to Mike Heinrich (cc: Mike Lesser, Steve O'Leary, Bill Novelli, Peter Dailey, Lucy Ferguson, Gordon Strachan). This document discusses sending campaign items to Lucy Ferguson at the White House. 1 pg.
35	2	7/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to Fred Malek. This document discusses Connally and approval on Marvin Collins running the Texas Campaign. 1 pg.

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35	2	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From H.R. Haldeman to Ed Morgan (cc: John Ehrlichman). This document discusses concerns from the Vice President over the Rules Change Program at the convention and reappointment ideas. 1 pg.
35	2	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to Jeb S. Magruder (cc: Gordon Strachan). This document discusses effort to get Missouri on bumper stickers and distribution of campaign materials in other states. 1 pg.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses strategy memos, release, Bill Novillis, Chapin, and Sinatra expressing interest in attending the convention. 1 pg.
35	2	7/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	The Wall Stree Journal (Thursday, July 27, 1972) - "Review and Outlook: The Republican Oppurtunity." 1 pg.
35	2	7/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby (Follow up). This document discusses Democrats voting for the President and McGovernites. 1 pg.

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35	2	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses Deomcrats for Richard Nixon, Dailey's past experience, TV ads, and budget cuts. 2 pgs.
35	2	7/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to Charles Colson. This document dicusses points and thoughts regarding the logistics involved with setting up the new Committee under Connally. 14 pgs.
35	2	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to Charles W. Colson. This document discusses options to house the new Democrats Committee under Connally. 2 pgs.
35	2	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From James L Eichberg to Robert C. Odle. This document discusses a commerical lease for an office space at 2021 K Street, N.W. , Washington. 2 pgs.
35	2	7/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to Charles W. Colson. This document discusses arrangement for Connally regarding the following: legal, car and driver, apartment, secretaries, charter aircraft, and office space. 2 pgs.

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35	2	7/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From E.D. Failor through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark Magregor. RE: Democrats for the Re-Election of the President Plan. 4 pgs.
35	2	7/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to Jeb Magruder. This document discusses Connally and an article in the Staten Island Advance as well as other information regarding Democrats for Nixon. 2 pg.
35	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Staten Island Advnce - "Connally to Head Dems for Nixon," by Saul Kohler of our Washington Bureau. 1 pg.
35	2	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Pat Buchanan to H.R. Haldeman. This document includes and discusses points regardin the Democratic Platform. 2 pgs.
35	2	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Clark MacGregor to Gordon C. Strachan. RE: FYI. 1 pg.

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35	2	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Alexander P. Butterfield to Alexander P. Butterfield (cc: Clark MacGregor, Jeb S. Magruder, Frederic V. Malek, Kenneth Rietz). This document discusses the Texas Committee for the Re-election of the President. 1 pg.
35	2	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Calendar of events - August, September, and October 1972. This document discusses McGovern's activities. 4 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 2]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>	
33	Return	Private/Political "General Political Strategy..." 7-26-72
34	Return	Private/Political Memo, Novell, to H [HRH], 8-9-72
35	Retain	Open
36	Return	Private/Political Note, Strachan to Malek, 5-15-[72]
37	Return	Private/Political Note, Strachan to Malek, 5-5-[72]
38	Return	Private/Political Memo, Payton to Cole, 3-10-72
39	Return	Private/Political Memo, Colson to HRH, 8-9-72
40	Return	Private/Political Memo, Jones to H [HRH], 8-4-72
41	Retain	Open
42	Retain	Open
43	Return	Private/Political Note, Chapin to Gordon, n. d.
44	Return	Private/Political Note, "Larry, Clark MacGregor's..." n. d.
45	Return	Private/Political Memo, Higby to Strachan, 8-3-72
46	Return	Private/Political Memo, Rietz to HRH, 8-7-72
47	Return	Private/Political "Democrats for Nixon..." n. d.
48	Return	Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 8-8-[72]
49	Return	Private/Political Memo, Sedam to MacGregor, 8-4-72
50	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 8-8-72
51	Return	Private/Political Action Memo from HRH, 7-28-72
52	Return	Private/Political Action Memo from HRH, 7-26-72
53	Return	Private/Political Memo, Higby to Strachan, 7-27-72
54	Return	Private/Political Action Memo from HRH, 7-26-72
55	Return	Private/Political Memo, President to HRH, 7-23-72
56	Return	Private/Political Action Memo from HRH, 7-25-72

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 316

57	Return	Private/Political	Action Memo-Klein from HRH, 7-24-72
58	Return	Private/Political	Action Memo from HRH, 7-24-72
59	Return	Private/Political	[Action] Memo from HRH, 7-24-72
60	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Kehrlie to HRH, 7-28-72
61	Return	Private/Political	"Talking Paper for Ehrlichman..." 7-31-72
62	Return	Private/Political	"Talking Paper for the Ehrlichman..." 7-20-72
63	Return	Private/Political	Memo, President to HRH, 7-24-72
64	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Higby to MacGregor & CWC, 7-21-72
65	Return	Private/Political	Memo, HRH to CWC & MacGregor, 7-26-72
66	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Failor to MacGregor, 7-28-72
67	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Higby to Strachan, 7-25-72
68	Return	Private/Political	Note, Strachan to Larry, n.d.
69	Return	Private/Political	Notes, JSM, Wires... " 7-31-[72]
70	Retain	Open	
71	Retain	Open	
72	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-28-72
73	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to MacGregor, 7-27-72
74	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-28-72
75	Retain	Open	
76	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Higby to Magruder, 8-7-72
77	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Joanou to Heinrich, 8-3-72
78	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Colson to Malek, 7-29-72
79	Return	Private/Political	Memo, HRH to Morgan, 8-7-72
80	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Higby to Follow-up, 7-22-72
81	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to HRH; 7-28-72
82	Retain	Open	

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
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83	Return	Private/Political	"Democrats for Nixon..." n.d.
84	Retain	Open	
85	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to Malck, 7-24-72
86	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Buchanan to HRH, 7-26-72
87	Return	Private/Political	Note, MacGregor to Strachan, 8-7-72
88	Return	Private/Political	Calendar, "McGovern," August, 1972

GENERAL POLITICAL STRATEGY MEMORANDUM

To take on McGovern, we should use some non-political committees that are already in being. For example, the various Defense organizations, such as the Navy League, Army League, etc., the various civic and issue oriented committees, the Legion, and that sort of thing.

We also should use the Admiral who used to be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who is now at the Georgetown Center. Also, there must be some committees against busing, on the economy on our side, tax foundations, and that kind of thing.

We should use these instead of our spokesmen. Also, the sources for these committees could be Stein, Laird, and others who can tell us who might be susceptible to helping us in this area.

We should use Laird, Rogers, and Curtis Tarr very heavily in non-political forums, making our strong foreign policy political points. All of them are very able in this area.

Regarding the south, Connally and others should all keep saying all the time that McGovern has written off the south.

Father McLaughlin should be used with Catholic groups. He should be out talking rather than spending his time in here writing speeches.

We need to do a better job with Wall Street. We should have a big committee, play up the McGovern market, scare them on the McGovern recession, and scare them on the McGovern unemployment. Someone should be in charge of this. Bob Ellsworth apparently wants to do it and would be ideal.

Referring back to the Bourke Cockran speech in the Bryan campaign on gold, we should get a speech like that by a leading Democrat who is sound on taxes, such as Harry Byrd.

As the gap narrows between McGovern and Nixon, we should blunt that fact so that they don't feed on it. This will especially be a problem in mid-October so we should have something big to throw in at that time.

We need to keep blunting them in the meantime.

We need to find ways to get to the T.V. audience on the issues.

We should start getting out the idea that the press is changing and that we don't write off anyone, including the press, and the press' attitude is different than it has been in the past, which makes our relations with them more possible.

HRH
July 26, 1972

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: ~~GORDON STRACHAN~~ ⁺⁺
FROM: WILLIAM D. NOVELLI ^W
SUBJECT: Advertisement for Farm Voters

Attached for review is a full-page advertisement directed to farm voters which we plan to run in the October issues of several national and key state farm magazines.

Please call if there are any questions.

Thanks.

Attach.

cc: Peter H. Dailey
Phil Joanou
Clayton Yeutter

No opinion
GD Novelli
8/11

EBE
HAC
8/20

Date: 5/15

TO: FRED MALEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Is Paul Jones programming this part of the RNC effort?

Should he?

*attach: Mgt. on Nixon
Admin. Civil Rights
(did not make copy)*



Republican
National
Committee.

May 8, 1972

Dear Fellow Citizen:

We at the Republican National Committee are happy to submit Part IV of the Supplementary Report on the Nixon Administration's many activities and accomplishments in civil rights.

President Nixon recently pledged to assume responsibility for equal employment opportunity for minority group members in federally funded contract work: "America cannot be at its best as it approaches its 200th Birthday unless all Americans have the opportunity to be at their best." President Nixon also said in his 1972 State of the Union Message: "A free and open American society, one that is true to the ideals of its founders, must give each of its citizens an equal chance at the starting line and and equal opportunity to go as far and as high as his talents and energies will take him."

This Part IV Report demonstrates the continuing emphasis of the Nixon Administration. We again urge each of you to see that this report receives the widest circulation in the Black community. You may feel free to reprint or excerpt it.

I would like at this point to give some very special credit to the man who made possible this and previous reports - Richard Nixon. Accomplishments in this Administration did not come about without his support.

"We can fulfill the American dream," the President has said, "only when each person has a fair chance to fulfill his own dreams" - in welfare reform, in educational opportunity, in equal employment opportunity, in housing, in minority appointments and business aid. President Nixon has put rhetoric aside and concentrated on results.

We will continue to make supplementary reports on the Nixon Administration civil rights progress and also planned is a comparison of the civil rights accomplishments of the Nixon Administration and all previous administrations.

Sincerely yours,

Edwin T. Sexton, Jr.
Assistant to the Chairman

Malek

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6/5 ~~5/13~~ ~~5/10~~
Date: 5/5

TO: FRED MALEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Would you and Paul Jones review
the attached in light of your
campaign plans?

Here is my long-promised memo on the black vote. Our people have already begun to do a few of the things suggested, though not with much determination. The field is receptive, however. I would suggest broaching these ideas immediately after Bob Brown returns from the National Black Political Convention, a meeting that has some potential for making the Democrats look bad.

The people who have drawn the best bead on this problem are Norman Hodges of the Greenpower Foundation and Richard Allen, a black millionaire, also of Los Angeles. Mr. Ehrlichman knows Allen; Hodges is close to Bob Finch.

I believe it is possible to achieve the following in time for the November election:

1. Achieve 18-20% of the black vote for the President.
2. Prevent a large number of blacks from turning out to vote against the President.
3. Build a credible Republican Party in the black community.
4. Begin to produce a crop of credible black Republican candidates for the Congressional elections of 1974.
5. Make certain that the black vote is never again monolithically Democratic.

The situation that makes possible the achievement of these objectives is produced, I think, by a new political awareness in the black community. The awareness is just beginning -- commenced, in fact, just at the beginning of 1972. The awareness is that the black community has been poorly served by not participating in the two-party system. Here is what I think has happened:

1. A realization that the "Democrats take us for granted and the Republicans write us off," a process that results in black exclusion from real politics and from the governmental process.
2. Perceiving the likelihood of a Republican victory in November, some blacks are interested in playing on the winning team.
3. Some politically involved blacks have watched with dismay what has happened to black elected officials as a result of

reapportionment, and are no longer enchanted with Democrats who have in several areas (notably Southern California) forced them to compete against one another.

4. There is a growing skepticism with respect to the capability and the will of Democratic liberals to deliver on issues important to blacks.

I am not suggesting that there is any substantial groundswell of support for the President, only that as this election approaches many politically sophisticated blacks are re-examining their allegiances. Most are not optimistic about entering the councils of the Republican Party, but think it at minimum possible to gain a more influential position with the Democratic Party. In order to capitalize on this situation it will be necessary both to encourage it and to respect its own integrity. The strategy that I am going to suggest does that. The principal tenets of the strategy, which might appear strange in the context of conventional politics but which are specifically adapted to this fleeting opportunity, are these:

1. Make the Democrats look bad.

Our objective here is to get the black vote to stay home in November. The principal Democratic candidates -- Muskie, Humphrey, McGovern -- have no particular image in the black community and inspire no particular enthusiasm. Their strength will come from an anti-Nixon vote. It is therefore critical to avoid having a large black turnout. The strategy must be to make the Republican and Democratic parties look like Tweedledum and Tweedledee. We have sufficiently few friends in the community that it would be difficult to do so by making the President look as good as the Democrats. The Democrats must therefore be made to look bad. They cannot be credibly impugned by blacks already prominently identified as Republicans, but can be successfully attacked by blacks of Democratic loyalty and reasonably good community standing who are interested in frightening the Democrats.

Strategy:

Recruit a number of black Democrats who will be willing to discuss the shortcomings of the Democratic policies during the 1960's. It would not be necessary and indeed might be counterproductive to have these people campaign for the President. There are, however, aspects of the President's program that could be successfully touted as a pleasant contrast to the Democratic inclination to let rhetoric stand in the place of action.

*/ Kennedy and Lindsay have considerable appeal for black voters.

It might be difficult to recruit blacks of national prominence to this effort, because they are generally dependent upon the Democrats for their clout and visibility. On any given local scene, however, there is likely to be a number of people who would be willing to help. What I have in mind is that after a Democratic candidate has visited a town, a group of local businessmen should get themselves interviewed by their local "soul" station talking about how generally untrustworthy the Democrats are. The object is to nibble away at that credibility at the grassroots level. It is to be expected that the strategy will be perceived and countered. That still represents a net plus, since at last there will be an active debate.

2. Encourage the perception that a two-party system is essential to the health of the black community.

There is presently a strong and growing feeling that blacks are disserved by being solid Democrats and succumbing to liberal rhetoric. For many younger blacks the Democratic Party is essentially closed because of the vested interests of the black liberals. They are looking to create an alternative voice, and are interested in the Republican Party.

Strategy:

Put our people in touch with those in the black community who are interested in creating alternative structures. Make funds available to them where possible; at minimum design materials touting Presidential policies consistent with their approach. N.B.: the people involved in this movement are a different and generally younger kind of person than the blacks with whom the party has been accustomed to. They include not only established persons of conservative style (e.g. Sterling Tucker of the D.C. City Council) but a good many younger people, disc jockeys, black nationalists, businessmen, etc. Responding to this movement in terms that respect its own thrust will require some flexibility of attitude. This Presidential election provides the only opportunity of the decade for young blacks to be attracted to the party and thereby to insure that the black vote will not again be monolithically Democratic.

3. Undertake a number of Presidential initiatives of terrific symbolic import to the black community.

The blacks who will be trying to make the Democrats look bad will need something dramatic, if not terribly tangible, to demonstrate to their audience that the President

isn't such a bad guy. The minority business enterprise program is that kind of initiative, although the Administration has not gotten as much political mileage out of it as could have been had. Other such issues, performance with respect to which would be calculated to blow the Democrats out of the water, are home rule for the District, and/or appointment of a black Commissioner to the FCC. There are others, but none so dramatic.

