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<td>From MacGregor to the Budget Committee of the CRP RE: notes from that entity's recent meeting. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>From MacGregor to &quot;the Staff&quot; RE: the campaign staff between September 6 and November. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Post-April 7, 1972 Committee for the Re-Election of the President budget. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Budget for the Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President. 3 pgs.</td>
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<td>From MacGregor to members of the Budget Committee RE: notes from the committee's recent meeting. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>Notes on various campaign topics, particularly those involving Dent. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Hainsworth to Dent RE: Wyoming's political outlook in the 1972 campaign. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Hainsworth to Dent RE: New Hampshire political outlooks on the state and national level. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: criticizing Kennedy, Humphrey, and Muskie for their support of McGovern. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: halting responses to the McGovern campaign on non-issues. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: an announcement on the Roswell Employment Training Center which undermines the 1972 Republican campaign. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Bob Reisner to Malek and Magruder RE: overlap in certain campaign economic activities. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From &quot;Jeb&quot; to &quot;Gorden&quot; RE: attached material. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Garment to Magruder RE: attached campaign ideas. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From a member of Harvard University's Department of Government to Garment RE: campaign advice. 5 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Paul Weaver to Garment RE: attached information from Lipset. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Norman Podhoretz to Garment RE: attached articles relating to the election. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>An article from &quot;Commentary&quot; titled &quot;McGovern and the Jews: A Debate,&quot; written by Nathan Glazer and Milton Himmelfarb. 9 pgs.</td>
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<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>A &quot;Commentary&quot; editorial written by Norman Podhoretz titled &quot;Between Nixon and the New Politics.&quot; 3 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Peter P. Witonski to Garment RE: a memo on intellectuals. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From RN to C. Langhorne Washburn RE: advertising charges related to the presidential campaign. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>From MacGregor to Colson RE: the establishment of a committee for mailings to labor groups. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Robert Hatch to Robert Morgan RE: sending out a letter from the Committee for the Re-election of the President to members of important California unions. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Marik to Morgan RE: letterheads and signatures on key campaign mailings. 6 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Thomas G. Dunn to Marik RE: approving the use of his name on a Committee for the Re-election of the President mailing. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Morgan, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: the use of a &quot;Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President&quot; group to persuade Jewish voters to vote for RN. Material from the group attached. 14 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Magruder to MacGregor RE: digital information on voters in key election states. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Magruder to Malek RE: providing voter information to various states. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Morgan to Magruder RE: a copy of a letter from Jeno F. Paulucci to key food industry leaders. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Draft of letter and other relevant campaign material attached. 6 pgs.</td>
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The Budget Committee met on Sep 6 in the first of the regular meetings to review campaign expenditure. In the future, next weekly the meetings will be held on Mondays so that advertising commitment decisions can be made.

Stan's analysis was rather pessimistic noting several of expenditures exceeding budget allocations. The group decided to establish a giving freeze at 1701, with a total of 42.
approximately
of which 40% are professional and
20% are support.

Stan's noted that receipts were
not coming in as quickly as expected.
He attributed this to the substantial
time he has had to
spend on the Watergate Caper. He
noted said that he could not
plead not guilty that every
contact all the people who have
committed but not delivered. Only
Kalmback could help him out.

Succesfully. Mac Gregor said
he would talk with Kalmback.

- You indicated Mac Gregor will
MacGregor will try to increase the states' contributions by use of a formula prepared quota chart. The only states that are a real problem are Ohio, where Spence Shore, the AT Rep, Finance Chairman, has incurred Glenn's vengeful wrath. And where nothing has been raised and PA which after being logged down by initial organizational problems, seems...
MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEE

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

SUBJECT: Budget Committee Meeting, Wednesday, September 6, 1972

1. $500,000 is to be deducted from direct mail and given to campaign materials.

2. The $100,000 it will cost to run the women's surrogate program will be charged against the Tour Office's present budget.

3. Stans will not release any funds to November Group until it submits a $6.2 million budget. (The $6.2 million represents the total cost to Re-elect Committee -- not just media costs).

4. The convention budget is to be reviewed by Barrick and Timmons, and Timmons is then to attend the next Budget Committee meeting to discuss convention spending. Every convention item which can be charged against the RNC's Arrangement Committee budget will be charged against that budget.

5. Odle is to provide MacGregor and Stans with samples of the various Colson mailings.

6. $200,000 is to be taken from the Citizens budget making that budget $2.154 million, and put into campaign materials to finance voter bloc materials, thus creating a $2.2 million campaign materials budget.

7. The Executive budget should be raised to reflect the increased activity by Ed Failor's operation. Colson's mailing budget should be reduced by the amount Failor's budget is raised.

8. A new Administrative budget should be put together, showing the increase in fixed costs.

9. A freeze on additional staff hiring will go into effect COB Wednesday, September 6. (See attached memo).
10. The Budget Meetings will shift to Monday afternoons at 3:00 p.m. beginning Monday, September 25.

11. The next meeting will be Wednesday, September 13, at 3:00 p.m.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE STAFF

FROM:  CLARK MAC GREGOR

At a Budget Meeting today, Mr. Stans and I agreed that as of today we will not add any additional personnel to the campaign staff between now and November -- regardless of whether they have been budgeted for or planned. In other words, if a person is not on the payroll today, he will not go on the payroll at all.

While there should not be any exceptions to this rule, any requests for exceptions should be made in writing to Rob Odle who will then bring the request to my attention.
C M, Stan, TWE, Randt, JKW, Odle, lalve
Stans - 45 m - mentioned as possible
10 m - is down to 3.5 mil - Bally
Spent 14 m since Apr 7
Reid 2.2 but gone to States
End of pay - payroll plans
460, 000 - payroll
Next 10 days will have to cover
Get 5 m fr 1/26 denim
Real crisis in Oct
St budgets - are under control
Fully funded - by end
of Aug 4.6; funded 5.4
Will budget in serious trouble
Pots have dried up - Large
controls - who we need it
Watergate has hurt to a
degree in the field - Stans
gets 20 letters a day.
Direct mail is 50,000 a day
- Taken all of Stans time 9-26
(standing half hour)
Organic OK w/TWE, Chadwa
1st 100,000 day
9/5

2 days last
All - 1 mill
- expended.

f) New Cab Request - Bankwire
No, 500,000 on 9/4
Violates agree - new EDP
will not live up in 6m budget
JSM - New Group will be u/in C, 3+ each wk present ages

6. And support -

8. Plans - wants to cut all out of CWC m/gs on Item 72

-7. CM wants sample of M/Gs fr/CWC + will exa/ctical

8. Convention gap - - Plans - was (text was) BT response - any discipline

CM will meet w/BT + Plans, etc.

CM - we do many things bee/wt ordered & begin stopping that

Plans - memo shows no pre-ynts of fr/CM memo.

Research

2 mil prepaid -

5 mil 5 of unexpanded B/c

Citizens

FM - No probs u/in 1,2,3,1 - FM
to check youth; FM will try to see

Materials - these are probs + cpls FM

Executive - Failure - why over budget,

programs w/ Cotterin, etc.

Get CWC Plans - wants budget

Probab wants total 100,000
Admenic - function of payroll & space
are fixed costs. Staff - start cutting back on staff, salaries.
Off Admen - of supplies
Stabil - EM & TM - holding on staff, now trying to transfer.
will cut back.
cM - no more paid personnel.
- Total freeze on hiring COB, 4/6.

GSA - may purchase our office supplies.
Plans - get independent valuation?
20 Wats lines - all used.
Next will new figures for Reale.
New Budget only 2 Wats on men's.

Stans. TWE, K, Hafgren, Shuler - only ones bringing in avg $.

CMT speake.
C won't come to D.C., permanently.

Uses E. & P. as excuse for "other Q.

3 millions of $ in contracts
that are not in 5.

Stans - 10 official & unofficial trips.

CM - Finance People say will make commits.
Thermon Chart of all 8's are in my budget.

Manager no & for camp unless they raise it.

Doubts Me & direct mail as effective as they claim.

Me & "Hunting for &".

McG was put for & on media.

Weekly report.

End, Pa, Olgie, < only prob ets.>

"Nothing."

Steve Spence there post 11/7.

St Rep Finchman.

Key—straight nose.
**COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT**

**Budget - Post April 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Budget</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>Dalley</td>
<td>$6,293,000</td>
<td>Represents total cost of November Group to Re-elect Committee -- media costs, salaries, overhead, etc. Emphasis in advertising on key states. Some dollars which might have gone to this budget now scheduled for direct mail and telephone operations (see below).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Materials</td>
<td>Dalley</td>
<td>$1,500,000</td>
<td>Lowest possible figure -- emphasis on placing materials in key states. Cost $2 million in 1968.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate Support</td>
<td>Magruder/Malek</td>
<td>$1,380,000</td>
<td>Represents White House support account: Presidential and First Family travel, White House mailing program, etc. Includes only $50,000 for Vice Presidential travel. Does not include funds for special Presidential use which may later be required in the amount of $70,000 - $100,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Convention</strong></td>
<td>Timmons</td>
<td>$476,000</td>
<td>Includes all costs associated with convention and travel to and from convention. Covers entire Nixon campaign participation in convention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR/Media</td>
<td>Miller/Shumway</td>
<td>$740,000</td>
<td>All expenses associated with Division: salaries, payroll burden, all publications and programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polling</td>
<td>Teeter</td>
<td>$790,000</td>
<td>Firm estimate based on what has been approved. Increased $40,000 over last projected total due to special White House polling. Emphasis on key states.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and Planning, Direct Mail, Telephone Operations</td>
<td>Marler</td>
<td>$7,781,000</td>
<td>$5,490,000 for direct mail, $1,900,000 for telephone operations, $180,000 for computer maps, Compass Systems, data processing, balance for salaries, travel, payroll burden. Concentrate on key states.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Citizens&quot; activity; special groups and committees</td>
<td>Malek</td>
<td>$2,334,000</td>
<td>Entire cost of all voter bloc and citizens groups, plus overall Citizens coordination, national volunteers (voter bloc program, Ballot Security, etc). Less than 1968 figure. Does not include voter bloc materials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduling</td>
<td>Porter</td>
<td>$260,000</td>
<td>Scheduling of all surrogates, celebrities, athletes, American Music; staff salaries, payroll burden, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour Office</td>
<td>Foust</td>
<td>$974,000</td>
<td>All advance and tour office costs: most funds for travel of surrogates and advance personnel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>Failor</td>
<td>$60,000</td>
<td>Primarily salaries and payroll burden for Failor operation and other special assistants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>Magruder/Odle</td>
<td>$343,000</td>
<td>Basically salaries and payroll burden for campaign director's office, deputy director, security guards, correspondence and personnel units, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Administration</td>
<td>Odle</td>
<td>$789,000</td>
<td>Rents, telephones, furniture, office equipment, autos, typewriters, office supplies, leasehold improvements, etc. Running higher than previously expected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUB-TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>$23,744,000</td>
<td>All funds spent by all division but does not include pre-payments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funds spent prior to April 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>$3,110,000</td>
<td>Does not include costs of running office covered above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUB-TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>$26,854,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance Committee Budget</td>
<td>Steen/Barrick</td>
<td>$865,000</td>
<td>Salaries, payroll burden, travel, etc. Also includes voter registration materials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUB-TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>$27,719,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Division</td>
<td>Malek</td>
<td>$781,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Support</td>
<td>Malek</td>
<td>$11,500,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>$40,000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Budget Comparison as of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPENSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>TOTAL BUDGET</th>
<th>ACTUAL EXPENDITURES THROUGH</th>
<th>UNEXPENDED BALANCE</th>
<th>OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>5,360,000</td>
<td>530,248</td>
<td>4,771,752</td>
<td>Accts. #33000-Billboards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35000-Broadcast Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36000-Print Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38000-Agency Fees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 17-Advertising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Materials</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>1,329,746</td>
<td>179,204</td>
<td>Accts. #60000-Campaign Materials</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60010-Printed Matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate Support</td>
<td>1,380,000</td>
<td>450,992</td>
<td>899,002</td>
<td>Dept. 70-Pres. and 1st Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>72-White House Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73-Public Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73-The Vice President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Accts. #66000-Expenditures prior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to dept. breakout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention</td>
<td>457,000</td>
<td>549,056</td>
<td>98,036</td>
<td>Accts. #69000-Convention</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 19-Convention</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 16-Public Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>P/R - Media</td>
<td>677,000</td>
<td>342,818</td>
<td>328,182</td>
<td>Accts. #60050-P/R Publications</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 16-Public Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 15-Included in Marik's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Research &amp; Planning Chgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polling</td>
<td>590,000</td>
<td>230,647</td>
<td>359,353</td>
<td>Accts. #67100-Polling &amp; Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 15-Included in Marik's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Research &amp; Planning Chgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research, Planning, Direct Mail,</td>
<td>6,850,000</td>
<td>1,726,031</td>
<td>5,123,969</td>
<td>Accts. #34000-Telephone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone Operations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 10-Telephone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 15-Included in Marik's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Research &amp; Planning Chgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPENSE CATEGORY</td>
<td>TOTAL BUDGET</td>
<td>ACTUAL EXPENDITURES THROUGH</td>
<td>UNEXPENDED BALANCE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens Activity</td>
<td>8,354,000</td>
<td>3,072,420</td>
<td>3,271,337</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduling</td>
<td>360,000</td>
<td>1,234,000</td>
<td>2,954,454</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour Office</td>
<td>777,000</td>
<td>2,293,000</td>
<td>1,907,046</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>63,883</td>
<td>(3,883)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>343,000</td>
<td>344,104</td>
<td>(1,104)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Administration</td>
<td>731,520</td>
<td>792,305</td>
<td>(61,785)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>19,973,520</td>
<td>7,733,425</td>
<td>12,233,045</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Funds Spent prior to 4/7 3,110,000

OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS

- Dept. 30 - Agriculture
- Dept. 31 - Black
- Dept. 32 - Business & Industry
- Dept. 33 - Elderly
- Dept. 34 - Ethnic
- Dept. 35 - Jewish
- Dept. 36 - Spanish
- Dept. 37 - Women
- Dept. 38 - Youth
- Dept. 39 - Transient
- Dept. 40 - Labor
- Dept. 41 - Veterans
- Dept. 42 - Lawyers
- Dept. 43 - Physicians
- Dept. 44 - Citizens
- Dept. 45 - Educators

Acct. 66500 - Spokesmen Res. Support 17,050
Acct. 66500 - Spokesmen Res. Support 8,546

Dept. 10 - Executive
Dept. 12 - Administration

Accts. 51000 - Postage
- 51000 - Office Supplies 1,260
- 52100 - Telephone 1,260
- 53000 - Insurance Taxes 2,500
- 54000 - Rent - Non Fin. Dept. 15,900
- 55000 - Leasehold Improvements 27,026
- 56000 - Furn. Equip. Rented 131,773
- 57000 - Furn. Equip. Purchased 9,717

Total 563,309
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPENSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>TOTAL BUDGET</th>
<th>ACTUAL EXPENDITURES THROUGH</th>
<th>UNEXPENDED BALANCE</th>
<th>OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Total</td>
<td>$23,083,520</td>
<td>$10,849,475</td>
<td>$12,234,045</td>
<td>Accts. #70100-75000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance Committee</td>
<td>$865,000</td>
<td>$881,176</td>
<td>$483,824</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Total</td>
<td>$23,949,520</td>
<td>($1,230,857)</td>
<td>$12,717,669</td>
<td>Dept. 14-Political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>$781,000</td>
<td>$33,133</td>
<td>$444,864</td>
<td>18-Field Operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20-Ballot Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Support</td>
<td>$10,777,500</td>
<td>$4,394,956</td>
<td>$6,382,544</td>
<td>Transfers of Funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Major Gifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Over $100 money retained in states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RNC - Unallocated</td>
<td>($180,000)</td>
<td>($180,000)</td>
<td>($180,000)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>$35,327,020</td>
<td>$15,961,939</td>
<td>$19,365,081</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEE

FROM:   CLARK MACGREGOR

SUBJECT: Budget Committee Meeting, Wednesday, September 13, 1972

PRESENT: Berrick, Dailey, Evans, Joanou, Jones, LaRue, MacGregor, Magruder, Nunn, Odie, Reisner, Stens, Strachan

1) The following advertising commitments are authorized subject to review and possible cancellation at the Budget Committee meeting on Monday, September 25: $2,271,909 for network television, $180,700 for voter bloc advertising, and $335,000 for Democrats for Nixon. It is understood that we will continue to operate within the $6.2 million dollar advertising budget even though we have made these tentative commitments.

2) We will not cut back on direct mail at this point, but we will continue to evaluate the electronic media expenditures versus direct mail expenditures.

3) All campaign divisions will give top priority and their maximum support and effort to the Finance Committee's Night for Nixon.

4) The proposal by Anne Armstrong for a bus tour is rejected. This will be communicated to her by Odie. (After the budget meeting Odie talked to Anne and told her the money was not available for the program from 1701. Anne said she would explore the possibility with Thomas R. Evans and Lang Washburn of raising $40,000 through the RNC for this purpose.)

5) Peter Dailey is to meet with Bailey Howard regarding Howard's proposal to donate $20,000 to the Committee which the Committee would match with $20,000 additional for weekly newspaper advertisements. Dailey is then to bring the proposal in completed form back to the Budget Committee for approval. (Subsequent to the budget meeting Odie called Herb Klein at Lang Washburn's request to inform him of the action of the Budget Committee. Howard is in California already at work on the program but Klein will have Howard call Dailey immediately to discuss it.)
6) The next meeting of the Budget Committee will be Wednesday, September 20, at 3:00 p.m. The meeting after that will be on Monday, September 25, at 3:00 p.m., and every Monday at 3:00 p.m. thereafter.

A copy of the revised budget is attached.
### COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Budget</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>Odlie</td>
<td>$591,000</td>
<td>Basically salaries and payroll burden for campaign director’s office, deputy director, administrative personnel, counsel, security, correspondents, and personnel units, etc. Includes payroll burden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>Coyle</td>
<td>$6,293,000</td>
<td>Represents total cost of November Group to elect Committee -- mail costs, salaries, travel, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Materials</td>
<td>Easter/Salk</td>
<td>$2,700,000</td>
<td>Includes $200,000 for voter bloc materials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate Support</td>
<td>Magruder/Atlee</td>
<td>$3,557,000</td>
<td>Represents White House Support accounts: Presidential and First Family travel, White House utilities, press, etc. Vice President travel and assistance for President and Vice President also to be charged to this account.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens and voter blocs</td>
<td>Nathk</td>
<td>$2,351,000</td>
<td>Entire cost of all citizens groups and voter blocs. Voter bloc materials included under “Campaign materials.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention</td>
<td>Tiernan</td>
<td>$476,000</td>
<td>Covers 1980 and White House participation in conventions. Could run higher, but Tiernan’s efforts are assuming that costs may be charged to 1972 and various voter blocs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>Follor</td>
<td>$93,000</td>
<td>Primarily salaries and payroll burden for taller operations and other special assistants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance Committee</td>
<td>Stones/Farrell</td>
<td>$605,000</td>
<td>Office costs covered under “Office Administration.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Administration</td>
<td>Odlie</td>
<td>$1,124,000</td>
<td>Tents, telephones, furniture, office equipment, office supplies, postage, messenger service, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Division</td>
<td>Nathk</td>
<td>$283,000</td>
<td>Includes voter registration materials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polling</td>
<td>Potter</td>
<td>$990,000</td>
<td>First estimate based on what has been approved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press Office</td>
<td>Abrahams</td>
<td>$710,000</td>
<td>Salaries, payroll burden, publications, programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and Planning,</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>$7,285,000</td>
<td>$4,000,000 for direct mail, $1,400,000 for telephone operations, $1,900,000 for computer costs, computer system, data processing, budget for salaries, travel, payroll burden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Research and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scheduling of all surrogates, Celebrities, athletes, American Legion, payroll, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephonic Operations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>State re-elect committee costs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduling</td>
<td>Potter</td>
<td>$260,000</td>
<td>All advance and tour office costs are used for travel of surrogates and advance. Total’s surrogates program also charged against this account (to cost $200,000).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Support</td>
<td>Nathk</td>
<td>$11,502,000</td>
<td>Does not include pre-payments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour Office</td>
<td>Pount</td>
<td>$974,000</td>
<td>Increase over $10 million due to fixed rent in Administration and Office Administration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUND TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>$37,428,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funds spent prior to April 7 by all divisions</td>
<td></td>
<td>$3,110,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>$40,588,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. C. Odlie, Jr., September 13, 1972
### FINANCE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

#### BUDGET COMPARISON AS OF 9-11-72

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPENSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>TOTAL BUDGET</th>
<th>ACTUAL EXPENDITURES THROUGH 9-11-72</th>
<th>UNEXPENDED BALANCE</th>
<th>OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>5,367,000</td>
<td>5,746,567</td>
<td>419,343</td>
<td>Accts. #30000-Billboards 35000-Broadcast Product 36000-Print Production 38000-Agency Fees Dept.17-Advertising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Materials</td>
<td>2,500,000</td>
<td>4,617,456</td>
<td>582,544</td>
<td>Accts. #60000-Campaign Materials 60010-Printed Matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate Support</td>
<td>1,347,000</td>
<td>610,330</td>
<td>736,670</td>
<td>Dept.70-Pres. and 1st Family 71-White House Staff 72-Public Relations 73-The Vice President Accts. #66000-Expenditures prior to dept. breakout Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention</td>
<td>6,100,000</td>
<td>5,164,443</td>
<td>95,443</td>
<td>Acct. #69000-Convention Dept.19-Convention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P/R - Media</td>
<td>1,770,000</td>
<td>361,846</td>
<td>315,154</td>
<td>Acct. #60050-P/R Publications Dept.16-Public Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polling</td>
<td>5,90,000</td>
<td>230,045</td>
<td>359,955</td>
<td>Acct. #67100-Polling &amp; Research Dept.15-Included in Marik's Research &amp; Planning Chgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research, Planning, Direct Mail, Telephone Operations</td>
<td>4,725,000</td>
<td>2,014,846</td>
<td>2,710,154</td>
<td>Acct. #34000-Telephone 60070-Pol. Direct Mail Dept.15-Polling &amp; Research</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

O ADJUSTED FOR TRANSFERS TO YOUTH DEBT AND CAMPAIGN MATERIALS.
## Expense Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expense Category</th>
<th>Total Budget</th>
<th>Actual Expenditures Through 9-11-72</th>
<th>Unexpended Balance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizens Activity</td>
<td>2,154,000</td>
<td>990,581</td>
<td>1,163,419</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Operating Accounts and Departments

- **Dept. 30 - Agriculture**
- **31 - Black**
- **32 - Business & Industry**
- **33 - Elderly**
- **34 - Ethnic**
- **35 - Jewish**
- **36 - Spanish**
- **37 - Women**
- **38 - Youth (Reflects Convention Receipts)**
- **39 - Transient**
- **40 - Labor**
- **41 - Veterans**
- **42 - Lawyers**
- **43 - Physicians**
- **44 - Citizens**
- **45 - Educators**

### Scheduling

- **Tour Office**

### Executive

- **Administration**

### Office Administration

- **Office Administration**

### Funds Spent prior to 4/7

- **310,000**
### EXPENSE CATEGORY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL EXPENDITURES THROUGH 9-11-72</th>
<th>UNEXPENDED BALANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finance Committee</td>
<td>865,000</td>
<td>457,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>781,000</td>
<td>416,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Support</td>
<td>10,777,500</td>
<td>5,576,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RNC - Unallocated</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>66,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>35,915,020</td>
<td>18,453,632</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Budget Increase**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total, 9-11-72</td>
<td>35,327,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increases:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Admin. Dept.</td>
<td>251,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Office Admin. Cost</td>
<td>337,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>35,915,020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. $13,853 changed to White House Support - Page 1 of this report
2. As of September 1, 1972

Operational Accounts and Departments:

- Accts. #70100-75000
- Dept. 14 - Political
  - 18 - Field Operations
  - 20 - Ballot Security
- Transfers of Funds
- Major Gifts
- Over $100 money retained in state
- Over $100 money retained in state (2)
Dent

McMillan — made deal +
publicized + did deed

NH — Peterson lost + a
surprise
— better to have beat him
— now + new card w/P.
could win.