4. Begin to create a mystique of there being a number of well-placed blacks who understand how to deal with this Administration.

One of the critical elements in breaking up the party solidity of the black vote is to encourage the creation of a counter-voice and counter style, one not based on well-publicized blasts at the Administration. It would be useful to accede, publicly, to requests (not demands) presented to the Administration on issues of importance to the black community. On the issue of home rule for the District, for example, when and if there is a decision on how the President will play the issue it would be useful to have a well publicized conference with key black Republicans to discuss the importance of such a move to the national black community. If the National Black Political Convention next week emerges with any ideas that the Administration feels it can endorse, it might be useful to have the President meet with a delegation of black Republicans from that conference and indicate his responses.

All of this, even if it works, will only pull 15-20% of the black vote in November. It would be nearly impossible to turn around in six months forces and attitudes set in motion years ago. If it works, however, or even if it is attempted honestly, it will result in a credible two-party system in the black community, and a crop of black Republican candidates for 1974. It will also result in allowing blacks more leverage within the Democratic Party, a situation that is much to be desired.

A Footnote:

The Shirley Chisolm candidacy is perfectly designed to make the Democrats look bad before the national audience. It has also exposed weaknesses of the Black Caucus and the black elected officials, who are prevented by their own agendas from supporting a move of high symbolic import to the community.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 10, 1972

NOTE FOR KEN COLE

FROM: SALLYANNE  PAYTON

Here is my long-promised memo on the black vote. Our people have already begun to do a few of the things suggested, though not with much determination. The field is receptive, however. I would suggest broaching these ideas immediately after Bob Brown returns from the National Black Political Convention, a meeting that has some potential for making the Democrats look bad.

The people who have drawn the best bead on this problem are Norman Hodges of the Greenpower Foundation and Richard Allen, a black millionaire, also of Los Angeles. Mr. Ehrlichman knows Allen; Hodges is close to Bob Finch.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

APRIL 17, 1972

FOR BOB HALDEMAN

Here is Sallyanne Payton's memo with regard to the black vote. I'd be interested in your reactions but perhaps the best thing to do is for you to give it to Fred Malek or whoever has the operational responsibility for this sort of thing.


John D. Ehrlichman

Attachment

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR KEN COLE

FROM: SALLYANNE PAYTON

SUBJECT: The Black Vote

I believe it is possible to achieve the following in time for the November election:

1. Achieve 18-20% of the black vote for the President.
2. Prevent a large number of blacks from turning out to vote against the President.
3. Build a credible Republican Party in the black community.
4. Begin to produce a crop of credible black Republican candidates for the Congressional elections of 1974.
5. Make certain that the black vote is never again monolithically Democratic.

The situation that makes possible the achievement of these objectives is produced, I think, by a new political awareness in the black community. The awareness is just beginning -- commenced, in fact, just at the beginning of 1972. The awareness is that the black community has been poorly served by not participating in the two-party system. Here is what I think has happened:

1. A realization that the "Democrats take us for granted and the Republicans write us off," a process that results in black exclusion from real politics and from the governmental process.
2. Perceiving the likelihood of a Republican victory in November, some blacks are interested in playing on the winning team.
3. Some politically involved blacks have watched with dismay what has happened to black elected officials as a result of

reapportionment, and are no longer enchanted with Democrats who have in several areas (notably Southern California) forced them to compete against one another.

4. There is a growing skepticism with respect to the capability and the will of Democratic liberals to deliver on issues important to blacks.

I am not suggesting that there is any substantial groundswell of support for the President, only that as this election approaches many politically sophisticated blacks are re-examining their allegiances. Most are not optimistic about entering the councils of the Republican Party, but think it at minimum possible to gain a more influential position with the Democratic Party. In order to capitalize on this situation it will be necessary both to encourage it and to respect its own integrity. The strategy that I am going to suggest does that. The principal tenets of the strategy, which might appear strange in the context of conventional politics but which are specifically adapted to this fleeting opportunity, are these:

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*CBE
already
approved.*

August 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON *CC*
SUBJECT: Democrats for Nixon

Attached for your information is the text of the Democrats for Nixon ad that will run next week. I don't like it so as you observed on the phone today, you will probably.

NOTE: However, don't forget the ABM ad.

ANNOUNCING DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON

WE'RE NOT LEAVING THE PARTY

BUT WE CANNOT
SUPPORT SENATOR McGOVERN

The nomination of Senator McGovern has placed many Democrats in a difficult position. Some say the choice is between our party and our country. We say the real choice is Senator McGovern or President Nixon.

We have nothing against Senator McGovern personally. But we feel strongly that many of his views could prove disastrous to the future of our country.

The Senator would hacksaw our defense budget, and that "would threaten the very security of our country" (Senator Humphrey said that.)

He would withdraw from Vietnam without securing the release of our prisoners of war.

He supports busing of school children as a national policy.

He proposes tax increases and welfare schemes that are unfair and unworkable (McGovern recently proposed to give every man, woman, and child in the country \$1000 a year, without regard to need or cost.

Senator Jackson said "McGovern has become the spokesman of some of the most dangerous and destructive currents in American politics."

Senator Muskie said "McGovern's positions on many of the issues are unacceptable to a large portion of our people".

We support President Nixon for re-election this November. He has been a strong and effective leader.

- He has brought home 500,000 men home from the war
- He has opened the door to China.
- He signed the Nuclear Arms Limitations Agreement with Russia
- He fights for equal education for all children without busing.
- He has waged an all out war against crime and drugs.
- His domestic policies have provided job security and gainful employment to 82,624,000 Americans at the highest wages in history.

We urge our fellow Democrats to join us in supporting President Nixon, and we need your help. We need volunteers to help convince still other Democrats. We need your contributions, large or small. If you can help, please fill out the coupon below and join the Democrats for Nixon Committee.

The sole purpose of this committee is for the re-election of President Richard Nixon.

DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON COMMITTEE

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

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

✓
August 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

~~GORDON STRACHAN~~ H

JERRY JONES *Jerry Jones*

Clearance Request for
Volunteer Advertising Test

Attached is an advertisement developed by the November Group that we propose to run as a test in the Chicago papers next Tuesday. Its purpose is to generate volunteers for our door to door canvassing activities. It will run concurrently in the Chicago Tribune, Chicago Today, Chicago Sun Times and the Chicago Daily News.

We intend to track results by keeping a record of volunteers generated by the one shot advertisement. If it is successful, we intend to use it this summer in those key states which are kicking off their canvassing efforts early. The cost of the test will be \$5,300.

Would you clear it through your office as soon as possible.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE _____

TO: *Coulter -*
FROM: DWIGHT CHAPIN

FYI _____ PLEASE HANDLE _____

OTHER:

*Lets handle
via the PC
per ZH Moore -
Will you tell Ken
Done 8/10 C*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1972
2:40 p.m.

FOR: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN
FROM: STEPHEN BULL *SB*
RE: Ken Khachigian's Memorandum of July 24 (Attached)

In the subject memorandum, Ken Khachigian recommended that the President make an address, similar to LBJ's October 7, 1964 address, in which the President would explain why a President should campaign for the things in which he believes. The purpose would be to offset the shock that people experience when they see the President climbing off the Presidential plateau and onto the political stump.

You asked that I staff this idea by Buchanan, Ziegler, Moore, Scali and Colson. Pat Buchanan responded briefly that the idea "should be considered". Dick Moore and Ron Ziegler both agreed that the idea has some merit but they do not fully agree with the approach to the problem. They feel that the Press Conference, specifically the one out in California which is tentatively scheduled for August 29th, is a more appropriate forum. It would give the President the opportunity to state his philosophy about a President's obligation to place his record and his program before the people in an election year.

Chuck Colson and John Scali did not respond to my request for an opinion and, due to the timeframe, I will submit this minus their opinions.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HALDEMAN

FROM: KENNETH L. KHACHIGIAN 

On October 7, 1964, LBJ gave a paid, political, nationally televised address on the campaign. This is a useful precedent which I urge we follow for many reasons.

What Johnson did was to use the opportunity at the outset of the campaign to define the issues, set the stage for the campaign, and most importantly, in my view, give the rationale for his heavy campaigning.

For reasons which I'm not sure I can explain, it is probably a shock for some people to see the President acting as President for 99% of the time, but then see him get on the stump for a very brief portion of his term. The point being that in many people a president campaigning triggers non-presidential perceptions.

Thus, the President should take to the air sometime before the very heavy campaigning starts. He can explain why a president should campaign for the things in which he believes, that the President is titular head of his party, and this is a time-honored tradition of American politics.

This situation is somewhat analogous to the Education Veto in January of 1970 where the President first explained his veto powers. Thus, it didn't appear he was doing something he had no right to do. The same with a campaign. The President should explain why a president should campaign hard for himself. Of course, this would give us a valuable opportunity to shape the issues in the campaign as well. The address should be a very low key affair and most certainly from the Oval Office.

Finally, for defensive purposes, I recommend that Research put together LBJ's total speaking schedule from the time of the Democrat Convention to election day. He campaigned heavily, and we should have this prepared for the time when we get asked why the President is traveling so much.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. STEPHEN B. BULL
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

Will you please staff out the attached idea which Ken Khachigian has advanced and give me a synopsis of opinions by Friday, August 4. Pat Buchanan, Ziegler, Moore, Scali, and Colson should be polled.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: ~~GORDON STRACHAN~~
FROM: WILLIAM D. NOVELLI *W*
SUBJECT: "Announcing: Democrats for Nixon"
Advertisement

Attached is the full-page advertisement, "Announcing: Democrats for Nixon", which we discussed. The ad is scheduled to run in approximately 75 newspapers on Wednesday, August 16.

Attach.

cc: Peter H. Dailey
Phil Joanou

Announcing: Democrats for Nixon.

We're not leaving the party. But we cannot support Senator McGovern.

The nomination of Senator McGovern has placed many Democrats in a difficult position. Some say the choice is between our party and our country. We say the real choice is Senator McGovern or President Nixon.

We have nothing against Senator McGovern personally. But we feel strongly that many of his views could prove disastrous to the future of our country.

The Senator would hacksaw our defense budget, and that "would threaten the very security of our country." (Senator Humphrey said that.)

He would withdraw from Vietnam *without* securing the release of our prisoners of war.

He supports busing of school children as a national policy.

He proposes tax increases and welfare schemes that are unfair and unworkable (McGovern recently proposed to give every man, woman and child...

~~proposes tax increases and welfare schemes that are unfair and unworkable~~
(McGovern recently proposed to give every man, woman and child in the country \$1000 a year, without regard to need or cost.)

Senator Jackson said, "McGovern has become the spokesman of some of the most dangerous and destructive currents in American politics."

Senator Muskie said, "McGovern's positions on many of the issues are unacceptable to a large portion of our people."

We support President Nixon for re-election this November. He has been a strong and effective leader.

- He has brought 500,000 men home from the war.
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- He fights for equal education for all children without busing.
- He has waged an all out war against crime and drugs.
- His domestic policies have provided job security and gainful employment to 82,624,000 Americans at the highest wages in history. .

We urge our fellow Democrats to join us in supporting President Nixon, and we need your help. We need volunteers to help convince still other Democrats. We need your contributions, large or small. If you can help, please fill out the coupon below and join the Democrats for Nixon Committee.

The sole purpose of this committee is for the re-election of President Richard Nixon. This committee is not involved in any congressional, state or local elections.

A copy of our report filed with the appropriate supervisory officer is (or will be) available for purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

This advertisement paid for by Democrats for Nixon, John B. Connally, Chairman, Leonard H. Marks, Treasurer, 802 Madison Office Building, 1155 15th, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

I agree. Here's my check for \$ _____

I'd like to help. Please contact me.

Send to: Democrats for Nixon Committee
802 Madison Office Building
1155 15th, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Name _____

Address _____
Street City or town

_____ State Zip Code

Telephone _____
Area Code Number

Recruitment ad ^{done}
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DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON COMMITTEE

DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON

ADVERTISING GUIDELINES

This is to recommend advertising guidelines for the now-forming Democrats for Nixon Committee:

1. The advertising objective should be to persuade traditional hardline Democrats to vote for Richard Nixon in November. Care should be taken that this objective is not diluted by other less vital goals. For example, no attempt should be made to gain converts to the Republican party -- this is too big a jump to ask most people to take and it would take years to accomplish.

Yes
CM

No attempt should be made to persuade Democrats to vote the Republican line. Its too tough a sale. It will happen in many cases, anyhow.

Agreed
CM

No attempt should be made to broaden the Committee to include traditional ticket splitters and/or independents. The Committee to Re-elect will be concentrating most of its energies on this group. The Democrats for Nixon should concentrate on Democrats.

Exactly
CM

2. The basic thrust of the advertising message should be:

Senator McGovern does ^{and surely not} not reflect the philosophy of most Democrats, ~~or~~ of most Americans. He is leading the party in the wrong direction and would the country as well.

It is necessary that you (the Democrat) put country ahead of of party in ~~1972~~. ^{the McGovernites} challenge to Pres. Nixon

Richard Nixon more adequately represents the philosophy of the American people. He has been a good President and deserves support.

Advertising copy must be restrained both in condemnation of McGovern and praise of the President. There is no need to resort to excess emotionalism, distortion, or innuendo to point out the dangers of a McGovern administration. His positions on defense, welfare, taxes, isolation, and peace terms are in conflict with the thinking of most Democrats and should simply be exposed as such.

OK

On the other hand, overly lavish praise of the President will probably turn the target audience off faster than you can say Democrats for Nixon. Remember, these are Democrats. Many of them can be persuaded to vote for the President because they honestly believe he is the better candidate. But we can't expect them to be happy about the situation that has forced this choice.

- 3. Advertising should be concentrated in the ten top priority states as defined elsewhere.

Yes CM

- 4. Advertising should be prepared by the November Group. This group is:

Fully operational and equipped to handle this project without major staff additions.

Thoroughly familiar with McGovern, his positions on major issues, the points on which he and the President differ, and the accomplishments of the Nixon administration as they relate to McGovern's proposals and charges.

Thoroughly familiar with the numerous requirements of the Federal Elections Campaign Spending Act and completely staffed and systemized to handle same,

and most importantly -

in a position to be able to control all paid communications on behalf of the re-election campaign and therefore decide which organization is better suited to advance a line of attack on McGovern, what form this attack should take, when it should be done and how.

- 5. Advertising should be approved through the existing channels, i.e., the Campaign Director, and the White House, with the addition of a key member of Democrats for Nixon.

but we
much need
input of creative
like Paulucci
Vann.
CM

It is imperative that CM see, view, or hear all repeat all advertising before it is released. CM will be available in Wash. D.C. Aug 1 to Sept

3:30 PM
7/31/72

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 31, 1972

TO: CHARLES COLSON
FROM: PETER DAILEY
SUBJECT: Democrats for Nixon Ad

Last week Dick Howard and Phil Joanou met to discuss development of a Democrats for Nixon announcement ad. It was suggested that the ad contain a cartoon showing hippies evicting a family from their house. The headline would read "Are you a loyal Democrat who has been thrown out by the McGovernites?" The copy would make the following points:

1. Stop McGovern
2. Save the Party
3. Re-elect the President.

As Phil discussed with Dick last week, we believe there are better approaches to soliciting the support of Democrats to our cause, in that most Democrats, unless they are professional politicians, probably don't feel that they have been thrown out of the party.

Further, it is a difficult sell to convince people that the way to save the Democratic party is to re-elect a Republican President. We have developed a series of nine layouts and two sets of copy. We would like to discuss these with you at your earliest convenience.

Per Kathy Badman?

DEX - INFORMATION SHEET

ORIGINATORS LOCATION: WHITE HOUSE	DEX NR: 002
ADDRESSEES LOCATION: CAMP DAVID	NR OF PAGES: 7
FROM: SITUATION ROOM TO: N.R. HALDEMAN _____ _____ _____ _____	DTG: 082014Z SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:
TOT: 082020Z	TOR: INITIAL 082140Z

July 31, 1972

NEWSPAPER AD

WE HAVE ALWAYS VOTED FOR THE
DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL
NOMINEE.

HERE'S WHY WE CAN'T THIS YEAR.

The nomination of Senator McGovern has placed many Democrats in a difficult position. Some say the choice is between our party and our country. We say the real choice is McGovern or President Nixon.

We have nothing against Senator McGovern personally. He is an honorable man. But we feel strongly that many of his views could prove disastrous to the future of our country.

The Senator would hacksaw our defense budget, and that "would threaten the very security of our country". (Senator Humphrey said that.)

He would withdraw from Vietnam without securing the release of our prisoners of war.

He supports the busing of school children as a national policy.

He proposes tax increases and welfare schemes that are unfair and unworkable (the Senator recently introduced a bill to Congress that would, according to the Senate Finance Committee, make 47% of the people in this country eligible for welfare).

We support President Nixon for re-election this November, and we do so with no qualms and no regrets. His four year record is outstanding. He has brought home 500,000 men from the war. He has opened the door to China, and signed the Nuclear Arms Pact with Russia. He fights for equal education for all children without busing. He has waged an all-out war against crime and drugs, and his wage-and-price controls have saved us from a disastrous inflation.

We urge our fellow Democrats to join us in supporting President Nixon, and we need your help. We need volunteers to help convince still other Democrats. We need your contributions, large or small. If you can help, please fill out the coupon below and join the Democrats for Nixon Committee

DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON COMMITTEE

- Answering Democrats for Nixon
- We didn't leave the Democratic Party
- Senator McBrown died

Afraid of losing the
2 Parties

We didn't leave the Party

Rem Monday

Dem For A

- Next used in key sts

- 1 newsp ad - We're
not in Dem
Party, can't
vote

Kathy dex
this morning

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 3, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GORDON STRACHAN

FROM:

L. HIGBY

Bob wants a mock-up of a bumper sticker done as indicated on the piece of paper below. Don't deviate much from the size, relationships, or lay-out, with the exception of you may want to put McGovern on the far right-hand side.

*NIX ON
Mc GOVERN*

*MS
Please do the
one handed for
Boley - TOL
L. 8/9*

NIXON M^C GOVERN

J. B. NOBLES

**Young
Voters**
FOR THE PRESIDENT

✓

August 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KR*

Our eight Christian leaders are all seeking out lists for us to use and supplying information on key Christian leaders around the country. They have agreed to help generate support for our special youth events in September.

Harry Williams will start full-time with us next week and will take over the follow-up as well as advise us on our special events and total program.

1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-4570

WE DIDN'T LEAVE THE DEMOCRATIC
PARTY. SENATOR McGOVERN DID.

As Democrats, we would like to support the Democratic candidate for President this year. We'd like to, but we can't.

We can't support Senator McGovern's plan to hacksaw our defense budget, which would threaten the very security of our country.

We can't support Senator McGovern's plan to withdraw our remaining troops from Vietnam without securing the release of our prisoners.

We can't support Senator McGovern's plan to make the busing of school children our national policy.

We can't support Senator McGovern's plan to give every man, woman and child in the country a \$1000 bill, whether they are rich or poor, able to work or unable to work.

In short, we can't support Senator McGovern.

But we can support President Nixon, and we urge our fellow Democrats to do the same. We need your help. We need volunteers, and we need contributions, large or small. If you are a Democrat and you feel as we do, fill out the coupon below and join the Democrats for Nixon Committee.

(COUPON COPY)

Democrats for Nixon Committee

(SIGNATURES)

*Yes! We know Sen McG
honestly & sincerely believe
in these programs. We honestly
unwillingly disagree!*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 8/8

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Since there was a considerable flap over this release by Clark MacGregor, you might be interested in the statement as given to the press.

614

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

(70) U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1969 O-373-871

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: DEVAN L. SHUMWAY
(202) 333-6760
#8-37

STATEMENT BY CLARK MAC GREGOR, DIRECTOR, COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 7 -- The McGovern White Paper, purporting to deal with economic policy, demonstrates that on this issue, as on so many others, Sen. McGovern is wrong from the start. An honestly factual statement of the condition of the economy is contained in the fact sheets which we are releasing today.

Accordingly, I will not dwell on the startling discrepancies between the actual economic facts and the McGovern interpretation.

However, I will say that contrary to Senator McGovern's claims, inflation is down. The current annual rate is 2.7 per cent. When the President entered office, it was approximately 6 per cent. Before the freeze one year ago, it was at 4 per cent. The country is doing better.

Employment is up, unemployment is going down; 81.7 million Americans have jobs -- an all-time record.

Against a background of 500-thousand men returning from Vietnam and seeking civilian employment ... against a background of reduced defense spending and fewer war-related jobs, that is a major accomplishment.

(more)

The unemployment rate is down to 5.5 per cent and is continuing down. That is not good enough, but it is progress, outstanding progress in light of the responsible cuts in defense spending which President Nixon has achieved.

The economy is growing rapidly and almost every indicator available to us shows that it will continue to grow: productivity is up, consumer spending is high, inventories are expanding, second quarter economic growth exceeded everyone's expectations and in fact was the highest since 1965. Real wages are climbing at the rate of 4.5 per cent a year for all production workers. For manufacturing workers, the rate is even higher. This is a reversal of events in the four years before President Nixon entered the White House -- in those days, which Senator McGovern seems to regard so highly -- real, spendable wages dropped for all workers despite heavy increases in paper wages that were the order of the day.

Yet, in the face of the most rapid expansion of the American economy in the last seven years, in the face of rising spendable earnings, in the face of the record of the Nixon Administration of creating two and one-half million new jobs in the last year -- in the face of all these economic accomplishments, Senator McGovern is insisting today that President Nixon is the "enemy" of the American worker.

This is more than a flight from reality, it is more than overdone campaign rhetoric, it is a clear indication that Senator McGovern's campaign has already deteriorated into an exercise in name-calling. The President has told the country -- and I believe the country agrees with him -- that this campaign should be a debate on the issues, conducted on the basis of facts.

(more)

Senator McGovern has apparently chosen to conduct his campaign in another way -- by making personal attacks on the President. I want to put him on notice here and now that such a campaign will be counter-productive. I want him to know that we shall continue to call this resort to the politics of desperation to the attention of the American people.

Before he left the Democratic ticket, Senator Eagleton spelled out the substance of what a McGovern Administration would mean to the American people. On July 16, he said "...there will be a need, I think, for some additional revenues to begin to deliver on some of the domestic programs that the Democratic Party has sponsored and articulated." Plainly and simply, that was a call for higher taxes. Let Senator McGovern tell us how heavy is the burden of higher taxes he plans to place on the backs of America's workers.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR.
SUBJECT: Update of Governor Wallace's Ballot Position

Attached is a chart indicating the Wallace ballot position as of August 2, 1972.

Changes since our report of July 19 are as follows:

Delaware--The AIP has held its state convention within the deadline set forth in Delaware law. It has yet to certify a candidate for President.

Idaho --We have determined that the Conservative Party may, under state election law, substitute Governor Wallace for its listed candidate, a Mr. Steinbacker.

Illinois--The August 7th deadline for filing petitions for a new party candidacy is approaching. There is some AIP activity to this end in downstate Illinois. The AIP has not formally submitted petitions to elections officials as yet. The state elections office feels that the party will not be able to obtain the number of names necessary (25,000) by the deadline.

Missouri--The July 31, 1972 deadline for obtaining a ballot position has passed. The AIP plans to press its claim for ballot qualification under state statute by bringing a court action. Their argument is that, by obtaining over 2% of the vote in two Congressional districts in the last election, rather than statewide as is required by statute, the AIP should be awarded an automatic ballot position in November.

Rhode Island--The AIP has submitted the requisite 500 signatures for ballot position in November. It now only need certify a candidate.

Officials in both Utah and Alaska have indicated that they will allow the AIP to certify a candidate for President within a reasonable time after that party conducts a national nominating convention. Therefore, the deadlines set forth in previous status reports are not firm.

GEORGE C. WALLACE (GCW)
STATUS REPORT 8/2/72

STATE	CAN CND RIN	AS CANDIDATE OR	ACTION REQUIRE	DATE	STATE	CAN CND RIN	AS CANDIDATE OR	ACTION REQUIRE	DATE
Ala.	Yes	ATP	Convention & Certify	9/9 *	Mont.	Yes	AP	Convention & Certify	9/23 *
Ala.	Yes	ATP	Request	8/10 *	Neb.	No		All Applicable filing dates passed	
Ala.	Yes	ATP	Convention State	9/12*	Nev.	No		No Petitions Filed	
Ark.	Yes	ATP	Convention	9/4-9/24 *	N.H.	Yes	AP	Certify	9/27 *
Cal.	Yes	ATP	Certify	*	N.J.	Yes	AP	Already Qualified	
Cal.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 300 sigs.	9/24 **E	N.H.	Yes	ATP	Certify	9/12 *
Conn.	Yes	George Wallace Party	Com.Papers	9/20 *	N.Y.	Yes	George Party	Petition: 20,000 sigs.	8/26-31 **H
Del.	Yes	AP	Certify	9/1*	N.C.	Yes	AP	National Convention	*
D.C.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 13,000 sigs.	8/15 **H	N.D.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 300 sigs.	9/29**E
Fla.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 1% last vote.	8/15 **H	Ohio	Yes	ATP	Convention & Certify	8/25 *
Ga.	No		No Petitions Filed		Okla.	Yes	AP	Convention & Certify	8/10 *
Hawaii	No		No Petitions Filed		Ore.	No		Ran in primary and lost	
Idaho	Yes	Conservative/	Certify	9/1*	Pa.	No	(See Text)	All applicable filing dates passed	
Ill.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 25,000 sigs.	7/31-8/7**H	R.I.	Yes	ATP	Certify	*
Ind.	(See Text)	New Party	Petition: 8,500 sigs.	9/1	S.C.	Yes	AP	Certify	10/4 *
Iowa	Yes	ATP	Convention & Certify	8/4-9/3 *	S.D.	Yes	Indep. Candidate	Petition 2% last vote	9/2 **H
Kans.	Yes	Conservative/	Already Nominated		Tenn.	Yes	AP	Convention	9/7 *
Ky.	Yes	AP	Already Qualified		Tex.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 22,300 sigs. & Convention National	9/1 ** -H 9/10
La.	Yes	AP	Certify	9/18 *	Utah	Yes	ATP	Convention	*
Me.	No		No Petitions Filed		Vt.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 1,535 sigs.	9/20**E
Md.	No		No Certificate of Candidacy Filed		Va.	Yes	ATP	Petition 9,100 sigs.	9/8 *
Mass.	No		No Petitions Filed		Wash.	Yes	New Party	Convention & Petition: 100 sigs.	9/19**E 9/26
Mich.	No	(See Text)	Ran in primary and lost		W.Va	No		All applicable filing dates passed	
Minn.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 2,000 sigs.	7/5-9/12 **E	Wisc.	Yes	AP	Already Qualified	
Miss.	Yes	New Party	Petition: 1,000 sigs.	9/27 **E	Wyo.	Yes	Indep. Candidate	Petition: 5,815 sigs.	9/27** -H

*States where Wallace can obtain nearly automatic ballot position if nominated by the American Party National Convention in Louisville, Ky., August 3-5.

**States where Wallace can still obtain ballot position by petition; in eight it would be hard (H); in five it would be easy (E).

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4

August 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

DNC

Gordon Strachan

Ed Failor from 1701 has learned that after the opening of the Convention at 7:30, there will be opening ceremonies of thirty minutes. Shriver will then be nominated. He will be seconded by Hubert Humphrey and Ted Kennedy. The balloting and roll call should conclude around 9:30. Mansfield will introduce Shriver, who will deliver his acceptance speech. Shriver's speech will be followed by a "brief" address by McGovern. The DNC hopes to adjourn between 10:00 and 10:30 p.m.

*This has been
reversed -
McGovern will
speak first.*

ACTION MEMO

Someone should get in touch with Bud Wilkinson and get him involved somewhere in the campaign. Also, he should be used in a strategy planning session.

HRH:pm

7/28/72

G → J&M (Rusner) 7/31

Wilkinson to see MacG on 8/3 at

4P

ACTION MEMO

TO: H. R. BALDEMAN

FROM: J. H. ...

The President wants to see the lists of committees in each of the fields, our potential support committees on taxation, economic policy, national defense, etc.

HRH:pm

7/26/72

July 27, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY

Bob asked that you prepare by Friday a memorandum to him that attaches the lists of committees that are supporting us in the fields of economic policy, national defense, etc. He also would like to see what it would look like for our potential support committee on taxation -- I imagine you will want to get this from Malek and Colson.

LH:kb

ACTION MEMORANDUM

RE: THE VICE PRESIDENT

H.
Hos

The Vice President should knock off golf and use of the White House tennis courts. We should not look leisurely as we go into the campaign.

HRH
July 26, 1972

HRH:kb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Sunday - July 23, 1972
Camp David

*Secret Memo to Mac Thayer
cc. Reitz
Nalick
Colson.*

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM THE PRESIDENT *(PH)*

In studying the New York Times release of the Gallup Poll on youth one lesson comes through loud and clear -- it is imperative that we limit our registration efforts wherever possible, without announcing that that is our tactic, to the non-college youth. Of course, some registration of college youth on a very selective basis should be undertaken, but generally speaking we have to realize that there is about a two to one chance that college youth will vote for McGovern. There is about an even chance that the non-college youth will vote for us.