9/17

Wino — Asopenhagen - just as soon gone
— knew well along a chance to
take him in gene

Very well on Cloud 119

Briefings 72 + inside
info on titles + really
liked them for R & N

P - remarks very good, not
what suggested but won’t
tell people “Thank you” or
— not too ungrateful
— said here + called Dole, Econ.
arms up to stick eyes.

Dent OVER RNC + all stickin
tight econ control + do
much for 1701. RNC
Will see JN 9/13

is in better shape today than under Morton & Allison
- Roany Mountain - gd for
- still has hot probe but a gd organix situation

Rent covered w/ P the audios for sen cards & P willed will see in last 3 wks
- still need $ - no commit for 500 to sen races

Rep hrs got more than expected on 9/12 - do not need to be pumped any more before Nov. 7

Cocktails not that helpful - will vote for P & what Dems don't like
- Many reps close as hell

Must do something w/ Steve isn't

Guth er

K or

Rollins - way - Jack Anderson

Lea Henn - says were not in there getting the plane shed
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT
SUBJECT: State Primaries Held Sept. 12

Arizona
Governor: No race.
Senate: No race.
House:
2nd District. Rep. Morris K. Udall (D) was unopposed; will face Dr. Eugene Savoie (R) in Nov.
3rd District. Rep. Sam Steiger (D) was unopposed; will face Dr. Ted Wyckoff (R) in November.
4th District (new). As of 6 a.m. computer in the district was broken, count not ready.

Colorado
Governor: No race.
Senate: Senator Gordon Allott was unopposed. Floyd Haskell, who left GOP over Cambodian incursion, won Democrat nomination.
House:
1st District. Rep. James D. McKevitt (R) will face Democrat Patricia Shroeder.
2nd District. Rep. Donald Brotzman (R) will take on Francis W. Brush (D).
3rd District. Rep. Frank Evans (D) will be challenged by Chuck Brady (R).
4th District. Rep. Wayne Aspinall (D) was upset by Professor Alan Merson (D), who will face James P. Johnson (R) - now a Democrat -.
5th District (new). State Senator William L. Armstrong (R) will face Byron L. Johnson (D).
Florida

Governor: No race.
Senate: No race.
House:


2nd District. Rep. Don Fuqua (D) was renominated, also unopposed in November.

3rd District. Rep. Charles Bennett (D) will be challenged by John S. Bowen (R).

4th District. Rep. William V. Chappell (D) will face P. T. Fleuchaus (R).

5th District (new). Count not completed as of 7 a.m.

6th District. C. W. Young (R), incumbent in the old 8th, will face Michael O. Plunkett (D).

7th District. Old 6th incumbent Sam Gibbons (D) will be challenged by Robert A. Carter (R).

8th District. Rep. James A. Haley (D), of the old 7th, will take on Roy Thompson Jr. (R).

9th District. Rep. Louis Frey (R) was unopposed and will be in November.

10th District (new) L. A. Bafalis (R), and a run-off seems certain between the four Democrats.

11th District. It will be old 9th incumbent Paul G. Rogers (D) against Joel Gustafson (R).

12th District. Rep. J. Herbert Burke (R), of the old 10th, will be faced by James Stephanis (D).

13th District (new). Count not completed as of 7 a.m.

14th District. Rep. Claude Pepper (D) will meet Evelio S. Estrella (R).

15th District. Rep. Dante Fascell will apparently face Ellis Rubin (R).

Minnesota

Governor: No race
Senate: Senator Walter Mondale (D) had no problem being renominated, and will face Rev. Philip Hansen (R), a Lutheran minister.
House:

1st District. Rep. Al Quie (R) will face Charles Thompson (DFL).
2nd District. Rep. Archer Nelsen (R) will face Charlie Turnbull (DFL).
3rd District. Rep. William Frenzel (R) will be challenged by Jim Bell (DFL).
5th District. Rep. Donald Fraser (DFL) will face Al Davisson (R).
6th District. Rep. John Zwach will be up against Richard Nolan (DFL).
7th District. Rep. Bob Bergland (DFL) will take on Jon Haaven (R).
8th District. Rep. John Blatnik (DFL) held off three challengers and will face Edward Johnson (R).

New Hampshire

Governor: Meldrin Thomson has grabbed the GOP nomination from Gov. Walter Peterson. It appears Roger J. Crowley will win the Democrat nod.

Senate: Former Governor Wesley Powell will run for the GOP against Sen. Thomas McIntyre.

House:

1st District. Rep. Louis Wyman (R) will face former GOP Congressman Chester E. Merrow, who swept the Democrat field.

Vermont

Governor: Luther Hackett (R) will face Thomas Salmon for the office of retiring Governor Deane Davis (R).

South Carolina

A special run-off election was held in the 6th District.
Wisconsin

Governor: No race.
Senate: No race.
House:

1st District. Rep. Les Aspin (D) will be faced by Merrill E. Stalbaum (R).

2nd District. Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier (D) will run against J. Michael Kelly (R).

3rd District. Rep. Vernon Thompson (R) and Walter Thoresen (D).

4th District. Rep. Clement Zablocki (D) will take on Phillip D. Mrozinski (R).

5th District. Rep. Henry Reuss (D) will face Frederick Van Hecke (R).

6th District. Rep. William Steiger (R) will be opposed by James A. Adams (D).

7th District. Rep. David Obey (D) will face former 10th
Rep. Alvin O'Konski (R) (* #10th District

8th District. Harold Froelich (R) will oppose Rev. Robert J. Cornell (D).

9th District. Rep. Glenn Davis (R) will be opposed by Ralph A. Fine (D).
August 23, 1972

TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth
RE: OKLAHOMA

The President: The State GOP Chairman, Clarence Warner, predicts that the President will carry the state by 200,000 votes (1968: 148,039). If this should prove to be the case, the Republicans can win the Senate seat and possibly pick up the Second Congressional District Seat. McGovern has never been popular and the Eagleton affair has further eroded his support.

Governor: No race

Senate: Fred Harris (D) is not seeking re-election. GOP is favored. Congressman Ed Edmondson handily won the Democrat primary. The Republican is Dewey Bartlett. The President should be a big help in this race.


1st District: Page Belcher (R) is not seeking re-election. The Republican is favored. A run-off will be necessary between ex-Tulsa Mayor James Hewgley and ex-U.S. Attorney Robert Rizley. The Democrat is James Jones.

2nd District: Ed Edmondson (D) is running for the Senate. Democrat Clem McSpadden is favored. The Republican is Emery Toliver.
3rd District: Carl Albert (D) will win. No Republican.

4th District: Tom Steed (D) should win. The Republican is William Crozier.

5th District: John Jarman (D) should win. The Republican is Llewellyn Keeler.

6th District: John "Happy" Camp (R) should win. The Democrat is William Schmitt.

Issues:

The President's Vietnam posture is favored. Bussing will be a plus in Oklahoma City and Tulsa. The economy will be the main issue. There is some unemployment, but the Space Shuttle will be of help.
TO:   Harry S. Dent
FROM:  Brad E. Hainsworth
RE:   GEORGIA

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 29, 1972

The President: The Democrats appear to be turning more and more to President Nixon but not necessarily to other GOP candidates. If voters go to the polls, the President should carry the state.

Governor: No race

Senate: David Gambrell (D) was unseated in a run off election yesterday by Sam Nunn, a young wealthy state legislator. In a surprise move blacks (LeRoy Johnson and Julian Bond) endorsed Nunn. The effect and meaning of this is not yet clear to state GOP leaders. Lester Maddox also endorsed Nunn. Republican Fletcher Thompson would have had a better chance against Gambrell who appeared more liberal than Nunn and vacillated on bussing. Presidential coattails may help Thompson, and is favored.

House: 1st District: Democrat Elliott Hagen was defeated by his former administrative assistant, Robert (BO) Ginn who should win. The Republican is William Gowen who is unpopular with Republicans.

2nd District: Dawson Mathis (D). No Republican.

3rd District: Jack Brinkley (D). No Republican.

4th District: Ben Blackburn (R) should win. Democrat is Odel Welborn.
5th District: No incumbent. Very close. Democrat is Andrew Young (Black). Republican is Rodney Cook.

6th District: John Flynt, Jr. (D). No Republican; Ray Gurley did not qualify.

7th District: John Davis (D). Favored. The Republican is Charles Sherill.

8th District: William Stuckey (D). Close. Republican Ronnie Thompson has been hospitalized with depression due to an air accident. He also has had some difficulties over a married woman, but this has not been in the press.

9th District: Phil Landrum (D). No Republican.

10th District: Robert Stephens, Jr. (D). No Republican.

Issues:

Busing is a volatile issue and favors the Administration. Vietnam is emerging as an issue, but the Administration is favored. Economic problems hurt with prices seen as climbing but wages held back by controls.
TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth
RE: NEVADA

The President: State GOP Officials are predicting a 25,000 vote margin for the President if things continue as they are presently. A recent poll in Clark County (Las Vegas) among Democrats only showed the President receiving 43% and McGovern 47%.

Governor: No race.

Senate: No race.

House: Walter Baring (D) lost in the primary to William Bilbray, a young liberal who is favored. The Republican is David Towell. The GOP has an excellent chance, but registration favors the Democrat.

Issues: Bussing is the prevailing issue. The White House has been instrumental in having the Justice Department file an amicus brief in behalf of the state on an urgent bussing appeal. This is going very well for the President.
MEMORANDUM

August 24, 1972

TO:        Harry S. Dent
FROM:      Brad E. Hainsworth
RE:        WYOMING

The President: The President should carry Wyoming. But the feeling persists that the Administration ignores the needs of the people. Ranchers are quick to point at predator controls, and the ruling against pesticides.

Governor: No race

Senate: Clifford Hansen (R) should win. The Democrat is Mike Visich (ran for State Auditor in 1970).

House: Tono Roncalio (D) is favored. The Republicans have a viable candidate in Bill Kidd. A big Presidential vote could make a difference here.

Issues: The environment, predator control, and control on pesticides are the leading issues.

BEH: j
bcc: MacGregor, Haldeman, Parker
Rolling - on hands + wants help + raise
Nunn - only 15 names for $ + ad
pol input, passed
Cpds by Geer + Sense P pies +
two selfish camp
Prot in Field -
Hullin > Dent 8/29 cover
Field 0 pies

CM § prob - stars only contact +
now too busy on Grand bug
Evans - alternative plan a /
Rolling Jet + Dent + Mike
into Field - but all OK
st wide into
need 8 enrolled men but can't
get in FM's way.