If a youth registration drive begins, pushed by the McGovern forces, every effort should be made to get them to direct that drive to non-college as well as to college youth. I know that our plan is to register youth selectively by finding out in advance which side they are on and then going forward in the registration. Here it is very important that the question asked not be on partisan terms. Over half of all youth list themselves as Independents rather than Republicans or Democrats. Consequently, it should simply be a question of asking whether they are for McGovern or Nixon and then registering those that are for Nixon.

Of course, it could be argued that the registration drive among youth, even non-college youth, is not one that we should undertake at all, since at the very best they would split 50-50. This is much poorer than the national average and much poorer than what we would do among older voters. However, to avoid the effect on older voters of our conceding the youth vote to McGovern, we need to make some effort in this area. Let us limit it to the target states, particularly

the big city areas and the down-state areas where we might pick up support and except for a token effort let us concentrate on non-college, blue collar youth, among ethnics and, of course, among those few that might lean to our side because of their background in a Republican family.

I emphasize again that the whole youth effort should be one that gets across the idea that youth will not overwhelmingly be in McGovern's pocket, that we have in the nation very substantial support among younger voters and that we are going to get more as they learn what the issues are. In fact, something can be gained by pointing out that we are concentrating on registering all youth and that the McGovern people are limiting themselves to the elite youth who have gone to college or are in colleges and universities.

ACTION MEMORANDUM

The President has agreed to let the staff do written Q&As such as the current request from SEVENTEEN and the inevitable forthcoming one from AP. The stipulation here must be that there will be no Presidential involvement, that all questions will be submitted in writing and answered in writing. There will be no special photographs made or anything of that sort. Also, we should be selective in the determination of which publications to get into.

HRH
July 25, 1972

HRH:kb

July 25, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: HERB KLEIN
 RON ZIEGLER
 RHUCK COLSON

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT: Written Q&As

The President has agreed to provide written Q&As such as the current request from SEVENTEEN and the inevitable forthcoming one from AP. The stipulation here must be that there will be no personal Presidential involvement and all questions will be submitted in writing and answered in writing. There will be no special photographs made or anything of that sort. Also, we should be selective in the determinations of which publications to get into.

cc: Ray Price
 Dwight Chapin

HRH:LH:kb:KB:kb

ACTION MEMO - KLEIN

We should let it be known not for quotation or attribution that the President talked with Connally in San Clemente regarding the Vice Presidency and Connally told the President that he thought he should retain Vice President Agnew.

The purpose of this would be to shoot down the developing story that the President gave Connally the bad news at Camp David, which was not at all true and it was not bad news to Connally.

HRH:pm

7/24/72

ACTION MEMO

We need to get going on a campaign song. It should be ready for the convention at the very latest.

One approach would be to get some of our country music people to work on some songs. A good simple song to a country beat might be the best possibility for us.

HRH:pm

7/24/72

MEMO

H
Aas

should work out with Ziegler, a plan for a background session with three or four key press people, including one television guy.

The point would be to develop a strong story regarding the President's enormous responsibilities at the present time with the Japanese meetings, negotiations, dealings with Congress, etc., and that he's working on a 16-hour day because of this.

However, regarding political activities, he has no intention of not participating to the hilt and he feels more strongly than in any election before that this is a vitally important election that requires a great deal of his attention and participation.

Because the issues are more clearly cut, and because there is a great difference between the two candidates on ends, rather than just on means, such as on National Defense, increased welfare and taxes, permissiveness in law enforcement. The responsibility thus goes far beyond personality or party. It involves an honest difference in opinion regarding America's role in the world, and what America should be in the future.

The President has therefore issued instructions up and down the line that we are to campaign on the issues, not on personalities.

TO: WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

He feels the most effective way for him to campaign also, is to talk about the issues, not about the party or personalities, and that he should do this without regard to campaigning, but rather on the merits of the issues and concepts themselves.

FROM: NIGBY

There is no thought of coasting in this election, or of just sailing through it. We're not taking anything for granted. The President considers this terribly important and is working like Hell and it will be an intensive campaign as far as Presidential activity is concerned.

HRH:pm

7/24/72

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 28, 1972

*Gordon
Mallett
Turnings
(2)*

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.

*Chapin in
+*

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."

Handwritten notes:
- 1/2 hr. Amers
- Politics is promoting
- McG is popular
- 1/2 hr. Amers
- Politics is promoting
- McG is popular

Superseded

TALKING PAPER FOR EHRLICHMAN POLITICAL GROUP

Re: General Matters

1) George Wallace -- Apparently, Ed Harper called Harry Dent on July 27 to ask him to call Wallace and invite him to testify at the Platform Hearings. Dent called Mitchell, who said to wait on the call. Should Wallace be invited to testify at the Platform Hearings? If so, who should call him? John Connally? Harry Dent? Congressman Rhodes?

2) Convention Spokesman -- Herb Klein wants to be the chief spokesman at the Convention. MacGregor has said no because most believe it would be inappropriate to have a White House Staff member as the chief Convention/Campaign spokesman. Also, Ann Dore had been selected as the "spokes person" to increase the visibility of women. Should Klein nevertheless be the spokesman?

3) Campaign Kick-Off -- Has it been definitely decided that there should not be a September Campaign Kick-Off in Southern California? Doesn't the poll data indicate we need some high visibility event to improve the President's position in San Diego?

4) California - Malek -- There are no Democrats on our Committee, we have no Democratic organization, and we apparently still have Nofziger still running the campaign there. If Malek is not to be the one to review and re-organize the California situation, who is?

5) Edelichman.
Polling Data - Platform - Bob Teeter is ready to
brief ~~you~~ ^{messrs Ehr, Cole, and Harper} on the issue information from Wave II. Would
it be useful to have this briefing on the public's percep-
tion of the issues before we are locked into the Platform?

d) #2

GS

7/31/72

Not discussed.

TALKING PAPER FOR THE EHRLICHMAN POLITICAL GROUP

RE: General Matters

1) Democrats for President Nixon - Is this moving quickly enough? Should the names be released daily or in one large group? Can we obtain more "Kennedy" Democrats or should we continue to rely on "Johnson" Democrats?

2) Local Officials for the President - The Vice President is concerned that not enough attention is being paid to involving Mayors, County Executives, and other local officials in the re-election of the President effort. Should this activity be run entirely by the Vice President's staff?

3) First Family - How active should they be in the campaign? What type of events should they be programmed into?

4) Surrogate Scheduling - Is this system now established to everyone's satisfaction? Clark, do you personally clear the political line distributed to the spokesmen? or have you delegated this to Magruder?

5) Democratic National Convention - Other than poor timing, what was the main negative of their convention?

6) 1701 Reorganization - What is the reaction to Malek's new role? Has the attitude of the White House Staff toward 1701 improved?

→ ✓ 7) Republican National Convention - Are the Platform Hearings being arranged for TV coverage? What theme should be used for the Convention? ~~(Should Connally or Wallace appear?)~~ ^{appear?}
appear?

GS
7/20/72

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CC of
BU-memos
✓

EYES ONLY/NODIS

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM THE PRESIDENT

Following up on our conversation I would underline some of the points we discussed with regard to campaign tactics.

We should use events as a means for indicating support by particular groups, rather than simply as a means for getting out a message which will be picked up by the press and read by that particular group. For example, an appearance before an ethnic group or a labor group in which we get a high level of enthusiastic support is the message we want to get across rather than anything that we might say to that group on that particular day.

We should concentrate on events which show our advantage over McGovern. While it is suggested that we should have personal contact at the fence by stopping motorcades, etc., due to the fact that his approach is one of person-to-person, that is actually campaigning on his ground rather than ours. On the other hand, a big motorcade for a very big rally is something we can do that he cannot do, and we should therefore, in the last three weeks of the campaign, hit some big motorcades and big rallies. My own feeling, at this point, incidentally, is that we should not waste big motorcades and big rallies at this time. I think they should come on late in the campaign when they will be news and will have a dramatic impact at that time rather than now when they would be expected and more or less forgotten.

I think we should consider the telethon provided we can get the right kind of a format because this is a way to have some person-to-person contact, and while it has many disadvantages in terms of downgrading possibly the Office of the Presidency, I think we can have a way of handling it in a dignified manner.

As far as getting across the idea of warmth, interest in people, etc., our biggest assets here are PN, Tricia, and Julie, and as I have already

indicated, the use of people very close to RN, like RMW, and Manolo, in certain situations.

On the issue side, be sure that Ehrlichman, Colson, MacGregor and Dole, are put at the very top as far as emphasis is concerned on the issue of appointments I have made to the court - the fact that we have restored balance to the court and that the election of our opponents would bring back the old permissiveness which the present court has finally begun to turn around. This is a very potent issue and it would be good to draw McGovern out as to the kind of people he would appoint to the court. As a matter of fact, some dope story to the effect that he's considering Ramsey Clark for the court, or someone like that if that can be substantiated, would be a pretty good idea.

I have on several occasions, mentioned the necessity of getting MacGregor to put extra concentration on primary states where McGovern has campaigned heavily. This includes Wisconsin, Oregon, and California. In these states not only has he campaigned heavily, but of course since there was a lot of public attention during the campaign, it is here that we have been under the greatest attack. New York may also be in the same category since there was a great deal of campaigning in New York prior to their primary election.

I have indicated to both Colson and Connally that I would call selected Democratic defectors and labor leaders who come over to our side to express my appreciation. I think it is important since Colson will be sending these calls in, for you also to check them on one point. I notice, for example, that he has an alderman from Chicago down for a call. In reading the backup material on it everything the alderman has said is anti-McGovern, however there is nothing indicating that he is going to support RN. It may be that-that was simply an oversight in preparing the memorandum. The important thing is, however, that I cannot make a call if someone has simply come out against McGovern, because I might walk into the trap that the fellow would say, I'm for Wallace, or I'm not going to vote at all! Be sure that no call comes into my desk unless it has been thoroughly checked, not only from the point of whether or not the individual is against McGovern, but also whether he is for RN.

Frank Sinatra told me that Dr. DeBakey, the great heart specialist from Texas who is a leading Democrat, from my information, has indicated he would be supporting us. Be sure that this name gets

to Connally's shop for checking. He would be an excellent name on any kind of a list.

I consider it of high importance to develop just as quickly as possible through the Buchanan shop, a good memorandum with regard to the smears on RN from both left and right. This will blunt the inevitable cries of smears on McGovern which will come from their side. When this debate begins we should constantly say that it is not our people who are smearing him, but his own record because all we are talking about is his record. It is, of course, vitally important to keep re-iterating over and over again that all we are talking about is his record and the issues, never his personality. Simply point out that he sincerely believes that what we think are the wrong things - the wrong goals.

July 21, 1972

*Repeat
by
O. Johnson
&
Annals*

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR
CHARLES COLSON

FROM: L. HIGBY

Bob asked that I forward to you the thought that in scheduling the surrogates, you should concentrate in putting them in key ethnic groups. This should be considered a top priority for surrogate scheduling.

cc: Jeb Magruder
Dwight Chapin
Dave Parker
John Whitaker

LH:kb

ACTION MEMORANDUM

Whoever is scheduling the surrogates should concentrate on putting them into the key ethnic groups. This should be the top priority for surrogate scheduling.

HRH
July 20, 1972

HRH:kb

FC
Report

July 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

CHUCK COLSON
CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

An interesting political attack line can be developed from the McGovernites' point that they don't pay any attention to his low standing in the polls because he's always been behind in the polls.

The fact of the matter is that in the only primary that really mattered, which was California, the polls overestimated McGovern's strength as was indicated by the final election tally.

HRH:pm

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: E. D. FAILOR *E. D. Failor*
SUBJECT: Counterattack Group

Concept

It is necessary in this campaign that we have the capacity to immediately react to any news story. Thus, it is imperative that we establish a mechanism to accomplish that goal.

Structure

1. Each participant in the Counterattack Group will have read the "News Summary" by 8:30 a.m. each day. (Howard to see that the "News Summary" is delivered to each member by 8:00 a.m.);
2. Colson will input Howard prior to 9:00 a.m. regarding decisions and/or thoughts arising from the 8:15 a.m. meeting of Haldeman, MacGregor and Colson;
3. The Group will meet from 9:15 a.m. until 9:30 a.m. Monday through Saturday;
4. A determination will be made on the counterattack strategy to which we will respond and how such strategy will be executed;
5. One writer will be assigned by Colson's office and one writer will be assigned by CRP to prepare the immediate counterattack responses;
6. Barker will program cabinet officers re counterattack and clear releases;

7. Abram's office will program Congressmen, Senators, and Governors re counterattack and clear the releases;

8. Abram will coordinate the audio through CRP;

9. RNC will distribute all releases by Congressmen and Senators to all media;

10. A meeting at the White House under the leadership of Mr. Clark MacGregor will be set up with all surrogates and the appropriate staff person from each surrogate's office for the purpose of advising them of the mechanics of getting out the counterattack and the attack and positive lines. Total cooperation must be accentuated. This meeting has been staffed out by CRP and the proposal is in Haldeman's office;

11. Members of Counterattack Group.

It is necessary that this function be implemented and followed up as well as blended in with our positive and attack lines. Failor is responsible for this at CRP and, thus, should serve as chairman of this group.

- a) E. Failor, Chairman
- b) A. Abrams
- c) D. Barker
- d) D. Howard
- e) A. Amolsch
- f) Writer

12. On Sundays there are two possible response times -- the Sunday papers and after the three network talk shows (1:30 p.m. E.D.T.). Each member of the Counterattack Group should read the Sunday papers and see all of the talk shows each Sunday. In the event any member of the Group feels an immediate response is appropriate, he should call the Chairman and a determination will be made to call a meeting of the group.

Recommendation

Recommend that the above Counterattack Group be constituted and the above plan be executed.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comments:

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 25, 1972

H
FC
7/31

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: 1/10 L. HIGBY L

The attached note by Pat Buchanan is a damned good idea. I'd like you to just casually keep track of what happens to this idea now and see how our follow-up system works. Does Colson do anything with it or does MacGregor? I fear they won't and this points out, in my mind at least, the need for the organization here in charge of the assault strategy. I would emphasize particularly that you should not do anything on this, just see what happens.

7/31 attached

July 23, 1972

Handwritten note:
to find out about letter

MEMORANDUM TO:

CLARK MACGREGOR
H. R. HALDEMAN
CHARLES COLSON

FROM:

PAT BUCHANAN

On Face the Nation, Tom Eagleton was asked if new tax increases would be needed, and said

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

Clearly, here is an opportunity to say flatly:

"On the matter of taxes, the difference between the candidates is clear. Mr. Eagleton said taxes will have to be raised: The McGovernites believe in more government and higher taxes; and the President believes that what America needs is less government, lower taxes -- more money in the hands of the average citizen, less money in the hands of federal bureaucrats."

If we press the McGovern ticket, as the ticket of more taxes (Eagleton can be credited for his "candor"), we will likely force Eagleton to back off from this. In any event, theirs is assuredly not the popular position today; and one is surprised that Mr. Eagleton made the statement he did.