Convene - way P shaking hands,
etc - invited to HW on 9/12
CM meetings, etc - helpful,
now FU - in 8s to many up things,

1701 - two heartless, only care re P,
need a little PR, politically w/own people.
I'm just walked off on
Margretta - Nassau City
by NY
C M wants to do politicking on the
but can't do it all.
September 14, 1972

TO:       Harry S. Dent
FROM:     Brad E. Hainsworth
RE:       NORTH DAKOTA

The President: Media polls show the President far ahead, and he should carry the state by a substantial margin. McGovern is weak and there is little evidence of the grass roots organization that looked immeasurable in the precinct caucuses this spring. GOP leaders expect a 20%-30% stay-home rate among Democrats, and this could have a positive affect on all races.

Governor: William Guy (D) is not seeking re-election. The Democrat is Congressman Art Link who feared defeat at the hands of Mark Andrews in a fight for the At-large House seat. The Republican is Lieutenant Governor Richard Larsen (R) who ran an extremely strong primary race winning approximately 69% of the vote—more than his primary opponent and Link together. Larsen should win.

Senate: No race.

House: At-large Mark Andrews (R) should win. The Democrat is State Chairman Richard Ista who could find no other candidate.

Issues:

1. The Watergate Affair is hurting the President but not fatally.

2. Agriculture is not the hot issue it once was, thanks to the President's grain sales and to Butz's popularity.

BCC: MacGregor, Parker, Haldeman
September 14, 1972

TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth
RE: NEW HAMPSHIRE

The President: The President should carry the state by a substantial margin and GOP officials look for a major coattail effect on all other state offices.

Governor: Governor Walter Peterson, Jr. (R) was defeated in a major primary upset by Republican Mel Thompson. Peterson has been under heavy fire from Loeb for two years. The GOP will unite behind Thompson who should win. The Democrat is Roger Crowley.

Senate: Thomas McIntyre (D) is in for a tough race from Republican Wesley Powell who is favored. Very close.

House: Both seats are considered safe.

1st. District: Louis Wyman (R) should win. Democrat is Chester Norrow.

2nd District: James Cleveland (R) should win. Democrat is Charles Officer who nearly beat Cleveland in 1964.

Issues: Personalities continue to predominate and Loeb never misses a chance at McGovern. The President has support over Vietnam.

BEV:j

bcc: MacGregor, Parker, Haldeman
September 13, 1972

TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Haisnsworth
RE: VERMONT

The President: The President should carry Vermont. The state GOP and the state CREP are working in a coordinated effort which should pay off. McGovern is not well received throughout the state, but his organization is visible and he has strength in the under 25 vote.

Governor: Dean C. Davis (R) is not seeking re-election. The Republican is Luther Hackett who should win. He has had political experience in the state legislature and is an attractive candidate. The Democrat is Thomas Salmon, a viable candidate, but this is not the year.

Senate: No race.

House: At-large: Dick Mallary (R) should win. The Democrat is ex-Congressman William Meyer.

Issues: Among those not supporting the President, the chief issue is Vietnam; however, there is substantial support for the President's policies throughout the state. The economy is an issue and unemployment remains a problem in some areas.

BEH:

bcc: MacGregor, Parker, Haldeman
AGENDA
Budget Committee Meeting, Wednesday, September 13, 3:00 p.m.

1. Advertising discussion (Peter Dailey/Jeb Magruder).

2. Discussion of revised budget (Rob Odle).
   a. Rise in fixed costs of Administrative Division and Office Administration.
   b. Convention report.
   c. Adjustments to Campaign Materials, Candidate Support, Citizens, Executive, and Tour Office.

3. Discussion of income and spending (Maurice Stans/Paul Barrick).

4. Discussion of post-freeze hiring (Clark MacGregor).
MC

Rumbles of Sen. Lande - annoyed that admin no concern w/ Elie
- mad at corn
- Finances
  - know in 1970 fundraise
  - Will say no & avail
  - suggest to have a cold blooded
  - analysis of picking of Sen
  - seats
- advise that being done
- any liaison bet 1201 - Sen+
  - use Camp Corn - poor

Dominated in N. M.

Trouble getting someone of staff
- careful; problems
- Vic lastly checking for MC
Aristen
H风湿 directly - MC not
busy enough
3wds
MC said to JSM: crappy

CM talks to JSM: MC crappy.

1000 on Direct Mail - maybe revise in light of change.

CM wants Richardson to
take on HH. CM wants
to debate O'Busan
-JSM / Ed F. / LeRue believe

no restless period

me - 1st report tomorrow night
beef CA for left us on 9/2.
-copies on McGuire, trying to
get someone on device.

Story re Canon - H cover w/ JSM / foot CM directly

Cidea re Budget Maps
MEMORANDUM

September 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. MURRAY M. CHOTINER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Despite my instructions to our mail room that your requests for messenger service to the White House are to receive top priority, I understand that you are still not satisfied with the response to your requests.

We have three men in our mail room processing and delivering several thousand pieces of mail each day. One of them (who has a White House pass) spends most of his time going back and forth to the White House. It is possible that when you call for a pick up, he will be at the White House, and, consequently, it will be a few minutes before he arrives in your offices in response to a request.

We will assign a top priority to your requests and do the very best we can to get your envelopes to the White House as quickly as possible.

When you do not feel you are getting the quality of service you feel you need, please let me know immediately (or Andy Lawrence in my absence) and we will take care of the problem. Just let us know.

We're definitely not the White House mail room, but we're trying hard to be Number Two.

cc: Mr. Jeb S. Magruder

bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan
     Mr. G. Andrew Lawrence
     Mr. Nick Bungato
September 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

How about the campaign exposing the McGovern triple phony play. I refer to Senators Kennedy, Humphrey, and Muskie travelling with him in segments.

In the first place, I have never heard of a presidential candidate taking people along to bolster his campaign. Usually, the nominee carries along candidates for lesser offices in order to bolster them. This is bolstering in reverse.

Phony No. 1

Senator Kennedy pretends to support McGovern but really doesn't want him to win. The reason for this is if McGovern wins, Shriver wins. If Shriver wins, Kennedy can't run for President until Shriver gets through being Vice President for eight years and, possibly, President for eight years. If Kennedy has to wait 16 years, he will be all worn out if his escapade off the coast of Maine means anything.

Kennedy has his wife Joan travelling with him when he campaigns. Why? If she can travel with him for political purposes, why does he take a substitute travelling off the rock-bound coast of Maine.

Phony No. 2

Senator Humphrey now "supports" McGovern. Why not run a full-page ad in every city where Humphrey appears with McGovern. It can be headed: "Never Mind What Senator Humphrey Says Now -- This Is What He Said About McGovern in California on ____ , 1972."

(Reproduce California Full-Page Ad)

Humphrey tore McGovern apart. The ad can end with "Which is the real McGovern -- the one Senator Humphrey described in California or the one he is pushing now?"
Phony No. 3

Senator Muskie, the "strong" man of Loeb-New Hampshire fame. Which is the real Muskie? The one who says he now supports McGovern or the one who connived in Miami behind closed doors to stop the McGovern nomination? Full-page ads should be run in every city in which Muskie appears with McGovern.

The fertile minds of the campaign should be able to lay out the ads and the copy that goes with it.

MMC:a
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

Isn't it possible to convince our people to stop playing into the hands of the McGovern crowd. They charge; we answer; they reply, we answer again, etc., etc.

That's what they want -- keep the "issue" alive.

Ignore their reply to our answer by merely stating if asked for a comment -- "that was completely handled on (date)." Let's get on with the real issues.

A specific I have in mind is the Russian wheat deal.

MMC:a
September 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

What genius is responsible for the announcement that the Roswell Employment Training Center would be terminated by June 30, 1973. This is only September, 1972. November 7th comes between September and June 30th.

This reminds me of 1954 when the then Vice President was campaigning in Minnesota and another genius announced the cut back on the egg buying program a few weeks before election.

The Vice President set up a conference call from Minneapolis and urged the powers-that-be to continue the egg buying program at least until after November. When he was told that there was a surplus of eggs and the Administration didn't know what to do with them, he calmly replied: "Throw them at the Democrats but buy eggs."

Will someone remind the Interior Department that Indians vote in a number of states. They are citizens.

MMC:a
Director of Job Training Center Knocks Closing

Journal Special

ROSSELZ—The director of the Roswell Employment Training Center Saturday criticized the decision of the U. S. Dept. of Interior to close the two "extremely successful training programs" for Indians in Roswell.

Rod Starkey said word of the decision to terminate the programs by June 30, 1979, reached him Friday.

"I EXPECT the Dept. of Interior will hear a loud protest from the collective Indian communities," he said.

Starkey said the program "has served as one of the most effective ways to improve the Indian welfare situation" and "evidently, the decision was made without the benefit of consultation with leaders of the various Indian tribes."

The program, during the last five years, has turned out more than 1000 job-prepared graduates from 15 different tribes in the United States. The department's Bureau of Indian Affairs has provided about $3.2 million annually to finance the programs operated under contract by the Thielol Chemical Corp. of Bristol, Pa.

AFFECTED by the decision will be the Roswell Employment Training Center and the U. S. Indian Police Academy which were started September, 1967, at the former Walker Air Force Base.

The police academy, said to be the only one of its kind in the United States, has trained Indian policemen who are now employed by almost every reservation in the country and by many municipal police forces.

The academy will end its five-year existence after the graduation of the present class of 40 students on Sept. 22.
654-3222 - Route
Mr. Berry - Listing Agent
53,000

Mike Woodson - scheduled in another event on 9/26 or 9/27

Tceans very well, positive effect, F M - particularly gd
Dent - also gd
Commercials well said
P + VP
Hair + E - Terri

FU reports on Sat 9/16.
Lyn Neal
Spitz - either P move or not.
- RR to see then.
- Sarah Alper met

CWC - presently unique position
of being on side of grandmother.
Suns - a/ment on line of progress

916-525-7211

Weill - CP
Martins - feed back re projects
Malek's Reports
S - L re attack mtg

Dominick - MTP Sun

Betz, Hayes, Weinberger, Conn, McCol-
Pole/More - 4:30 - Harmony mtg
MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK
JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

BOB REISNER

SUBJECT:

Neil Carothers' Arts and Sciences Committee

In outlining the formation of an economists committee, it became apparent that there was considerable overlap between the efforts that were already underway under Neil Carothers and the proposed economists activities.

It would seem that continuing under the present arrangement will only lend confusion to both groups. Ultimately, this kind of conflict could be seriously counterproductive.
9/4

Commentary acts after news
Note: useless

- Intel for P.
- Surveys + to press
  - More on way
- Sees - no facilities or $ for volunteers
- Intel's + ads of quality -
  - 40 - 50

12 - 20

- Drafting spec's to be sent
  - Been for review
- No real ambition plan
  - For 100s of ads for P,
  - Dec - no $ on
  - No sure productive to do
- Next week is deadline for names

- Jeff

This group would sign
an ad
- Mid Oct, 1971 to pay

- Bly, Buck & Nancy -
- To set up artist for P.
- Under address as Calkins?
- So uncertain device
- Our plant do 2/1/701
Len Garment

He continues to work with Paul Weale and Peter U. Tjøtta: from Harvard on the Intellectual for the P.
Committee for the Re-election of the President

FOR: Gorden

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

FROM: Jeb
DATE: 8/31

REMARKS:
August 28, 1972

Dear Jeb:

Here are some materials that will give you an idea of where we are in the area you and I discussed this morning.

The first memorandum outlines work underway (and some problems). This will be discussed further at a meeting on Thursday.

The second describes a research project, now independently funded, that may produce some interesting and useful data, leading to articles, comment, etc.

The third document is an advance on a Commentary debate (Nixon or McGovern?).

The fourth is a memorandum of comments and ideas from Witonski at Harvard.

I'll let you know when I need some specific assistance.

Best,

Leonard Garment

Mr. Jeb Magruder
Committee for the Reelection of the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue NW.
Washington, D. C.

attachments
Mr. Leonard Garment  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Len,

Herewith a brief report on my discoveries and activities to date, together with some suggestions about possible future and ancillary campaign activities. I apologize for being so late in getting this off to you, but as you will see things have been—and still are—somewhat up in the air.

Discoveries. It quickly became clear that our initial plan was unworkable. The leading intellectuals we had in mind do indeed oppose McGovern and do feel some personal desire to do something to help defeat him; and their attitudes toward Nixon are more or less what we thought—in the circumstances they prefer him, but many (though not all) are unwilling to declare in public their direct support of him and of his campaign. Therefore they are not willing to sign a statement which is paid for by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, or which states that it is paid for by CRP. They also have qualms about professors and editors making public political endorsements—something they associate with intellectuals on the left and which they think helps to politicize the university.

Second, they all would do something on a "behind-the-scenes" basis. In particular, they are prepared to write—even about reasons for supporting Nixon this time.

Third, there was considerable confusion being created by almost-identical organizing efforts on the part of at least three different people. One person has been contacted by six different people. The result is confusion and an eventual decision not to do anything—nobody, and especially not these people, can say yes to everybody. So they are forced to say no to everybody. This problem is now essentially solved by a division of labor and of markets, as I understand. But there is another problem which hasn't been solved: the absence of a regular "Professors for the Re-Election of the President," or something along these lines. There ought to be a way to involve Republican professors and others who are prepared to state publicly that they favor Nixon in '72. The number of these should not be insignificant—and the nature of my operation is such that I can't put anything together for them without compromising my relationship with the people I am working with.
Fourth and finally, the leading intellectuals we have discussed remain somewhat skittish or shy—or pusillanimous, to quote a less solicitous observer. They're also in mid-career and middle age; they have habits; they have a sense of their position—and the upshot is that, though they are prepared to move toward a close relationship with the second Nixon administration eventually, they're not prepared to jump aboard now, whole hog.

Program of Activities. It may yet prove possible for me to find altogether independent money for an ad in which "Liberal Professors Against McGovern", or some such group, can make a public statement without publicly associating themselves with CRP. This is something I will pursue independently. But I am also giving it a lower priority because it might conflict with the main activity of the moment. In any event I will not trouble you with this line of activity.

It is clear at this point that the main thing our intellectuals will do—and do well and willingly—is write. I am putting together or assisting a number of different sorts of writing, and this program is already well under way. The general objectives of such writing are two—the same objectives that our proposed ad had. First, to get respected intellectual leaders to give their reasons why they are voting for Nixon (or not voting for McGovern)---the point being persuasion. Second, to get articles written about the attitudes and voting intentions of intellectuals and professors in '72—the point here being to reinforce those who think they will vote Nixon, and to demobilize those who are conflicted (and thus to deny their votes to McGovern).

At this point, two enterprises are under way. First, Marty Lipset and Everett Ladd are conducting a survey of the voting intentions and attitudes of professors; the findings will be compared to similar studies in 1968. The results will be reported in partial form by Lipset at the American Political Science Association in Washington (there should be press coverage of his data), and later in full form in a leading magazine, probably around the end of September. It is nearly certain that the survey will show a big drop for the Democratic candidate and a big increase for Nixon. Second, Pat Moynihan is writing up his interview with the President for Life and will also write a piece for The New York Times Magazine on the probable shape of a second Nixon Administration.

(In parallel but unconnected developments, Commentary will feature a symposium on Jews and Nixon in their September issue, with Nat Glazer making the case, weakly, for McGovern. Glazer has since changed his mind, and will state his preference for Nixon in a letter in the October issue. The Public Interest will feature three major long articles, by Moynihan, Bell, and Lipset, on "quota democracy", myths about social mobility, and the Serrano decision; they add up to a serious attack on a major McGovern theme. Norman Cousins' new magazine may run an article attacking McGovern's "massive retaliation" defense-posture concept. Irving Kristol has a forthcoming piece in the Wall Street Journal on why Jews are moving (and should move) away from the left.)
A third enterprise is an attempt, with the help of Ithiel Pool, to get a magazine, preferably a large and important one, to publish a long symposium of differing views on who to vote for in November. The idea, which is Ithiel's, is to show professors that the academy isn't entirely a one-party environment, and that there are many people in it who have thoughtful and intelligent and persuasive reasons for voting for Nixon or for not voting for McGovern. I don't know if this will come off, but we're working on it.

At this point, that is all I am doing, and all I really have time to do, as I explained to you earlier this month.

Future and Ancillary Activities. If there is to be an independent ad, that will come in the future—ideally around the end of September or beginning of October.

A second future activity requires your assistance. It was suggested spontaneously by James Q. Wilson, and I think it has authentic merit. Jim would like to see a long, serious, persuasive statement from the Administration at some point during the campaign on what he calls traditional Republican principles. The audience of this statement would be, directly or indirectly, intellectual and academic; the point would be to give a persuasive and serious statement that such people could take seriously, would have to take seriously. The principles Wilson has in mind are things like the dangers and incompetence of bureaucracy, the dangers of overpromising and underperforming, the value of decentralization/federalism, etc. He is afraid (and not without reason) that the McGovern campaign is trying to appropriate to itself these principles and to take credit for them—and in the process to corrupt them. He would therefore like to write, together perhaps with Moynihan and Banfield and me, a long and serious address articulating these principles and reasserting Republican ownership of them. His notion is that it might be given before an academic audience by a member of the Administration with the credentials to go with the audience—the name he mentioned was Schultz. It could then be distributed, etc., if that were desired. We will do this if you determine that there is interest in such a speech.

As I stated earlier, I do think it would be valuable to set up a national "professors for the reelection of the President" committee, under the CRP, to provide materials, assistance, and perhaps speakers and literature (deriving in part from our program of writing)—and encouragement too—to people to join or form local chapters, etc. My operation is incompatible with my doing this (and anyway my time won't permit), since our "concerned intellectuals" do want to keep their participation more or less sub rosa. It should include conservative and not-so-conservative people, professors and nonacademic intellectuals, etc. I will write you more on this later.
Mr. Leonard Garment

A Problem and a Possible Solution. Having said all this, I remain somewhat dissatisfied with the program underway for our old-line liberal intellectuals. There are, after all, only so many magazine articles and speeches they can usefully write; one wouldn't have to arrange for many more to completely exhaust the market. This means that there are a lot of academics and intellectuals who aren't being involved in any way—and that, of course, is undesirable. Most of the people we have discussed, for example, I have not yet contacted for the simple reason that I haven't had anything to ask of them or to propose to them. Now if we finally can get an independently-funded anti-McGovern ad under way, that will solve the problem somewhat, provided of course that people will be willing to sign it. But the prospects of such an ad are at this time problematic, and in any event I'm not persuaded of its value—or rather, I do think it has value, but I don't necessarily think it's the ideal instrument for involving these people for the purposes of an eventual entente and alliance with the Administration and possibly even with the Republican party. (As a campaign instrument, it's OK—but Lipset's study will be at least as good, especially if supplemented with other articles based on interviews, etc.)

So the question is: What to do? One possibility that springs to mind immediately (it was also suggested by Peter Witonski) is to establish some advisory boards to produce position papers, speeches, research, and other such "staff" materials for the campaign. This might work, but it comes a bit late, it has the disadvantage of being a very direct form of involvement in the campaign itself, with all that implies to these somewhat skittish people, and in any event it seems superfluous. The President has a big staff which is already producing speeches and position papers; he doesn't necessarily need outside talent—although a small board of friendly intellectuals couldn't hurt and might help, provided they were really wanted and were to play a serious role. Besides, the President obviously isn't going to be campaigning on the basis of a lot of new ideas for public policy; he is, and should, campaigning largely on the basis of his record and on the theme of continuation. Insofar as he tries to make an implicit distinction between McGovern and himself on the point of "professionalism" and "competence" vs. "change that won't work" and "wild schemes", then he won't want to be coming up with an arsenal of new proposals. (Insofar as he does, moreover, he immediately establishes that there were things in his first term that he should have done but didn't.)

But one other possibility that occurs to me seems much more viable—as an implicit campaign device, as a means of involving leading intellectuals on terms they find comfortable, as a means of making the highest and best use of the talents of these people, as a means of establishing the personal relations between intellectuals and the people in the Administration. This is the idea of setting up, over the next two or three weeks, a number of small (for congeniality and effectiveness reasons) but eminent "expert advisory groups" whose function would be to plan for the second Nixon Administration. It seems to me that the Administration would find this useful—
Mr. Leonard Garment

in any event---these would be "outside" people, they would bring a different set of experiences and views, they wouldn't be committed to the programs and strategic doctrines, as it were, of the first Administration, and they would, after all, be authentic experts. With luck, the right people, and hard work, a few such groups might come up with some really good ideas, or at least some interesting and helpful avenues of approaching certain public issues. At a minimum, they couldn't hurt. And there would be no possibility that they might become irritated or alienated as a result of their ideas and work being immediately disregarded or rejected---as would be the case almost inevitably if they were used for campaign purposes. This isn't to say that some members, individually, might not have a couple of usable ideas for the campaign, or write a few good speeches. That is always a possibility.

Such expert advisory boards have three other advantages. First, their existence and membership could be publicized at the time of their appointment, in September. This would symbolize the disaffection of leading intellectuals from McGovern, the openness and far-sightedness of the Administration, the seriousness and professionalism of Nixon governance. Second, because the boards would be not-for-the-campaign and because they would be identified as expert boards, it would not be so very difficult to get people to agree to join---they are experts, most of them consult, and this would be a role that they're used to and are comfortable with. If the boards were small and really eminent, being asked to join would be in the nature of an honor. Moreover, these boards would be in operation over a time of perhaps four months—which would largely obviate the problem of time for individual members, since they wouldn't have to feel they were taking on a big job which would have to be done all at once. And third, this idea has the advantage that it would put these leading experts in direct personal contact with people in the Administration, and vice versa. That seems valuable both as a means of really moving some of these people into the Administration's (and possibly the party's) orbit, eventually---and also as a means for recruitment for the Administration.

There might be four or five such groups, each with five or six members, with a high Administration member ex officio, and with a part-time or full-time staff member (to do the drafting, etc.) One idea would be to delineate subject-matter areas in the conventional way---foreign, defense, city, economic, etc., policy---and have the group undertake a kind of inventory and survey. Another idea is to delineate areas in terms of general sorts of problems that the next Administration will have to deal with---redistribution, the fate of New Deal/Fair Deal/New Frontier/Great Society programs in the no-fiscal-division era, new weapons systems, style of Presidential leadership, the future management of the economy, etc.

If you think there is merit in this, as I do, I hope you'll let me know. Meanwhile, I'll get back to the telephone, the magazine, and my book. By the way, I thought the Convention---just over last night---was intensely successful and attractive, especially for wayward Democrats. Or maybe I'm just biased.

Sincerely,
August 16, 1972

Dear Len,

Here is Lipset's prospectus for his survey of the political attitudes of the American professoriate in the '72 election. The only problem, as I said, is time: he and his colleague Ladd need at least a preliminary commitment on money from a foundation very soon. If they have it soon, the results of the survey will be available for release and publication toward the end of September---a good time, I think, inasmuch as it's about then that we can expect McGovern's standing in the polls to start moving up (as Humphrey's standing did in '68), and this information will contradict any such impression.

The only other thing to be said about this study is that it's absolutely legitimate. Any foundation which takes intellectuals, voting, political opinion, etc., as its bailiwick would be delighted with this proposal, since Lipset and Ladd are the national experts on the politics of the professors. And the results of the survey will be communicated through professional journals as well as through Commentary or some other comparable, more popular journal.