Buchanan

Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 26, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: E. D. FAILOR *E.D.F.*

SUBJECT: Attacking the McGovern-Eagleton Ticket on
Advocating Tax Increases

Background

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

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

Concept

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

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

We should research the cost of all of McGovern's domestic proposals in depth coming up with figures showing a much greater need for more monies. Deducted from these increased expenditures would be his military cuts and "closure of tax loopholes." Our speakers should be prepared in depth so that McGovern cannot wiggle off the

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

hook without being put firmly on the defensive.

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

Methods

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

- a) get the message out;
- b) see just how well we produce under a maximum effort;
and
- c) get our people in the field initiated to this kind of effort.

The following methods should be used:

1. Clark MacGregor speak at a forum that would give him T.V. network coverage;
2. Senator Bob Dole speak at a forum that would give him T.V. network coverage;
3. Vice President Agnew would use this as a main topic in a speech or at a press conference;
4. Speech inserts would be prepared for all surrogates;
5. A fact idea sheet would be prepared for and sent to each Republican candidate for the House and the Senate with the request that they make a press release on their political sub-division on this topic;
6. The same request as in 5 above would be made of each Republican governor and Republican candidate for governor;
7. Democrats for Nixon would be programmed for this attack;

8. Union leaders for Nixon would be asked to speak out on this issue;
9. Radio recordings of MacGregor's and Dole's statements would be sent out country wide;
10. Our entire letter writing organization would be turned on;
11. Friendly editorial and news writers would be contacted;
12. State Chairmen of CRP would be asked to issue appropriate news releases and/or have news conferences; and
13. Our Business and Industry would be alerted to have their people make states.

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

Recommendation

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

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

TO: *Lany*

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

*Even though
Roffziger may not
be pushing in Cal, his
mind still grinds
on.*

dear gordon:

is it true that the "current" democratic vice presidential candidate is ~~xxxx~~ writing his autobiography and calling it "future shock."

I would like to suggest that if Dick Nixon wins he name eagleton ambassador to upper Volta or else buy him a ohm on the range, anywhere to get him away from this high tension living.

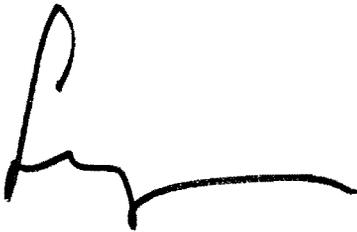
you may note that eagleton has called Agnew the great divider. Rose Marie suggests agnew is busy dividing ac from dc.

i understand that eagleton really will not be wired into the mcgovern campaign. i understand also that mcgovern plans to take the high road and let eagleton take the elect-rode.

but it was great to see him face that "battery" of reporters without blowing a fuse.

anyway, as i asked you on the phone, "what would tom eagleton have done at chappaquiddick?" and, answering that, can he really electrify the elctorate?

best



PS - Now I hear that Eagleton is responsible for calling it Washington D.C.

All this is yours for no "charge"

Wires

333-6760

/ 916-525-7212

Dems for Nixon

Prob of d of opinion bet Conn +
Paulucci

Paulucci wants Indepen/T-S

| also wants = billing w/Conn

Conn wants all "Dems" organization

Duester - good man

Advertising - Bailey - working better + in swing
Releases a pol campaign
Good organization / Mike LesserMalk - Pretty good field organization. Hester
each St does own thing; - now
nails controlled.

McG polling operation - who does polling

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Democrats Committee

Magruder has been working with Colson on many of the details relating to the Democrats Committee under John Connally -- office space, legal advice, and personal matters. Colson and Magruder had been cooperating until July 27. Now a basic disagreement has developed over the question of who is to handle the advertising for the Democrats Committee. Magruder has submitted the attached memorandum to Clark MacGregor. The memorandum argues that advertising responsibility should remain in the November Group, with a separate creative unit established to service Connally and the Democratic Committee. According to Magruder, Colson has made arrangements with Jeno Paulucci to use his "in house" advertising agency based in Minnesota.

Peter Dailey received word of this possible shift of responsibility from Dwight Chapin on Saturday, July 22, 1972. You had called Chapin on July 22 from Camp David and told him to talk to Dailey and Magruder on Monday, July 24. Magruder and Dailey began work on the July 27 memorandum attached.

Dailey came to see me on Wednesday evening, July 26, to discuss advertising for the Democratic Committee. He is very concerned that Colson will be involved. Dailey has worked on two projects with Colson - the response to the New York Times and the Jeno Paulucci ad. Dailey believes Colson exhibited "no taste, judgment, or sensitivity on these ads". Dailey is convinced the same will be characteristic of any Colson-inspired Democrats ad for the campaign. Dailey believes the positive ads for the campaign will be easy and productive. He is concerned that any negative ads dictated by Colson run the risk of losing the election.

Magruder and Dailey met with MacGregor this morning. MacGregor agreed to ask Paulucci and his advertising man to come to Washington to discuss the entire subject. Dailey and Magruder also want to meet with Mitchell. Dailey called me this morning to say that he will want to see you if Mitchell and MacGregor do not re-establish an advertising approval process that continues to rely primarily on you.

Few know what basic decisions have been made regarding Connally, the Democrats Committee, and its advertising. You may want to discuss the entire matter with Colson if you are not fully up-to-date on what Colson is doing with or without Connally's concurrence.

Strackan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 27, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Democrats Committee

Now that a number of logistical decisions have been made with respect to the new Democrats Committee (e.g., office space in the Madison Building, storefront space in the former Wilbur Mills headquarters), there are some other, more important, areas we should discuss and consider:

First, with respect to advertising, we have been told that, although no decision has been made, the new Committee is contemplating the use of a separate ad agency. Our earlier understanding was that the Committee for the Re-election of the President would develop such capabilities, and provide services to other groups such as the Democrats Committee. We have geared the November Group to that goal. This arrangement assures a consistent strategy, as well as minimizes the overhead costs.

We believe that there are several advantages to having the November Group as an in-house agency for the Democrats:

1. The staff devotes itself full-time to the re-election of the President. There are no competing commercial accounts.
2. All of the people who work on the account are loyal to the President. Problems of security are minimized.
3. The top members of the November Group are thoroughly integrated into the strategy development process of the Committee. They thereby obtain a much more thorough understanding of how that strategy can best be translated into creative media.
4. We have recruited a top-quality and an outstanding group of professionals. There's little question that with the orientation on issues already provided, they can provide outstanding work.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5. Legal opinion indicates that all expenditures will come from the President's \$14 million allocation. The problems of controlling certification are already enormous. Using a second agency would greatly complicate the problem.

6. It is most important that the Campaign Director and principal White House staff have the opportunity to exercise maximum control over both sides of the product (i.e., a definitive advertising for the President, and the negative advertising about the opposition). Such control is best maintained working through the existing November Group facilities and using the existing approval process, and then adding Mr. Connally's approval for the Democrats Committee advertising.

Some concern has been evidenced over how November Group would handle this project. A separate creative staff, whose sole responsibility would be Democrats, would be assigned to the "account." All the administrative, financial and media control would remain the same.

Similar reasoning applies in the case of direct mail. As you know, we are currently planning to mail to large numbers of "reachable" Democrats and Independents. In many cases, we would hope to use the signatures of locally prominent Democrats who support the President. It would not be productive to have a parallel effort undertaken by the Democrats, although we should coordinate closely with them.

Recommendation

That the Democrats Committee utilize the campaign capabilities (especially advertising and direct mail) of the Re-election Committee, rather than establishing their own. Decisions on priorities would be made by you and Mr. Connally. We would follow whatever procedure you both deemed appropriate to clear copy, etc., with the Democrats organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

August 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: L. HIGBY

We need to start an immediate effort to get Missouri on bumper stickers, etc. We should push it very hard now while Eagleton disaffection is riding strong and take advantage of it. This is to be done immediately.

Also, please forward a report on how we're doing on distribution of campaign materials in other states. You will recall that Bob asked two weeks ago that we get materials out immediately in all the primary states.

cc: Gordon Strachan

LH:kb

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 3, 1972

TO: MIKE HEINRICH
FROM: PHIL JOANOU

Please send six of each and every campaign item that we produce to Mrs. Lucy Ferguson at the White House. Steve O'Leary will be responsible for seeing that they are collected and sent to her.

cc: Mike Lesser
Steve O'Leary
Bill Novelli
Pete Dailey
Lucy Ferguson
Gordon Strachan

L

EYES ONLY

July 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK

FROM: CHARLES COLSON

Per your request I have checked with Connally on Marvin Collins running the Texas campaign. Connally has no objection. He said he didn't know him but was sure he would be able to work with him. Let's be sure that Marvin Collins understands the desirability of coordinating very closely with Connally.

EYES ONLY

Malek's plan says Collins to run Cal.

~~in Cal
8/3~~

SO
What's the answer?
L

August 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ED MORGAN

FROM:

H. R. HALDEMAN

The Vice President called over the weekend and was concerned about the Rules Change program at the convention. He is particularly concerned about the need to stop the reapportionment effort.

He has been discussing this with people out in the country and has found that the small states, as you would expect, are particularly concerned about any change in apportionment of delegates. He is also concerned that there's going to be a media frenzy whipped up on this with reference to '76 which will be highly undesirable from our viewpoint.

He indicated that John Haugh of Arizona and Dave Kennedy of Wyoming are two people from small states who would be very anxious to work on the plan to stop this reapportionment idea.

The Vice President should probably be consulted on this matter, and, in any event should be kept posted on progress in turning off any changes.

✓cc: John Ehrlichman

→ Strategy Memos - #

→ Release

P back down for wedding will stay up
Conn - not needs sum.

most re Objective News Sa

- Bill Novellis Office on 3rd Floor
- in 2nd fl

Chapin - H called + asked who see
Bailey + talk on Dems for R N,
- mty w/Conn + P. drain off
R/1701

- at least all negative + some
ads by Dems by

→ H believes w/in Nov Grp
- Conn " separate agency
→ | - separate creative grp
- so

- One main item may be letter
signed by P.

- Sinatra wants to come to Convention

H to see movies on Wed.

REVIEW and OUTLOOK

The Republican Opportunity

President Nixon holds a 56-37 lead over Senator McGovern in the latest Gallup Poll, but it remains far from clear whether the dramatic theme of the fall campaign will be a Republican landslide or a Democratic recovery.

After all, in 1968 Hubert Humphrey very nearly recovered from a similar handicap, and this year Senator McGovern will gain additional advantages from at least the college portion of a big new bloc of young voters. Most of all, party loyalties, while probably declining, remain highly important; academic students of politics, for example, have considered them by far the chief determinant of voting behavior. The Democrats maintain a 2-1 national lead in party self-identification, and as the election nears many of the Democrats unhappy with Senator McGovern's nomination are likely to swallow their feelings and stick with their party.

The converse of this, though, is that this may be the election that finally undoes the party loyalties that have sustained the Democrats for 40 years. We know from history that party dominance does change; more often than not abruptly. Academics are starting to conclude party identification may not be quite so important as they thought; the thrust of a symposium in the current American Political Science Review is that such loyalties are themselves forged by issues, and that in times of change party identification is bound to prove a lagging indicator.

So the Republicans have an opportunity that reaches far beyond this one election. On the issues, the traditionalist business elite the Republicans represent, for all its quite considerable deficiencies, remains in closer step with the common man in America than does the modernist-academic elite the McGovern Democrats represent. Someday, of course, elections will in fact be dominated by college graduates, but demographics suggest that day remains a generation or so off. By then, we can at least hope, today's college generation will have matured into a sense of realism it has so far conspicuously lacked.

As it happens, a lesson or two in professionalism is precisely what the McGovern-type elite most needs if it is to rule the nation at some future time. So often it seems to assume that good intentions are enough, which explains the plans that initially don't add up and Senator McGovern's admission that he did not know the cost of his welfare proposal. Similarly, despite an impressive record in the drive for the nomination, the McGovern camp seems to have deep organizational difficulties, with key men walking out and an inability to make appointments that stick.

The revelations about Senator Eagleton's health problems do not in themselves reflect on him any more than health problems reflect on the rest of us. But his failure to disclose them to Senator McGovern before the selection raises questions of judgment, and Senator McGovern's failure to develop a staff that would protect him by passing along rumors raises questions about organizational ability.

So in trying to exploit their opportunity, the Republicans would be well advised to treat their rivals not as threats to the republic but as well-meaning men with a good deal to learn about the world. The Republican issue is not radicalism but competence, and this is an issue that can be not only helpful to Republicans but constructive for the nation.

In the meantime, the bulk of the electorate, and particularly the lower-middle class that has been the heart of the Democratic dominance, is in open revolt against the new elite's prescriptions on patriotism, welfare, amnesty, abortion, busing and a host of similar issues. The electorate is also in open revolt against taxes, of course, but it has sense enough to see that the thrust of the Democratic program is toward higher taxes, not lower ones.

The unemployment statistics have been sluggish, but with inflation under better control the workingman's real wages are rising for the first time in recent years. Even on the war, President Nixon's withdrawal policy is closer to the wishes of the majority

than Senator McGovern's is. The Harris Poll finds that 52% of its respondents pick Mr. Nixon and 33% pick Mr. McGovern as the man they agree with on "ending U.S. involvement in Vietnam."

The question is whether the Republicans will be able to exploit this opportunity, and in particular whether they will be able to do so in a way that meets the needs of the nation. On both grounds, it seems to us a slashing campaign, an assault on Senator McGovern's radicalism, would be exactly the wrong thing. His ideas are radical enough, but not in the lunatic way that term has recently come to connote. And he represents a class of people highly important to the future of the nation.

In any event, the Republicans have other opportunities that are at once more healing and more telling. They have after all given the nation four years of reasonably good governance, especially in comparison with the preceding eight years. By and large the issues facing the nation have been competently dealt with. Nothing has gone seriously wrong. Progress has been made in withdrawing from Vietnam, and in foreign policy generally. The temper of the nation is far better; now it is hard even to recall the agonies of 1968. Mr. Nixon's chief attribute was summed up when his British Vietnam adviser Sir Robert Thompson remarked that at last the Americans have "a professional President."

July 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : FOLLOW UP
FROM : L. HIGBY

We need to get a report from Chapin on ~~how~~ he is able to work out the idea of a separate agency with Dailey. Also, we need to know when the advertising is going to be coming in from Dailey. In addition, his general strategy points - we should make it respectable for all Dems to vote for the President and still be Democrats. We should not mention the words Republican or Democrat during the convention, but should talk about the McGovernites - we should also not talk about the Democratic Convention.

LH:pm

7/26

Bailey -

Must be a means of initiation + direction of the Dems for RR, communications plan

- Is CUC really going to do this? (based on Howard mtg w/Joanna)

Must have sensitivity, taste + judge on Dems for RR
Rec/ it is the attack ads - the positive ads are easy

The ads by Dems for RR must be approved by H.