Best regards,

Paul Weaver
PROPOSAL FOR A 1972 SURVEY OF AMERICAN PROFESSORIATE

from Seymour M. Lipset, Harvard University, and Everett C. Ladd, Jr., University of Connecticut

This memorandum contains a proposal for a national survey of the American professoriate designed to follow-up on the findings of the 1969 massive (60,000) questionnaire survey conducted under the auspices of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. The principal investigators have been involved in the analysis of the 1969 investigation, and have completed a number of articles, and the first-draft of a book based on these data. They propose to elaborate on hypotheses engendered in the earlier survey through a study linked to the analysis of the way academics react to the 1972 elections.

BACKGROUND

A review of the literature, both empirical and theoretical, as well as the results of our own analysis of the 1969 survey indicate a strong relationship between intellectual creativity and propensity to support what Lionel Trilling has described as the "adversary culture" of the intellectual world. That is, those most involved in creative activities in the sciences, scholarship, and the arts, are most disposed to support unorthodox "anti-Establishment" opinions and movements. The logic underlying this relationship as suggested by various analysts such as Thorstein Veblen, C. P. Snow, Paul Lazarsfeld, and many others, is that the cast of mind most conducive to originality in intellectual activities, which by definition involves innovation, the capacity to break out of accepted molds of thought, will also tend to dissent from accepted formulations in the social and political worlds. There are, of course, many other congruent hypotheses, such as those specifying
sources of tension between intellectuals and the powers, which may account for the substantive findings. (These are discussed in various of our published papers cited in the bibliography, and will not be repeated here.)

With respect to recent political and social events, our analysis indicates that the American academic profession as a whole has been more supportive of liberal to left political causes than any other occupational segment. This generalization holds true with respect to voting behavior, both being more Democratic and more favorable to left third parties, and to attitudes towards various political and social issues, race relations, the Vietnam war, and many others. And congruent with the assumption that intellectual achievement is associated with critical social views, indicators of achievement, whether institutional (calibre of school), or personal (publication and research record) are associated with more liberal or left opinions on political matters.

Significantly, however, the correlations between scholarly eminence and "liberal" political positions are reduced with respect to intramural issues, e.g., attitudes toward student activism, student power, quotas for minority groups, etc. Seemingly a large segment of the more creative and more liberal find changes in the traditional way of life of academic threatening, and take a more conservative position on such matters.

In projecting a new survey for 1972, we would like among other things to focus on some of the sources and consequences of the strain between extramural "liberalism" and intramural "conservatism." This concern may be particularly related to the 1972 election. There is some indication that the divisions within academe concerning ways of reacting to the pressures for intramural change stemming from student activists and reform movements may
affect behavior in the 1972 election. That is, the identification of the McGovern campaign with youth activism, and quota democracy, which attracts many ideologically dedicated liberals, both within and outside of academe, to him, may also undermine the Democratic vote among traditional liberal and Democratic faculty who have been disturbed by some of the consequences of the politicization of academe flowing from ideologically motivated campus activism. Some suggest that the intramural conservatism of some academics who have been extramural liberals or radicals may place a strain on their general social ideology and political commitments.

Speaking of these possibilities, Milton Friedman, one of the few important identified conservatives in the social sciences, has suggested that conservatism as a heterodox view within American academe may replace liberalism as the anti-Establishment orientation. He hypothesizes (hopes) that a reversal of the creativity-liberalism relationship is beginning to occur. Presumably reactions to the 1972 election issues should enable us to shed light on this line of thinking concerning changes in academe.

A 1972 survey which repeats a number of the 1969 items concerning political academic issues as well as dealing with/issues will permit an estimate as to the reactions of the professoriate to a period of enormous institutional crisis and change. Since 1969, academe has had to openly face the problem of curtailed budgets involving the reduction of opportunity for advancement, of particular concern to junior faculty, lessening research funds, pressure for increased teaching loads, reduced support for graduate students, and the like. The pressures from government agencies and private interest groups to take affirmative action, particularly in the form of quotas, with respect to the employment of certain minority group members, and women, have also taken on major proportions since the earlier survey. We would propose to
explore the ways in which faculty are reacting to these matters, how they affect both their orientation towards the university and larger political matters.

Given the increased importance of the academic stratum in training and credentialy almost half the youth of the country, including almost all the future elite, and the sheer impact which the numbers involved (600,000 faculty and 8 million students) can have on the body politic and cultural, it seems important to undertake a repeated survey of the profession, in the context of a national election campaign in which the two parties have positions which reflect directly on intramural concerns of the academic community. The new survey would also seem warranted as a means of ensuring some continuity in our estimates of the outlook of academe. Only through such a follow-up can local "static" be eliminated — intrusions upon opinion caused by short-term forces which run counter to the general pattern prevailing over time. In this way changes in opinion among a core group of opinion leaders may be charted. We now have continuity in surveys of the national electorate. The Michigan Survey Research Center has conducted biennial election studies since 1952. They have paid careful attention to assuring comparability in the information collected over time. One of the most powerful arguments on behalf of funding the 1972 Michigan study is the value of building upon an existing data base.

The 1969 survey had various strengths and some weaknesses. Its sheer size, 30,000 individuals queried, permitted the investigators to analyze a variety of sub-groups, and variables, which normally could not be treated separately in the more common small samples used in survey research. Thus, we looked in detail into the characteristics of particular disciplines, religious groups, and the like. The fact that the survey was based on question-
naire rather than interview data, however, limited the kinds of information which could be gathered. A follow-up survey based on personal interviews with a much smaller sample would allow us to widen the analysis of the profession by probing more deeply into the varying orientations of academics.

PROCEDURES

The 1972 survey should, of course, replicate major components of the 1969 Carnegie survey, together with items bearing on the changing educational and political contexts. There is little need, however, to secure a comparably large sample, since the specification of general relationships permitted by the great numbers is not likely to change. A sample of 1500 is sufficiently large to permit a reliable comparison of opinions of the professoriate as a whole at the two points in time. Detailed interviews will allow us to test out various hypotheses which have arisen in the course of the analysis of the questionnaire data. For example, there is some indication that intellectual concern with abstract theory in various disciplines is associated with support for "purer" forms of politics, leftist or conservative.

We propose to conduct personal interviews with a national sample of 1,500 faculty. The interviews would be conducted by the highly trained field staff of an established survey organization such as the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago or the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. The "per respondent" costs of this type of interviewing are much higher than with mailed questionnaires, but precision in defining the sample and the much higher response rate should permit us to work in a satisfactory manner with a vastly smaller subset; a sample of 1500 should be adequate for all essential analytic purposes.
BUDGET

We estimate a per interview cost of $40, or $60,000 for the survey; and expenses of $15,000 in putting the survey data into machine readable form. An additional sum of $25,000 should be allocated for analysis of the data. Thus, we are confident, a major national survey of the American professoriate can be completed for not more than $100,000, building upon the 1969 study, and providing the frame for periodic investigations in the future. Alternative survey strategies can be devised, but the one outlined above seems best—especially when we view the project as part of a long-term data gathering enterprise which should be of value to researchers engaged in longitudinal studies well in the future.

The minimum alternative survey strategy would be based on a telephone survey of a random sample of faculty members (500 to 750 respondents) at selected universities. We estimate a per-interview cost under this minimum alternative strategy of $10; an additional sum of $2,000 would suffice for basic coding and data analysis operations. The lowest feasible sum for this minimum strategy would thus be approximately $15,000. The results of the survey would be less comprehensive and comparable than they would be under the larger budget outlined above, but they would still be reliable enough to constitute a useful and important addition to our understanding of the attitudes and behavior of this increasingly important sector of modern American society.
PUBLISHED MATERIALS ON THE POLITICS OF ACADEME BY S.M. LIPSET & EVERETT LADD

S. M. Lipset, Rebellion in the University (Boston, Little Brown, 1972)


S. M. Lipset and Everett C. Ladd, Jr., "The Divided Professoriate," Change 3(May-June, 1971), pp.54-60


August 21, 1972

Mr. Leonard Garment
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Len:

I thought you might be interested in seeing an advance copy of the special feature we're running in our September issue under the title "McGovern, Nixon, and the Jews," consisting of a debate between Nathan Glazer and Milton Himmelfarb, and an analytic piece by me.

Best,

Norman Podhoretz

NP/hbc
Encs.
McGovern and the Jews: A Debate

Nathan Glazer
Milton Himmelfarb

Because of the unusually intense concern evident everywhere with the question of whether and to what extent American Jews will depart from their customary allegiance to the Democratic party in the 1972 Presidential election, Commentary invited two of its regular contributors, one a supporter and the other an opponent of Senator George McGovern, to debate the role that Jewish interests should and will play in the coming elections. Nathan Glazer, Professor of Education and Social Structure at Harvard, is the author of American Judaism and (with Daniel P. Moynihan) Beyond the Melting Pot, as well as several other books. Milton Himmelfarb (who of course speaks here as an individual) is one of our contributing editors; his The Jews of Modernity is scheduled for publication in January 1973 by Basic Books.

Nathan Glazer

This will be the first electoral campaign in memory in which the question of specific Jewish interests may play a serious role in voting by American Jews. Of course there has been a "Jewish vote" in previous Presidential elections, but it has not been activated by any sense that one or the other candidate was unsympathetic to the special interests Jews have as Jews; rather it has responded to the degree of liberalism of the two candidates. Jews have for decades favored the candidate they perceived as the more liberal.

The situation in 1972 is quite different. The main reason, it seems clear, is that Senator McGovern in the past has expressed a more "even-handed" attitude toward the Arab-Israeli conflict than most liberal Senators—this is one sign that there are "radical" tendencies in his outlook. More significantly perhaps—since his recent statements in support of Israel go as far as anyone could expect, if not further—his general position in favor of the reduction of American military power and commitments abroad seriously raises the question of whether under a McGovern administration American aid would in a crisis actually be available to Israel.

There is a second reason for Jews to feel somewhat uneasy about a McGovern Presidency. McGovern seems committed, as the Democratic party reforms sponsored by a commission under his chairmanship demonstrate, to the mechanical "representation" of what are considered "deprived" groups—in the case of the Democratic party, women, youth, and racial or quasi-racial minorities. McGovern supports quotas in party affairs; he probably supports them in employment and elsewhere. Three of his close advisors, John Kenneth Galbraith, Edwin Kuh, and Lester C. Thurow collaborated on an article in the New York Times Magazine last year* that proposed, as a solution to the problem of small numbers of non-whites and women in well-paying jobs, that such jobs be reserved to these groups in proportion to their numbers in the population. As readers of Commentary need no reminding, a policy like this, of replacing equal opportunity with equal representation, most inevitably entails a restriction on the opportunities of Jews.

It is thus evident that Jewish interests may be affected by the outcome of the 1972 Presidential campaign. But should a Jew allow such considerations to affect his vote? Should not the general interest—the interest of all Americans in peace and in social and racial justice—transcend the particular interests of 3 per cent of the American people? This is not a


[See Paul S. Goodman's "HEW and the Universities," and Norman Podhoretz's "Is It Good for the Jews?" both in the Editors' Commentaries, as well as the correspondence on these articles in the May, June, and July issues.]
question that is ordinarily raised today, either by Jews or by anyone else. Group selfishness has been elevated to a paramount position, and it is almost universally assumed that everyone—business, labor, farmers, blacks, etc.—will vote his own special interests without reference to the general interest, which has in any case become a very murky concept. But I think this is still an important question and should not be ignored. If indeed the interests of Israel were in opposition to general American interests; if indeed the Jewish concern with the opportunities that were open to them in the 1940's and 1950's and are now declining—the opportunity to enter good schools, to compete fairly in civil-service and other examinations, to compete for good jobs in government and education and business on the basis of merit—if these interests contradicted a necessary and just policy to repair the unequal treatment of blacks and other minorities, then Jews might well have to consider whether it was not morally incumbent upon them to vote against their own interests.

Let us reflect on these matters for a moment. It may be that American support of Israel is detrimental to American interests more generally conceived. It may be that we support the United States to compete against Russia for alliances with countries representing scores of millions of Arabs and hundreds of millions of Muslims than to support the survival of Israel. On this issue, however, I feel that the weighing of a general national interest must simply be set aside by Jews: the survival of Israel is for Jews an interest that must transcend all other interests. In World War II the survival of Jews was an interest that, as against the United States' capacity to make war in the most efficient and effective way, should have been given priority. Tragically, it was not. Today, it is an interest that, as against the capacity of the United States to compete with Russia for influence in the Arab and Muslim world—and this seems to me the most that can be said for an American interest in favoring the Arab states—must, for Jews, come first.

Admittedly, we cannot simply assert our overriding interest in the survival of Israel. We must also defend it rationally (though it does not necessarily rest on rational grounds). We must argue for it. We must be capable of arguing that the survival of Israel is morally right, despite the agonizing problem of the Arab refugees. (Their claims can after all be to some extent met within a framework in which Israel survives as a secure state.) Most Jews and many others would also argue that the survival of Israel is fully consistent with American interests: it is a more secure ally than the Arab states would be; it is a stronger state; our only Arab allies would invariably be the more backward despots.

We can make one more pragmatic argument for the survival of Israel in terms of general American interests: the destruction of Israel would be such a severe blow to the morale of American Jews that the role of this small but influential minority on American life would undoubtedly become less healthy than it has been. It must be remembered that American Jews have, with their money and energy and influence, supported the protections and expansion of civil rights and civil liberties, they have worked within government and decided policy and in exclusion, they have played a large role in financing liberal causes and liberal candidates. One may well wonder what the influence of American Jews in American life would become if Israel were to be conquered by the Arabs and the Jews thrown out or slaughtered. This is something that must be taken into account in considering whether the support of Israel coincides with American interests in general.

For Jews, then, the survival of Israel is a transcendent interest. If the survival of Israel coincides with the larger American public interest, well and good. If it does not—well, the United States is a big and rich country, and the reduction of its influence in the Middle East, or the loss of a point to Russia, should not outweigh this transcendent Jewish interest.

The Jewish commitment to equality of opportunity—and the benefits this principle brings to Jews—are another matter. First of all, the battle is already in large measure, I believe, lost. Wherever ethnic and racial groups conflict, in a setting in which dominance by one is excluded, quotas seem to come in—this is, I am afraid, the logic of the glacial movement in all societies toward greater equality. Even under Nixon—though spokesmen for the minority groups seem unaware of the fact—the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the civil-rights arms of HEW and other government agencies have been imposing the requirement for equality of representation with steadily greater harshness on institutions of higher education and on other large employers. The guidelines which require record-keeping for what is in effect the imposition of quotas have been steadily expanded from blacks to "Spanish-surnamed Americans" (a category which apparently embraces the descendants of Spanish immigrants, Cubans, perhaps even the occasional Irishman with a Spanish name), American Indians, and Orientals; no doubt they will soon include Eastern and Southern-European immigrants and their descendants.

And the similar requirement for much larger proportions of women in better jobs is already law, or at any rate is incorporated in federal guidelines which have the power of law.

Obviously in this area, Jewish interests are still at stake and require attention. But in a world in which such considerations steadily decline in
response to the demands of equality, we cannot assign as much importance to the right of Jewish
males to achieve good jobs on the basis of merit
as we do to the Jewish interest in the survival
of Israel.

Under these circumstances, can Jews
—should Jews—support McGovern?
I believe they can; and on the basis of other,
more general considerations, I also believe they
should. Of course, individual Jews will balance
general interests
against
response
as
judged
That has leaned more to the end of
going to war to protect Israel, will some prob­
ably to achieve foreign
merit that it treats itself at the higher levels
to lavish perquisites, that it maintains great num­
ber of needed bases in the United States itself
which could be used to expand recreational
facilities or for other civilian needs. We are aware of
the fact that Congress, the military, and industry
combine to insist on these wasteful expenditures.
I myself would like to have in the White House
a President who would stand against some of
these expenditures and hold them to lower
levels. And I do not see that the security of Israel
would thereby be radically affected.

To take a larger perspective, I do not
see that the security of Western
Europe would necessarily be affected either. I
have never understood why Western Europe,
which is wealthier than Soviet Russia by far,
requires an American military presence. East
Germany and West Germany are settling the
question of the two Germanies. We and our
allies and the Russians are settling the status
of West Berlin. Germany has accepted the frontiers
with Poland and Russia. Why should not this
approach to a permanent settlement be reflected
in the reduction of our military presence in
Europe? Who really believes that Western
Europe is threatened by a Russian invasion? And
if it is not, what is the purpose of the American
army in Europe?

The purpose of American arms in the Far East
is even more obscure. Most of the Japanese want
us to leave. We should, the third most powerful
economic state in the world is capable of manag­
ing its own defense. American bases and arms in
the Far East permit us to pour bombs on Viet­
am from Guam and Thailand and Okinawa.
Yet can anyone say American security has been
enhanced by the fact that we now maintain a
military presence in Southeast Asia? I can think
of only one good reason for holding onto bases
in the Far East, and that is to keep American
forces in South Korea. There they have truly
maintained peace for twenty years against the
belligerent North Koreans. But there have been
recent indications that South Korea and North
Korea themselves may come to some peaceful
arrangement. We may thus in a few years be able
to withdraw American troops even from Korea.

As for the rest of Asia: American bases are a
disaster. For this country and the countries of
Southeast Asia, American military support is a
disaster. I do not believe for a moment that these
countries would be less fortunate under the rule
of Communists; North Vietnam and, of course, I
fully expect that to be the fate of at least the
area which normally made up French Indochina
—than they have been for the last seven years,
suffering the effects of the horrible war that we
presence alone sustains. Our efforts to play a role on the South Indian subcontinent are pitiful. Our arms have enabled Pakistan to engage in the most terrible crimes any nation has committed since World War II and to fight pointless wars against India. Our arms indeed have contributed to the abysmal poverty of both nations. If other nations wish to provide arms to this end, let them. We have no national interests there, except an interest generally in peace and development. Unluckily the least defensible action of the Nixon administration has been its support of the butchers of Pakistan.

George McGovern wants to reduce the size of the military, its role in the world, and the scope and scale of American commonwealths around the world. I agree. He has said he will not reduce the American commitment to Israel. Inevitably this commitment, whether by McGovern or Nixon, cannot extend to the use of American troops or warships, or to a serious risk of war with Russia. That is reality. I believe our interests as Americans demand an immediate withdrawal from South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. There is nothing we can do in those countries that can help them. This has now been demonstrated under both Johnson and Nixon. We can kill their people and destroy their land by our distinctively American ways of warfare, we can turn their children into prostitutes and their children into beggars, we can corrupt their rulers and their polities. This much we can do, and have. It is not clear that there is anything else we can do—at least we have not, under a number of administrations. Therefore we should leave, immediately, McGovern would have.

This is the one and overwhelming reason why, as between Nixon and McGovern, I would stand for McGovern—having, however, also considered whether his election would represent an unacceptable danger to the survival of Israel and having concluded that it would not.

On economic issues, the balance between Nixon and McGovern is closer. Here my view of the specific Jewish interest and the larger American interest merge. I believe in equality of opportunity and the reward of merit, and not because they help Jews. I think these principles also help society. They make societies more efficient and effective, they conform to a widespread sense of a proper moral order, they are necessary to help America compete with other countries and it is perfectly clear from the balance of trade that America, with all its vast natural advantages, no longer competes very well with a country such as Japan which has none of these advantages. With equality of representation replacing equality of opportunity, I see America sinking not rapidly, not insupportable, but inevitably. Nations do change in their ability to produce and compete. Their values change, and clearly American values are today in large measure antagonistic to production and competition, and it is these antagonistic values that are represented by McGovern. One recalls with surprise that after World War II, even with so much destroyed by war, England was still the richest country in Western Europe, and after 25 years of small differences in growth rates, it is now the poorest. And yet the massive gradual shift leading the United States in the same direction seems to be irreversible. One can only hope that Japan and Western Germany will be next—and well they may. It seems to me no solution to vote for a man who makes speeches against the tide rather than the man who is ready to drift with it. What are speeches good for?

On the whole, I prefer the way Nixon—or his advisers—have talked about American social policy to the way McGovern has talked about it. And yet we should not exaggerate the differences. In comparison with Kennedy and Johnson, both Nixon and McGovern are men who want to do less in domestic policy rather than more. Neither Nixon nor McGovern wants to follow the pattern of the 60's in which for each problem and each subdivision of a problem we devised a special program—or ten, or three, or more—and funded them all to some extent, and saw most of them fail. What, after all, does McGovern's domestic program amount to? The greatest emphasis has been placed on the guaranteed annual income of $1,000 for every American. In all the fuss about this proposal—which is crudely formulated and no doubt far too large—the similarities with the Nixon Family Assistance Plan have, surprisingly, been almost entirely overlooked. Both want to do away with a welfare system based in significant measure on social services to replace the present system with a new program to give money directly to the poor. Both wish to cover the working as well as the non-working poor. Both want to replace diverse state and local programs with a federal program, and state variations with a national minimum. Both try to deal—better than the present welfare system does—with the problem of work incentive, and it can be argued that the McGovern approach, in which the income guarantee is in no way affected by earnings, is the more effective in creating an incentive to work. It will be recalled that one of the contributing ideas to the Nixon FAP was the child allowance, which Daniel P. Moynihan championed vigorously. The child allowance too has the virtue of being unrelated to earnings and therefore does not undermine the incentive to work in the way a system does in which the income guaranteed declines with earnings. The child allowance also goes to every family, rich or poor, just as the McGovern allowance does. Of course there are important differences between the Nixon and McGovern plans; yet as one is modified in Congress, and
the other is modified by political reality, they will come closer and closer to each other, even though the candidates will inevitably magnify the significance of the distinctions that remain.

The interesting thing is that McGovern has talked about little else domestically. It is hard to know what he would do about housing, about urban renewal, about crime, about juvenile delinquency, about elementary education, about higher education, etc. McGovern apparently believes—if we are to take his relative indeliberance to specific domestic programs seriously—that the best way to solve the problem of the poor is to give them money. That is also what Daniel P. Moynihan believes, and what he apparently succeeded in getting President Nixon to believe. It is not only a Republican administration which no longer believes that we know how to solve specific problems with specific programs. The government-in-opposition at the Brookings Institution now also believes the same thing—and so, it would appear, do McGovern and his advisers. Certainly it would be naive to expect a President McGovern to act like President Johnson, even leaving aside the fact that he would come in with a narrow majority and probably also an antagonistic Congress. The age of poverty programs is over, and the age of income redistribution has begun. Amazingly, no one has noticed that Nixon and McGovern agree on this point—though Congress still seems to disagree with them both.

What else is there to say about McGovern domestically? Tax reform? Undoubtedly he would try to cut into the income of the well-to-do more sharply than Nixon has done. In this he would only be following the lead of most advanced nations with substantial social programs, and the inescapable arithmetic of the programs which both Democrats and Republicans, Left and Right, have already agreed on. The costs of giving subsidies for every student to every institution of higher education will be enormous—we are already committed to that by the higher education act. The costs of Medicare and Medicaid are already enormous, and there is no conceivable reform in health care that can substantially reduce the huge rate of growth in these costs. Social Security will cost more. Revenue sharing with states and cities will cost more. All these are programs which McGovern, I assume, would support; some he would expand—such as the public underwriting of health care. What McGovern as President would find—and what would introduce solvency into his proposals—is that there is not enough money even for the programs already written into law, and whose principles he accepts, and hardly any for the new programs he would wish to introduce. The issue would resolve itself into a choice between new taxation and more inflation. All this is the deja vu of all developed nations whose desire for social services outruns their capacity to provide enough through taxation, however much they soak the rich, to pay for them.