Bailey's past experience w/ CUC very negative - not one iota of taste

1) NY Times Op Ed

2) Jeno Paulucci (Gino's)

→ 3) 30 newsp - recruiting Dems for RR
"You've Been Killed Out"



Ag 11 - TV ads - spots, funded ads for commercials, radio, Camp + media allow newspaper ads, etc.

by Stan Various Budget Possibilities

- When new agency or under Nor Grp - new agency under camp Spe Day brief direct on behalf of P.
- at 1701 (Nor Grp) aware of media + issue
- Bailey - creative men for Dems for P separate Creative Group.
- Must keep others (Demofn KAT CWC) from taking tri-kill blast

Budget Cuts - down by 12.25M approved

- Top limit is 14 m

- Most recent: 6.0 m

Eagleton decision indicates mcG doesn't check, not thorough - 1st direct in personal

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 17, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. CHARLES W. COLSON

FROM:

JEB S. MAGRUDER

The following are a few thoughts and options with respect to the logistics involved in setting up the new Committee under Mr. Connally. The weak spot in what follows is in the area of office space which is due to the fact that the real estate people with whom we deal were away for the weekend in one case and in a second case could not reach potential lessors -- we'll have additional details later.

LEGAL

With respect to the establishment of a new political committee, there are two ways that this can be done.

The first would be to establish another constituent committee within the framework of this committee and the National Finance Committee. If we use this approach, the program would be budgeted through this Committee and all expenses would be paid by the Finance Committee.

The second approach would be to establish a new and independent committee with no legal affiliation with this committee. The new committee would register with the Federal Elections Office as a separate entity and would account for receipts and expenditures in a separate report.

Internally, it might be easier to follow the first approach. A proliferation of committees is a potential problem, and if any program can be conducted within the existing framework, to do so would be more desirable than establishing another reporting entity. However, we have no objection to following the second option.

Should the decision be made to establish a new committee, we have attached a draft of a charter for that committee and a draft of a

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

registration form which must be filed with the Federal Elections Office.

Approve:

First approach _____ Second approach _____

CAR AND DRIVER

The Committee has previously dealt on occasion with Carey Cadillac of Arlington which will provide us with a 1972 Cadillac limousine and uniformed driver for a rate of \$10 per hour including everything, i.e., gas, driver's salary, upkeep, etc. One driver would normally be assigned to the car. If Mr. Connally was in town just a few days each week and/or used the car only to go back and forth to his Washington office from a Washington apartment, then this arrangement would be least expensive (e.g., 10 eight-hour days per month = \$800).

The Committee has also leased cars from a contact in Ford for \$800 per year and Ford has a 1971 or 1972 (not yet determined) executive blue four-door Lincoln Continental which they will lease us for approximately \$300 for the duration of the campaign. We would pay for gas, oil, maintenance, etc., and would also hire a driver at an approximate per annum salary rate of \$8,500, plus his health insurance, employee taxes, social security, etc. If the car was to be used four or more days a week each week, then this would be less expensive than the Carey rental (\$750 per month for the driver, \$70 for the car, plus \$100 or more for gas and upkeep = \$920 at least, and probably well over \$1,000 each month to run the car and driver).

A friendly Republican Oldsmobile dealer, Jack Pohanka, will give us (his, not his company's) a brand new black Olds 98 four-door Luxury Sedan for the duration of the campaign. We'll only be responsible for insurance, gas, and upkeep. Here, too, we'd need to hire a driver so the costs would be about the same as those associated with the Lincoln.

Approve:

Carey Cadillac _____ Leased Lincoln _____ Olds 98 LS _____

FURNISHED APARTMENT

Mr. Connally currently has an apartment at the Sheraton Park under lease for \$1,100 per month. It has two bedrooms, a den, living room, and kitchen.

Larry O'Brien's suite at the Sheraton Park will be available next week for \$900 per month. It is basically the same except that it does not have a den.

Ambassador Mosbacher's riverfront apartment at the Watergate Hotel is available for \$2,000 per month and includes two bedrooms, two baths, a parlor and kitchen. It is a tastefully appointed corner suite a few steps up from the hotel lobby.

The Embassy Row company has recently opened the new residence hotel, The Wellington, at Wisconsin and Calvert Streets, N. W. Three bedroom suites, furnished in the French style, are available for \$2,000 per month and include four baths, parlor, and kitchen. Available there also is a 200 person capacity room for entertaining.

The Madison has no units with kitchen.

Approve:

Sheraton Park (Connally) _____ Sheraton Park (O'Brien) _____
Watergate (Mosbacher) _____ Wellington Hotel _____

SECRETARIES

Our Personnel operation is currently looking for a secretary for Mickey Gardner and has also begun a search for a top secretary for Mr. Connally -- for example, Miss Janice Barbieu, a career gal at State with top shorthand and typing, very much wants to join the campaign staff. She's about 34, makes approximately \$11,000, and has traveled throughout the world. We'll be able to come up with a number of secretarial candidates from which a selection can be made.

PRESS ASSISTANCE

There are basically two ways in which the new Committee can function in the Press/PR area:

First, Van Shumway's office can assign one of its staff members (possibly assistant director Powell Moore) to the Democrats Committee as an "account executive" for the Committee, in much the same way as 1701's press office services the various citizens (e.g., Blacks, Farm, etc.) groups. The staffer would probably spend most of his time at 1701 in order to stay plugged in on campaign press policy.

Secondly, a public information officer could be hired by the Democrats Committee. Shumway has suggested that Al Wade, the #2 PIO at Treasury,

might be available for this assignment, and we could also come up with a number of other recommendations for this position.

Approve:

Assign 1701 press office staffer to new Committee. _____

Assign 1701 staffer at least for initial few weeks. _____

Begin immediately to search for candidates for full-time position with Democrats Committee. _____

OTHER ASSISTANCE

All of 1701's resources can be put at the disposal of the new Committee: the scheduling and tour offices can work on Mr. Connally's itineraries and advance his speeches and appearances; November Group can assign someone to assist in the design of brochures, materials, etc.; our Administration division can get the office space ready with telephones, furniture, carpeting and draperies for Mr. Connally's office; Bob Teeter can advise on polling; Marik on planning, direct mail, etc. -- in short, all of 1701's divisions can assign a man on a part-time basis to assist the Democrats Committee in a number of different ways.

OFFICE SPACE

Our primary contact for office space, Jim Eichberg, president of the Braedon Companies, is still in Philadelphia this morning where he has been all weekend. As soon as he returns we should have a number of ideas for office space.

Meanwhile, Phil Carr of the Oliver Carr Company has been working on some options, among them:

-- The 1700 square feet on the 8th floor of 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue which we previously recommended, with storefront office space elsewhere.

-- The old Muskie headquarters (30,000 square feet including storefront) at 1972 K Street. (We'll know later if this would be available).

-- A three-story walk-up at 1730 I Street with storefront space -- but only 2,000 square feet total.

-- 2,000 square feet of ground floor storefront space on 17th Street between L and K. We're checking now to determine if there is office space available in the building upstairs.

-- 900 square feet of storefront space on 18th Street between I and H. We're trying to find if office space would be available upstairs.

All of these locations need to be visited and checked to determine if they would be suitable for the new Committee. This will be done today and we hope to have a firm set of recommendations on Tuesday.

✓cc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

CHARTER
OF
DEMOCRATS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

We, the undersigned, constitute ourselves a voluntary association under the name of DEMOCRATS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, (hereinafter referred to as "the Committee").

ARTICLE I

Purpose - It is the purpose of the Committee to work for the renomination of President Richard M. Nixon as the Republican Party 1972 candidate for the office of President of the United States and, thereafter, for his re-election to that office. To that end we propose to support a re-nomination campaign and, thereafter, a re-election campaign, and to solicit, collect, and disburse funds for those campaigns.

ARTICLE II

Principal Office - The Principal office of the Committee is to be located at

ARTICLE III

Membership - Members shall consist of those subscribers listed below and may later include others sympathetic to the purposes of the Committee, who are approved by the membership of the Committee and who thereafter accept membership.

ARTICLE IV

Officers - The officers of the Committee shall, initially, be a Chairman and a Treasurer, who shall be elected by the membership at the first meeting of the Committee and shall hold office until their successors have been elected by the membership of the Committee. Additional officers may also be elected if desired by the members.

ARTICLE V

Duration- The Committee shall be dissolved and cease to exist as a Committee within six months after the 1972 Presidential election, or at any time prior thereto upon majority vote of the membership to dissolve the Committee.

ARTICLE VI

Surplus Funds - Section 1. Upon the termination of the Committee, any surplus funds may be disposed of by the Committee to such political organizations or other groups as the officers of the Committee may determine.

Section 2. The officers of the Committee may also return any surplus funds to all the contributors to the Committee (including Committee members) in the same proportion as each contribution bears to the total of all contributions received.

Section 3. No member of the Committee shall have the right to share in any surplus funds or assets of the Committee upon its dissolution, except as set forth in Section 2 above.

ARTICLE VII

Securities - To the extent now or hereafter permitted by law, the Committee may underwrite, purchase, acquire, hold, pledge, hypothecate, exchange, sell, deal in and dispose of, alone or in syndicates or otherwise in conjunction with others, stocks, bonds or other evidences of indebtedness and obligations of any corporation, association, partnership, syndicate, entity, person or governmental, municipal, or public authority, domestic or foreign and evidences of indebtedness and obligations; exchange therefor any stocks, bonds, or other obligations it may own or hold; and while the owner or holder of any such, exercise all the rights, powers, and privileges of

ownership in respect thereof; and aid by loan, subsidy, guaranty or otherwise those issuing, creating or responsible for any such stocks, bonds, or other evidences of indebtedness or obligations or evidences of any interest in respect thereof. The Chairman or the Treasurer, acting together or alone, shall have authority to enter into any of the foregoing transactions on behalf of the Committee.

ARTICLE VIII

Borrowing - The Committee may, as permitted by Section 610 of title 18, United States Code, as amended by Section 205 of title II of Public Law 92-225, obtain a loan of money by a national or state bank made in accordance with the applicable banking laws and regulations and in the ordinary course of business.

ARTICLE IX

Amendments - This Charter may be amended at any meeting of the members duly called for that purpose by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members present and voting, provided that Sections 2 and 3 of Article VI thereof shall not be subject to amendment.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned have signified their desire to become members of this Association in accordance with the foregoing by subscribing their names and addresses hereto this ____ day of _____, 1972.

(Chairman)

Address: _____

(Treasurer)

Address: _____

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

U.S. GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE

Washington, D.C.

REGISTRATION FORM AND STATEMENT OF ORGANIZATION FOR A COMMITTEE

SUPPORTING ANY CANDIDATE(S) FOR THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OR VICE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES AND ANTICIPATING CONTRIBUTIONS OR EXPENDITURES
IN EXCESS OF \$1,000 IN ANY CALENDAR YEAR

REQUIREMENTS FOR REGISTRATION OF POLITICAL COMMITTEES

(In accordance with the provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, P.L. 92-225)

SEE APPROPRIATE SUPERVISORY OFFICER'S MANUAL FOR ADDITIONAL
REGULATIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS

A. The treasurer of each political committee which anticipates receiving contributions or making expenditures during the calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000 any portion of which will be expended for the purpose of influencing the nomination or election of candidates for the office of President or Vice President shall file with the Comptroller General of the United States a Registration Form and Statement of Organization, within 10 days after its organization, or, if later, 10 days after the date on which it has information which causes the committee to anticipate it will receive contributions or make expenditures in excess of \$1,000 any portion of which will be expended for the purpose of influencing the nomination or election of candidates for the office of President or Vice President. Each such committee in existence on April 7, 1972 shall file a Registration Form and Statement of Organization with the Comptroller General on or before April 17, 1972. Note: If the committee also supports a candidate for the U.S. Senate, a similar statement must be filed with the Secretary of the Senate, and if the committee supports a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives a similar statement must be filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

B. A copy of this statement shall be filed with the Secretary of State (or, if there is no Office of Secretary of State, the equivalent State officer) of the appropriate State.

C. A copy of this statement shall be preserved by the treasurer of the political committee for a period of not less than four (4) years.

D. Any change or correction of information previously submitted in a Registration Form and Statement of Organization shall be reported to the Comptroller General within ten (10) days following the change or correction. Such amendments to the statement shall contain the date, identity of the committee, the changed or corrected information appropriately identified, and shall be verified by the oath or affirmation of the person filing such information, taken before any officer authorized to administer the oaths.

E. Any committee which, after having filed one or more Registration Form and Statement of Organization, disbands or determines it will no longer receive contributions or make expenditures during the calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000 shall so notify the Comptroller General. Such notification shall be verified by the oath or affirmation of the person filing it, taken before any officer authorized to administer the oaths, and such notification shall include a statement as to the disposition of residual funds if the committee is disbanding.

1. Full name of committee: DEMOCRATS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Mailing address and ZIP code: _____

Date of this registration: _____

2. Affiliated or connected organizations:

Name of affiliated or connected organization	Mailing address and ZIP code	Relationship
Finance Committee to Re-elect the President	Suite 272 1701 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006	See continuation sheet A

* Submit additional information on separate continuation sheets appropriately labeled and attached to this Statement of Organization. Indicate in the appropriate box above when information is continued on separate page(s).

3. Area, Scope and Jurisdiction of the Committee:

(a) Will this committee operate in more than one State? Yes

(b) Will it operate on a statewide basis in one State? Yes

(c) Will it primarily support candidates seeking State or local office? No

(d) Will it support a candidate for the office of President or Vice President in an aggregate amount in excess of \$1,000 during the calendar year? Yes

COMP. GEN. ELECTION FORM 1

DEMOCRATS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

(Full Name of Committee)

4. (a) If the committee is supporting individual candidates for the office of President or Vice President, list each candidate by name, address, office sought, and party affiliation:

Full names of candidates	Mailing address and ZIP code	State and Congressional District	Party
RICHARD M. NIXON *	The White House	Washington D.C.	Republican

(b) List by name, address, office sought, and party affiliation, any candidate for other Federal office that this committee is supporting:

Full names of candidates	Mailing address and ZIP code	Office sought	Party
None *			

(c) List by name, address, office sought, and party affiliation, any candidate for any other public office that this committee is supporting:

Full names of candidates	Mailing address and ZIP code	Office sought	Party
None *			

5. If this committee is supporting the entire ticket of a party, give name of party: N.A.

6. Identify by name, address and position, the committee's custodian of books and accounts:

Full name	Mailing address and ZIP code	Committee title or position

7. List by name, address and position, other principal officers of the committee, including officers and members of the finance committee, if any:

Full name	Mailing address and ZIP code	Committee title or position

*Submit additional information on separate continuation sheets appropriately labeled and attached to this Statement of Organization. Indicate in the appropriate box above when information is continued on separate page(s).

8. Does this committee plan to stay in existence beyond the current calendar year? No If so how long? _____

9. In the event of dissolution, what disposition will be made of residual funds? _____
See continuation seeh "B".

10. List all banks or other repositories in which the committee deposits funds, holds accounts, rents safety deposit boxes or maintains funds:

Name of bank, repository, etc.	Mailing address and ZIP code

11. List all reports required to be filed by this committee with States and local jurisdictions, together with the names, addresses, and positions of the recipients of the reports:

Report title	Dates required to be filed	Name and position of recipient	Mailing address and ZIP code
The committee will operate in fifty (50) states. The state reporting information required under this paragraph is to be supplied by amendment.			

*Submit additional information on separate continuation sheets appropriately labeled and attached to this Statement of Organization. Indicate in the appropriate box above when information is continued on separate page(s).

State of _____
 County of _____ SS.

I, _____, being duly sworn, depose (affirm) and say that the information in this Registration Form and Statement of Organization is complete, true, and correct.
(Full Name of Treasurer of Political Committee)

(Signature of Treasurer of Political Committee)

Subscribed and sworn to (affirmed) before me this _____ day of _____, A.D. 19____.

(Notary Public)

[SEAL]

My commission expires _____, 19____

Return completed form and attachments to:
 Office of Federal Elections
 U.S. General Accounting Office
 411 G Street, NW.
 Washington, D.C. 20548

EXTRACTS FROM THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971

Sec. 303. (a) Each political committee which anticipates receiving contributions or making expenditures during the calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000 shall file with the supervisory officer a statement of organization, within ten days after its organization or, if later, ten days after the date on which it has information which causes the committee to anticipate it will receive contributions or make expenditures in excess of \$1,000. Each such committee in existence at the date of enactment of this Act shall file a statement of organization with the supervisory officer at such time as he prescribes.

(b) The statement of organization shall include—

- (1) the name and address of the committee;
- (2) the names, addresses, and relationships of affiliated or connected organizations;
- (3) the area, scope, or jurisdiction of the committee;
- (4) the name, address, and position of the custodian of books and accounts;
- (5) the name, address, and position of other principal officers, including officers and members of the finance committee, if any;
- (6) the name, address, office sought, and party affiliation of (A) each candidate whom the committee is supporting, and (B) any other individual, if any, whom the committee is supporting for nomination for election, or election, to any public office whatever; or, if the committee is supporting the entire ticket of any party, the name of the party;
- (7) a statement whether the committee is a continuing one;
- (8) the disposition of residual funds which will be made in the event of dissolution;
- (9) a listing of all banks, safety deposit boxes, or other repositories used;
- (10) a statement of the reports required to be filed by the committee with State or local officers, and, if so, the names, addresses, and positions of such persons; and
- (11) such other information as shall be required by the supervisory officer.

(c) Any change in information previously submitted in a statement of organization shall be reported to the supervisory officer within a ten-day period following the change.

(d) Any committee which, after having filed one or more statements of organization, disbands or determines it will no longer receive contributions or make expenditures during the calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000 shall so notify the supervisory officer.

* * * * *

Sec. 306. (a) A report or statement required by this title to be filed by a treasurer of a political committee, a candidate, or by any other person, shall be verified by the oath or affirmation of the person filing such report or statement, taken before any officer authorized to administer oaths.

(b) A copy of a report or statement shall be preserved by the person filing it for a period of time to be designated by the supervisory officer in a published regulation.

(c) The supervisory officer may, by published regulation of general applicability, relieve any category of political committees of the obligation to comply with Section 304 if such committee (1) primarily supports persons seeking State or local office, and does not substantially support candidates, and (2) does not operate in more than one State or on a statewide basis.

DEFINITIONS FOR USE WITH THIS STATEMENT OF ORGANIZATION REGISTRATION FORM

"address" and "mailing address" mean: building number, street, city, State and ZIP code;

"affiliated or connected organizations" means but is not limited to: (a) an organization which organized the reporting committee primarily for the purpose of influencing the nomination or election of candidates for Federal office; or (b) an organization whose primary purpose is to support the reporting committee; or (c) an organization whose membership is generally similar to that of the reporting committee;

"candidate" means: an individual who seeks nomination for election, or election, to Federal office, whether or not such individual is elected, and, for purposes of this paragraph, an individual shall be deemed to seek nomination for election, or election, if he has (1) taken the action necessary under the law of a State to qualify himself for nomination for election, or election, to Federal office, or (2) received contributions or made expenditures, or has given his consent for any other person to receive contributions or make expenditures, with a view to bringing about his nomination for election, or election, to such office;

"contribution" means: (1) a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value, made for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office or as a presidential or vice-presidential elector, or for the purpose of influencing the result of a primary held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party or for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President, or for the purpose of influencing the election of delegates to a constitutional convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States; (2) a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution for any such purpose; (3) a transfer of funds between political committees; (4) the payment, by any person other than a candidate or political committee, of compensation for the personal services of another person which are rendered to such candidate or committee without charge for any such purpose; and (5) notwithstanding the foregoing meanings of "contribution", the word shall not be construed to include services provided without compensation by individuals volunteering a portion or all of their time on behalf of a candidate or political committee;

"election" means: (1) a general, special, primary, or runoff election, (2) a convention or caucus of a political party held to nominate a candidate, (3) a primary election held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party, (4) a primary election held for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President, and (5) the election of delegates to a constitutional convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States;

"expenditure" means: (1) a purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, made for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office, or as a presidential or vice-presidential elector, or for the purpose of influencing the result of a primary held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party or for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President, or for the purpose of influencing the election of delegates to a constitutional convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States; (2) a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make an expenditure, and (3) a transfer of funds between political committees;

"Federal office" means: the office of President or Vice President of the United States; or of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States;

"file", "filed", and "filing" mean: delivery to the Comptroller General of the United States, Washington, D.C., by midnight of the prescribed filing date, or deposit as certified air mail, in an established U.S. Post Office, postage prepaid, no later than midnight of the second day next preceding the filing date. Certified mail receipt shall be retained as evidence of mailing. Documents deposited within 500 miles from Washington, D.C. need not be sent by air mail but shall be certified. In the event the mailing deadline falls on a day in which no mail is certified, the next preceding day on which mail is certified shall be deemed the mailing date;

"person" means: an individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation, labor organization, and any other organization or group of persons;

"political committee" means: any committee, association, or organization which accepts contributions or makes expenditures during a calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000;

"State" means: each State of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and any territory or possession of the United States; and

"supervisory officer" means: the Secretary of the Senate with respect to candidates for Senator; the Clerk of the House of Representatives with respect to candidates for Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States; and the Comptroller General of the United States in any other case.

CONTINUATION SHEET "A"

Reporting committee was organized and is supported by the Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President primarily for the purpose of assisting in the re-nomination and re-election of President Richard M. Nixon as candidate for the office of President of the United States. Notwithstanding this relationship, this committee is a distinct, individual entity existing separate and apart from any other committee organized to support the same candidate, and conducts its business nationally. It is chartered separately from any other such committee.

CONTINUATION SHEET "B"

ARTICLE VI of the charter of the committee, entitled "Surplus Funds," states as follows:

Section 1. Upon the dissolution of the Committee, any surplus funds may be disposed of by the Committee to such political organizations or other groups as the officers of the Committee may determine.

Section 2. The officers of the Committee may also return any surplus funds to all the contributors to the Committee (including Committee members) in the same proportion as each contribution bears to the total of all contributions received.

Section 3. No member of the Committee shall have the right to share in any surplus funds or assets of the Committee upon its dissolution, except as set forth in Section 2 above.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHARLES W. COLSON

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

The following represents firmed up options to house the new Democrats Committee under Mr. Connally:

2021 K Street, N. W.

A brand new office building on the busy K Street corridor, across from the old Muskie headquarters and what will be the new national McGovern headquarters, has 2,400 square feet of ground floor storefront space and up to 9,000 square feet of second floor office space -- but any amount up to the 9,000 could be taken.

The storefront space has large windows facing K Street for signs and posters.

The space could be ready in two-three weeks and details are attached. Floor plans were submitted yesterday.

Madison Office Building and 1133 15th Street

If Mr. Connally will be staying at the Madison Hotel, then Marshall Coyne would make available office space in the Madison office building (approximately 5,000 square feet) and next door to the office building is a new building with up to 9,000 square feet of storefront space facing 15th Street (and the Washington Post.) The storefront space could be ready in two weeks. Coyne returned to Washington yesterday and is showing us the office space today.

Wilbur Mills headquarters

The Mills headquarters on 16th Street facing the Statler is available in a week. There is 1200 square feet of space and room for a large sign. The cost would be only \$2000 for the remaining months. If this space is taken, office space would be taken elsewhere.

1700 Pennsylvania Avenue

As previously reported, there is 2,000 square feet of office space in the Mills Building, directly across from the old EOB. There would be room here for a large office, three smaller offices, and a number of secretaries and aides. This space is immediately available and would be combined with a storefront elsewhere -- perhaps the Wilbur Mills headquarters.

1125 15th Street, N. W.

Owned by the electrical workers union, the new office building at 1125 15th near the Madison has 5000 square feet of office space and 4500 square feet of storefront space. We've not yet had an answer as to whether it will be available to us.

Due to the fact that our leasing people have to make contact with leasing companies, the companies with building owners or lessees, and they with their lawyers, it sometimes takes a few days to nail down availability -- but with the exception of 1125 15th, all the above are available to us at this time.

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

July 20, 1972

Mr. Robert C. Odle
Committee for the Reelection
of the President
1730 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Rob:

Per our conversation as well as my conversation with Andy Lawrence, the following proposal is made to you to lease commercial, as well as office space at 2021 K Street, N. W., Washington.

There is approximately 2,400 square feet of ground level space having frontage on K Street available at \$15 per square foot per year. Availability of the space will be in approximately two to three weeks after drawings are completed. It is proposed to furnish you with building standard vinyl asbestos floor tile, acoustical tile ceiling with building standard electrical light fixtures and painted perimeter walls. All modifications and installation of telephone and electrical outlets within the space shall be installed at the sole cost of the Committee.

In addition, a \$5,000 deposit shall be placed with the owner for any remodeling, repainting, etc. necessary upon the expiration of the lease to make the demised premises ready for the new tenant.

Approximately 5,000 square feet shall be made available to the Committee on the second floor at the annual rate of \$8.50 per square foot per year. Landlord shall provide vinyl asbestos floor tile, acoustical tile ceiling with building standard electrical light fixtures and painted perimeter walls. All partitioning, telephone and electrical outlets, if required, shall be installed at the sole cost and expense of the Committee. In addition a \$5,000 deposit is required by the owner for remodeling and construction changes which will be required upon the expiration of the lease term.

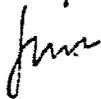
Mr. Robert C. Odle
July 20, 1972
Page Two

One-half of the total rental due shall be payable upon execution of a lease agreement, and the balance shall be payable upon occupancy. All utilities are included in the price mentioned for the office space, and the Tenant shall pay for all utilities required in the commercial (first floor) space.

I would suggest that a sketch be prepared by the committee of the partitioning, telephone and electrical outlets, which will be required for both areas as soon as possible so that the necessary planning, etc. can commence immediately. We are prepared to commence construction upon completion of the plans and an executed lease agreement and knowing of your timing and the urgency thereof, we will do everything possible to provide the space for you at the earliest date.

Should you have any questions regarding the above, please call me.

Sincerely,



James L. Eichberg
President

JLE:kw

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHARLES W. COLSON
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

The following is an update on my previous memo regarding arrangements for Mr. Connally:

LEGAL

We're waiting for your decision as to whether the new Committee will be funded by our Finance Committee or set up as a new reporting Committee. We sent over registration papers Monday and only need the names of a chairman and treasurer if you elect option two (new Committee).

CAR AND DRIVER

Per your request, a Carey Cadillac and driver will be awaiting Mr. Connally Friday morning. The same driver will remain with him throughout the weekend. We understand a decision as to whether we should lease a car or use Carey has not been made. The Carey driver is William Tedder and our contact at Carey is Guy Thomas.

APARTMENT

A two-bedroom suite will be ready at the Madison Friday morning and an outside telephone line installed.

We hope Mr. Connally will look at Bus Mosbacher's former suite at the Watergate Hotel -- it's a corner suite overlooking the river and JFK Center and rents for \$1300-\$1700 less per month than a much smaller and kitchenless suite at the Madison. In addition, as was mentioned in Monday's memo, there are also suites at the Wellington and Sheraton Park.

SECRETARIES

Ann Pinkerton begins this week as Mickey Gardner's secretary. We'll have resumes on other top gals for Mr. Connally's review.

CHARTER AIRCRAFT

Lear Jets are available between Texas and Washington for approximately \$1,500 each way. However, if Mr. Connally would not be returning immediately, there would be a \$1,500 charge to get the plane back to Texas.

Mr. Stans, as you know, has said recently that the Committee will not pay for charter flights under any circumstances.

OFFICE SPACE

Since the last memo, office space options have been firming up:

-- A brand new building between 20th and 21st Streets on the busy K Street corridor has 2400 square feet of ground floor storefront space available, plus up to 9,000 square feet of office space on the 2nd floor. This is the best option thus far in our view: it's on a busy street, near the White House and 1701, has office space just above storefront space, and is new, quality space. Two weeks would be required to complete the space.

-- There is office space in the 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue building and storefront space (which we now have under lease) in the building facing on G Street. However, G Street is not heavily travelled and we have a half-floor of Committee offices in the building. Also, two weeks to complete here.

-- A new building at 1133 15th Street has 9000 feet of storefront space and may have more available upstairs for offices. It's near the Madison and we're checking.

-- Another new building (owned by a union) near the Madison at 1125 15th has 4500 feet of storefront space and possibly 5000 square feet of office space. We're checking to see if the owners are interested.

-- The old Mills headquarters on 16th Street may be available if it has office space in addition to the storefront.

-- Muskie headquarters we found is owned by Edward Bennett Williams and will shortly be used by McGovern (the first option above on K Street is across from what will be McGovern headquarters).

We should have complete details on all options Thursday.

✓ bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 5, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: E. D. FAILOR

SUBJECT: Democrats for the Re-election of the President Plan

PURPOSE.

The purpose of Democrats for the Re-election of the President plan is to constitute a group of leading Democrats which will publicly endorse the President.

CONCEPT

Leading Democrats, as a response to the President's record and abilities and as a reaction to the Democratic Party's nomination of a far left radical, will declare their support for the President in the '72 presidential campaign. This Democratic support will increase the acceptability on the part of the rank and file Democrat to work for and/or vote for the President, reduce money availability to the McGovern campaign, and obtain spokesmen who will point out the irresponsibility of the McGovern candidacy.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Democrats for the Re-election of the President plan are:

1. To demonstrate the President's record and abilities and to contrast them with McGovern's radical programs and supporters by Democratic leaders endorsing the President;
2. To make it acceptable for rank and file Democrats to support the President through their leaders endorsing the President;
3. To provide Democratic leaders as spokesmen for the President against the illogical, unrealistic and extreme McGovern positions

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

and in support of the President's policies that have and are working;

4. To promote fund raising for the President among traditional
 - donors to Democratic candidates and/or to shut off sources of money to the McGovern candidacy;
5. To translate the Democrats for the Re-election of the President operation into Democratic rank and file votes for Republican Congressmen and Senators;
6. To provide political muscle from rank and file Democrats for the Re-election of the President through the use of certain labor organizations and rank and file Democrats;
7. To obtain additional public endorsements by Democrats of the President on the national, state and local levels;
8. To achieve the image that the President is the candidate of all of the thinking and responsible people and, thus, is the truly bi-partisan choice in this election;
9. To build Democrats for the Re-election of the President organizations in selected states and, particularly, in the key states at the local level, giving them the maximum visibility;
10. To create a bandwagon movement from the McGovern candidacy in support of the President and, thereby, erode McGovern's support from the traditional Democrat groups such as ethnic, Catholic, Jewish, blue collar workers and union members;
11. To provide names to write letters for targeted direct mailings in key areas;
12. To sponsor media ads for the President which will be directed from them to the traditional Democratic voter;
13. To sponsor public functions to raise money, publicize Democrats for the Re-election of the President and to obtain the support of additional Democrats for the President.

ORGANIZATION

The organizational structure of the Democrats for Nixon should include:

1. The Honorable John Connally as the National Chairman;
2. Six National Vice Chairmen who are well known nationally and

within the Democrat Party and which would include Mr. Gino Palluci;

3. The Democrats for the Re-election of the President headed by Mr. Gino Palluci which will raise money, organize state and local Democrats for Nixon, recruit additional Democrats to endorse the President, keep traditional Democratic money from going to McGovern, and to coordinate Democratic spokesmen against McGovern and for the President;
4. A full time Executive Director such as Mike Moroney, Jr., in consultation with Connally and Palluci, directing an adequate staff to carry out the objectives of Democrats for the Re-election of the President.
5. State and local Democrats for the Re-election of the President organizations in selected states including key states;
6. The clearance of all policies and plans of the Democrats for the Re-election of the President with E. D. Failor of the Re-election of the President Committee by the leadership of that group;
7. The coordination of all timing, press releases, announcements, speeches and strategy with the strategy and timing of the Re-election of the President Committee through E. D. Failor on a daily basis;
8. The development, structuring and announcement of Democrats for the Re-election of the President sub-groups such as Congressmen and Senators, past and present, city and county officials, union leaders and members, former contributors; movie stars, etc.

TIMING

Our timing should be based on our concept that the Democrats for the Re-election of the President are responding to McGovern's nomination and all the negative things it entails and the positive record and abilities of the President, to wit:

1. July 12 and 13 -- After the nomination and during the convention to make use of national media in Miami we will have Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton and Governor John Love of Colorado in Miami to welcome some of the more volatile Democrats to the President's team;
2. July 14 to July 19 -- After the Democratic Convention we will have well known Democrats and/or labor leaders come out for the President to show the continuing and growing shock and concern

of Democrats;

3. July 20 -- The announcement of the Democrats for the Re-election of the President organization will be made at a press conference by the Honorable John Connally as Chairman of that group. A large list of nationally known names will be released at that time. This group will represent the thoughtful Democrat who has thought the whole thing through and is making his decision;
4. July 21 to November 7 -- We will announce additional names as they come out up until Election Day with appropriate news releases and/or press conferences on a national, state and/or local basis as indicated.

METHOD OF RELEASING VIP NAMES

After the July 20 press conference we propose to release the names of more important Democrats for the Re-election of the President using press conferences in major media cities in the key states for maximum media impact. This will allow us to zero in on the issue(s) most pertinent to that key state.

The VIP Democratic names in the beginning will be obtained by Don Rodgers (labor leaders), Al Abrams (mayors, former governors, city and county officials and state legislators), Mike Balzano (ethnics), Bill Timmons (Congressmen and Senators, past and present) and Chuck Colson. Presently, we have John Connally; Senator Smathers; Senator Lausche; Victor Carter, Los Angeles liberal Jewish fund raiser; Benjamin Swig, liberal Jew from San Francisco; Melvin Dubinski, former National Director of the United Jewish Appeal and a number of Jewish rabbis ready to go.

We should be able to break loose union leaders, public officials, ethnics and others immediately following the McGovern nomination.

RECOMMENDATION

That the above plan be adopted.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

EDF:sp
EDF CHRON
EDF SUBJECT
JSM CHRON
JSM WORK COPY

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 24, 1972

H
FU
7/27

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

"Tribune" Article

I noticed in this morning's News Summary that you are referred to in a "Tribune" article by Beckman in which you are cited as "with Malek expressing confidence that a million volunteers will be on tap by Labor Day." That may be accurate and a good description of your program, but the question is whether you are now talking with reporters.

Would you let me know?

GS/jb
FU - 7/28

8/1 OK per malek

Max Berger

L

July 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

IEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

CHARLES COLSON

The enclosed might have been a catastrophe were it not for the fact that, Thank God, no one reads the Staten Island Advance. I am sure you realize that it is the fastest way to turn Connally off by announcing his appointment before he agrees to it. Maybe you were misled by the writer but this could be a real disaster. I would suggest that you let everyone at 1701 know that the subject of Connally's role in the campaign is out of bounds for any discussion. Connally is a sensitive guy and might easily tell us all to go to hell if he thinks we are boxing him in.

*This is almost beyond belief. I
firmly feel you should order Magruder
to have no further contact with any
member of the press, at any time. I
would also include Walsh.*

H.

OTHER GOP-RELATED NEWS

"RN continues to pick up support from influential Va. Dems w/the announcement by 2 more state legislators that they can't support McG," leads a Star article headed: "Va. Dems Turn to GOP."

Gallup says the McG drive to register "new voters" may prove counterproductive by enlisting as many RN backers as McG supporters. Among the 50% of young voters so far registered, McG leads RN 57-41. But in those unregistered, RN leads 46-43. Those registered contain twice as many college students and they prefer McG 61-35 while non-college favor RN 48-48. ... The Times leads its report on the poll: It "raises a sharp challenge to the expectation of strategists for McG that he can win a critical 8M vote margin over RN among 1st time voters by conducting a massive youth registration campaign." [Fred Dutton has not yet commented -- Observer.]

White has a column on the GOP's directing of its central youth appeal to the 70% who aren't in college and never went -- "the gas station attendant vote." ... VN is now the top concern of college students w/29% so citing it compared 24% who named it #1 last October. The environment is the #2 concern w/17% naming it. Economy is now the top concern of 11% compared to 21% last October. "Internal Dissent" is listed as the top problem by 12% of students.

Alaska is leaning strongly to RN and Ted Stevens, reports the Times w/the pipeline and DOD budget key issues. Also noted is a "phenomenal" increase in registration -- up over 50% since '70 and climbing. ... The trend is clearly to RN, says Reston, noting foreign and domestic results. "Meanwhile the Dems are broke and divided" and nations around the world expect RN to win. "It's a good bet, but no cinch," says Reston emphasizing the "grim and even ugly facts" of unemployment and food prices here and the killing in VN.

A Post story on RNC registration efforts in Delaware reflects GOP belief that the program is a success. ... The Trib's Beckman writes of a "noticeable shift" at 1701 since MacGregor took over w/TV de-emphasized and a massive grass roots effort given top priority w/Malek expressing confidence that a million volunteers will be on tap by Labor Day.

will
follow

Connally to head Dems for Nixon

By SAUL KOHLER
OF OUR WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON — Former Treasury Secretary John Connally appears headed for the role of chairman of a Democrats-for-Nixon organization which will begin functioning formally immediately following next month's Democratic National Convention.

The finishing touches on the organization, and the formal announcement of the chairman, will be completed after the Democrats select their candidate to oppose President Nixon in November.

At present, the Nixon re-election committee and its leaders are going on the assumption that the Democrats

Magruder is a native Staten Islander — See Page 2

will nominate Sen. George S. McGovern of South Dakota. But the formation of the committee has been deferred on the chance that Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota will emerge as the standard-bearer, which might change their tactics.

Job Magruder, a former Staten Islander chief of staff of the Nixon committee, confirmed that Connally — now a roving ambassador currently on a round-the-world assignment for the President — has discussed the key campaign role with former Attorney General John Mitchell, Nixon's campaign manager.

Texas Democratic sources say Connally already has been tabbed for the post, that he has accepted and is ready to mobilize the South for the President.

"No formal order has been made, nor has Connally accepted any role," Magruder said. "Certainly, he will play a major role, and the chairmanship of the Democrats-for-Nixon seems to be a great idea. It would be better suited to national role than a state or local one."

TALKS TO RESUME

The discussions will resume when Connally returns from his trip, Magruder said, and will involve the President himself. The committee wants to know whether Nixon has any more foreign trips scheduled for Connally prior to election.

Connally, also a former governor of Texas and secretary of the Navy, has been reported in line to be the next peace negotiator for the Vietnam war. Extended trips abroad in behalf of the administration would rule out a formal campaign role for Connally.

"But in any case, with a title or without one, full time or part time, he will be effective," Magruder said. "He's current, he's vibrant and he's good."

On the assumption that McGovern will win the nomination — the Nixon forces estimate McGovern will come to the Miami Beach convention with 1,362 first-ballot votes and need only 147 for the nomination — Magruder said the Democrats-for-Nixon committee would consist of:

○ Labor leaders who might support a Democratic candidate other than McGovern but who would switch to Nixon if it's McGovern.

○ Democratic leaders of Southern and border states, who feel their local tickets and congressional races would be harmed if they back McGovern. These people presumably would support President Nixon and Democrats running for other offices.

○ Key leaders of the Jewish community, who would have supported Humphrey as a longtime friend of the State of Israel, but who would rather go for Nixon than McGovern and still retain their identities as Democrats.

"There will be an active Democrats-For-Nixon organization, good sized and substantive," Magruder said. "We're going to hold off until they have their convention. By that time, Connally will have returned home and he and Mitchell can discuss it between themselves and with the President."

"But he sure looks like a good man for the job."

In a survey of Southern Democratic leaders, it was determined that much support would be given to such an organization. Arthur Watson, the Louisiana Democratic chairman, said two congressmen already have told him they would join such a group if McGovern is nominated. He declined to name the congressmen.

X

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

Ken went through the Democratic Platform; these are points that can be made; but, again, they are nothing compared with McGovern's own positions.

Buchanan

*CRB
per/khach
8/9*

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

-- The Democratic Platform made no mention of Democratic party accomplishments. This must mean there are no such accomplishments of which it could boast and proves as well that the party is no longer the party of FDR, HST, JFK and LBJ.

-- The platform endorses busing for the purposes of racial balance. This is consistent with the fact that the Democratic convention heartily booed George Wallace when he criticized ill-advised busing plans. The Democratic party could be expected to expand such busing if McGovern is elected.

-- Democrats wish to do away with welfare, but will not pass H.R. 1 in Congress. Their welfare proposal does not include work requirements, thus committing the Democratic party to more welfare of the type which discourages work and discourages people from getting off welfare.

-- On Vietnam, the Democratic party has made no pretense of doing away with a long tradition of bi-partisanship in foreign policy. The party has become so elitist as to completely reject the views of millions of Democrats who strongly support President Nixon's conduct of the Indochina war and his major foreign policy initiatives.

-- The Democrats endorsed amnesty for draft evaders following the end of the war. By not including alternative service requirements in their platform, it is clear that the Democrats would let draft evaders come home free without any punishment for their illegal acts and with no moral opprobrium placed on their behavior. Draft evaders are told that they are right and 50,000 men who were killed in Vietnam were suckers.

-- The Platform does no more than propose an updated Great Society where the government takes care of all of us and the middle class pays through the nose for it. After eight years of big government brought us bigger problems, the Democrats are again asking for the reins presumably because they feel they never made the government quite as big as they really wanted to.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

Date August 7, 1972

TO: GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

Please Handle

FYI

File

Hold

By way of follow up
Ⓟ

Straw
FYI

August 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. ALEXANDER P. BUTTERFIELD

FROM:

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Upon receipt of your memorandum regarding Clint Murchison, I telephoned Fred Agnich of our Texas Committee for the Re-election of the President. He was out of town and I finally reached him today.

Fred promised to visit with Murchison the next time he is in Dallas and believes that he will support the President over McGovern.

Agnich also promised to contact Murchison III as well as Craig Keeland.

I am also giving a copy of your memo to Ken Rietz, who is director of Young Voters for the President, and ask that his Texas youth fieldman contact the two young men.

cc: ~~The~~ Honorable Clark MacGregor
Mr. Jeb S. Magruder
Mr. Frederic V. Malek
Mr. Kenneth Rietz

August 1972

MC GOVERN

8/9/72 - DNP

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9 Senate Dem. Caucus & press following-Capitol Women's, Latino & Govs. Caucuses & Dem. Unity Lunch-S. Park House Dem. Caucus - Capitol	10 Manchester-NH-shoe factory, press conf. & walking tour Hartford, Conn. Actna tour, Political reception at Greek Church To Providence	11 Providence, RI Sr.Citizens Center, walking tour, lunch w/Gov, and rally NYCity- P.C. at LaGuardia, mtg with Ed.Bd, Time-Life -	12
13	14	15 Begin Mid-west swing GM Auto Assembly Plant, Lordsburg town, Ohio	16 Springfield, Illinois - State Fair? Milwaukee	17 overnite Campaign elsewhere in Wisconsin?	18 back to DC	19
20	21 FYI-Am. Fed. of Teachers Convention in St. Paul, Minn. ?	22	23	24	25	26
			8/23-25 - Visit Border States and South, including Texas & possible visit with LBJ			
27	28	29	30	31		

September 1972

MC GOVERN
8/9/72 DNP

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1	2
3	4 LABOR DAY Rally in Detroit ?	5 Address Assoc of Machinists Conv. opening to... day in L. A. --- So. Govs. Conf. Inv. pending- Hilton Head, SC	6	7	8	9 ROSH HASHANA
10	11 FYI-11-17 Farmfest USA Vernon Center, Minn. ?	12	13	14	15	16
17	18 YOM KIPPUR	19	20	21	22 FYI-22-24 Farm Power Show, Algona, Ia ?	23
24	25 FYI-25-27 Natl. Fed. of Indep. Unions, Columbus, O. ?	26	27	28	29	30

October 1972

MC GOVERN
8/9/72 DNP

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9 COLUMBUS DAY	10	11 FYI - 11-13 FFA Conven- tion, K. City?	12	13	14
15 FYI-15-17 Natl. League of Families (POW- MIA relatives) meeting in DC?	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23 VETERANS' DAY	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION WITH NO SPECIFIC DATES OR TIME FRAME

McG. stated he hoped to visit President Johnson and Truman during summer

Promised to hold weekly press conferences during campaign

Has tentatively agreed to appear sometime during campaign before New York Society of Security Analysts which meets weekly in Wall Street Area.

Stated on 7/18/72 he would go to Chicago in next 2 weeks to meet with Mayor Daley