One comes back, then, to foreign affairs, and there the choice, for the Jewish voter, is between the man who acknowledges the moral and practical tragedy of Vietnam, and of American military policy in so many other places, and the man who makes no such acknowledgment but who has done more for Israel than any other American President. It will be a difficult decision for Jewish voters, and more of them are likely to vote for the Republican candidate than Jews have ever done before. For myself, I believe McGovern would do what an American President can do to ensure the survival of Israel. For just as no American President, even with all our arms and wealth, could ensure the survival of a non-Communist South Vietnam, there are limits to American power in the Middle East too. We must always live in fear and trembling when it comes to the survival of Israel, dependent as this survival is on Israel's own strength, on the financial and political aid of Jews in other countries, and on Israel's own good political sense. None of those things will change, whether Nixon or McGovern is President after 1972. And so, in the end, for me, Vietnam is decisive, and on that ground I support McGovern.
It will be better for the Jews if McGovern does not win. Whether he wins or loses, it will be better for us if this year we give the Democratic candidate less than our usual crushing majority.

The Jews' overriding foreign-policy interest is Israel. More accurately, our overriding interest of any kind is Israel. If which God forbid—Israel should cease to exist, do we not know in our bones that the Jews would cease to exist? We have not in us the stuff of our galut ancestors, and what they were able to do in the absence of a Jewish state we and our descendants will be unable to do; for we are hardly able to do it in the presence of a Jewish state.

American Jews and Israelis must agree with Ben-Gurion: It is not that the Jews are for the sake of Israel, but that Israel is for the sake of the Jews.

For American Jews, therefore, the interest in Israel is not what the interest in Italy is for our Italian neighbors. When Italy and Yugoslavia disputed the possession of Trieste, Italian Americans naturally sided with Italy. But that was a marginal question. The existence of Italy and Italians and italians was not at risk. What Jew would not pray for Israel's problems with the Arabs to be like Italy's with Yugoslavia? With Israel it is not a question of this city or that, these borders or those, Yugoslavia, and her friends, did not deny Italy's right to be Italy.

It is 2,700 years since Viracium began Jewish history, a history of some consequence. If Israel's friends do not worry about her, both Israel and that history will come to an end. And if the Jews do not worry about Israel, why in the world should anyone else?

For a Jew, accordingly, McGovern's inferiority to Nixon should be manifest. The case is not what it would be if, say, Humphrey were running against Nixon. Then a supporter of Nixon could argue that Nixon's deeds were more important than Humphrey's words, but he could hardly say that the words were not good words, or that they had not been good from the outset. With McGovern, on the other hand, even the words are recent, quite different from his former words, and therefore dubious. In the press of the campaign he is now saying to Jews things about Israel that are marked to all the fervor and sincerity of Governor Rockefeller's eating knives in Jewish neighborhoods during his campaigns for office.

How reassuring can it be to Jews that the Arabs of the National Council of Churches (like the anti-Israel sects) I felt were tautropus about McGovern's momentous? And though people like Senator Ribicoff tell us that Richard Nixon is not really all that close to McGovern, should we be reassured? when Stearns, with his anti-Zionism and pro-Palestinian record, is quoted (in New York magazine, July 3) as saying:

"I would like to have the most responsible job in this Administration that I could have. I didn't go through this for the simple exercise of nominating and electing a President? (In the press of the campaign a new Stearns now says he agrees with the new McGovern.) Or should we be reassured because McGovern has said that Senator Fulbright would make a good Secretary of State? Fulbright —in these coldness toward Israel chills us.

Nor will it do to say that we should listen to the present McGeorge, rather than the McGovern of a few years ago. How seriously can we take the new pro-Israel statements and planks of a candidate whose policy is diplomatic and military withdrawal? Nixon has made his remarkable new approaches to the Soviet Union (and China), but the United States Sixth Fleet remains in the Mediterranean, a barrier against Israel against a Russian attack. Of what use will McGovern's new professions of friendship and support for Israel be when he recalls those carriers from the Mediterranean?

Much has been written about Israelis in high places telling American Jews that Nixon, unlike McGovern, is a proved friend, and therefore worthy of support. We hardly need Israelis to tell us something so obvious.

In domestic matters the great question today is what equality and justice mean. McGovern and the McGovernites define equality and justice in a way that is bad for the Jews—and bad for America as well.

Their definition is the one that somehow, without real discussion and almost behind our backs, has come to be accepted by the Rest People. Equality and justice used to mean No Discrimination (against individuals), now they tend to mean Fair Shares (for groups). How does one assure Fair Shares? By legislating proportionality, or quotas. Can anything be clearer than that a principle of group Fair Shares must be fatal for the Jews?

When we think of discrimination—unfairness, injustice—against Jews in the United States, the example that comes most readily to mind is that of the medical schools between, say, 1920 and 1950. It was not that the proportion of Jewish students in American medical schools was lower than the proportion of Jews in the American population, even in those bad old days. It was that many Jewish candidates for admission to medical school were kept out, though qualified, because they were Jews. For us the incontrovertible proof of injustice and unfairness, and of their especial wickedness in America, was that Fascist Italy—Fascist Italy—opened the doors of its medical schools to Americans shut out as Jews by American medical schools. The discrimina-
tion was against qualified individuals, and by “qualified” we did not mean passable; in many cases we meant superior. (It was Jews who told the contemptuous joke about the stutterer who accused the radio station which had not hired the Jew.)

No Jew agreed with the excluders’ defense, that there was no discrimination, because the Jews, only x per cent of the American population, were x + y per cent of medical students. How could percentages, or quotas, justify the injustice to this individual, excluded though meriting inclusion? Was it not self-evident to any rational person that trying to reconcile quotas with democracy was like trying to square the circle? Quotas were part of the feudal world of ascription, with the different estates having different privileges and duties, and estate deriving mostly from parentage. Were Americans proud of the Constitution’s one lapse into that system? Ascription was against qualified individuals, and by the Constitution’s one lapse into that system, we did not mean anything.

President Nixon can avoid the responsibility for those whom a generation ago we called “quota” and as Jews and others, who are not Jews that the differentiations within “white and other” should in all fairness be reflected in subquotas. Manifestly, if fairness requires proportionality and quotas, it cannot be fair that the Jews, who are so few, should have so many good things and good jobs. Fair Shares—let the Jews’ good things and jobs be in proportion to their numbers. (And how far are we from the time when “women” will discover that they are not a unitary, undifferentiated minority, so-called, but that some are black, and some are Jews, and so on; and that by the justice of Fair Shares, Jewish women are getting too much?)

Concede the major premise, Fair Shares, and the conclusion is irrefutable.

But why concede that premise? Why, especially, should Jews concede it? Those Jews who refuse to concede it have been accused of engaging in mere, mean-spirited defense of their turf. Of course, when any other group defends its turf, everyone understands that to be, if not necessarily admirable, then at the very least natural. Apparently it is only the Jews’ defense of their turf that is mere, and mean-spirited. But in fact we are not dealing here with a defense of turf, in anything like the sense of straightforward economic interest. The logic of proportionality does not, cannot, stop with vacation and job.

For a concrete illustration of what is at stake here, I wish I could incorporate the whole of Jerome Karabel’s “Open Admissions: Toward
Merritoracy or Equitability?" in Change for May 1972. Karabel is described as a researcher for the American Council on Education, the roof or umbrella organization of the American colleges and universities. No doubt he thinks of himself as more conformist and anti-establishment, but in matters of this sort, can anything be more establishment than an article by someone on the staff of his organization?

For our purposes, he says two things of interest. The first is that a generation ago the increasing reliance upon aspiration (birth, group), was a victory for democracy and equality; but that today—for reasons not explained very clearly—reliance upon individual merit or ability is undemocratic and unegalitarian. The second thing of interest he says is that it is not enough for everyone who wants a college education to be admitted to a college; as long as some colleges are academically more selective than others, there will be injustice inequality. In other words, the University of Chicago has no right to be fussy about its students—and presumably about its professors—than Punduk A. and M. In that view, distinctiveness/distinction is inherently and necessarily the enemy of democratic equality, and must be done away with. What of the academy as a community of scholars, a constituent of the international republic of learning, the place where Mediterranean studies can be cultivated, together with hopelessly impractical, pure mathemat
cities? To ask that question is to show you believe—or, for motives not hard to divine, pretend to believe—in the discredited ivory-tower notion of the university. If this is the wisdom of people who are supposed to care about the universities as universities, why should we be surprised that it is also the wisdom of HEW "change agents"?

A letter in COMMENTARY (May 1972) has reported that when the chairman of a graduate department of religion in an Ivy League university said that a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek was prerequisite to admission, HEW representatives told him to "and those old-fashioned programs that require irrelevant languages and start programs on relevant things which minority group students can study without learning languages."

If that frame of mind, the new reason of the dchine, is made even more official than it already is, hard times will have arrived. Every ordinary law is dependent upon, is nourished by, learned Jews and the learned Jewish tradition. Jewish scholars have to know— in addition to the Jewish languages—Greek, Latin, and who knows how many eastern European languages (for reading the standard literature). Some scholars also have to know Arabic, others Akkadian and Ugaritic. A

friend of mine teaches in that very department, in that university. He has had to learn Middle Persian.

From all of which it emerges that if we protect the Jewish interest—and this one, at least, surely is not very small—we will also be protecting the American interest, against those who go fasting after relevance, and would use both the bureaucracy and the courts to impose it. (What would Edmund Wilson have said about government, and liberal faddists, decreeing that languages are irrelevant? When classical and biblical studies had begun to decline among the Protestants, there were some among them who consorted themselves that the Catholics were carrying those studies forward. Now that the Catholics seem to be going the way of the Protestants, it may be the Jews—and precisely the most Jewish Jews—who are running with the torch. I am told that at Columbia a striking proportion of the young men who are studying Aeschylus and Lucretius sit in class with their heads covered by kippah, and are never there on a Jewish holy day, no matter how "unious."

Of more immediate, and practical, political consequence is it that some Jews, because of their Jewish experience and sensibility, are helping to remind America that individual No Discrimination, not group Fair Shares, is the good, authentic American idea.

A few observations remain to be made, of a more (or an even more) internal Jewish character. It has been said that American Jews are deserting the Democratic candidate because of economic conservatism—that is, because so many of us are rich, and McGovern has a soak-the-rich tax program. Whether so many of us are rich is questionable, despite all those Wall Street types the writers love to mention—and precisely the most Jewish Jews—who are apt to be more liberal-to-radical than they are Jewish, and who know that the current liberal-to-radical thing is to be for quotas, and McGovern. In the Florida Democratic primaries, while the elders throughout the state voted for the victorious Wallace more than the young did, the Jewish elders voted for Wallace not at all. They preferred Humphrey, giving him a larger margin
over McGovern than younger, more prosperous Jews did. (The evidence for Florida has been analyzed by Professors Lipman and Strauss of the University of Miami.) There are generation gaps, and generation gaps.

A certain amount of blackmail is being exercised here. I was in Israel during the Democratic convention, and in MacArthur for July 7 that great and good Jew Abbie Hoffman was quoted as saying:

Any Jew who supports Nixon is a Gentile [Hebrew: goy; or old Hoffman use the word “goy” himself—MH], even Golda Meir. . . I am pro-Jewish [that’s nice—MH] but anti-Zionist [i.e., denying the right of a State of Israel to exist—MH].

How will the Jews vote? Everyone is agreed that in 1968 we gave Humphrey 80 per cent or a little more, and Nixon between 15 and 20 per cent. The projections of the Jewish vote for Nixon in 1972 that one sees in the papers range all the way to 50 per cent. But old habits die hard, and maybe a Jewish arm will be too paralyzied to pull the Republican lever in a Presidential election. Besides, by November the judging and blustering of McGovern will have proceeded enough for most Jews to do what they want to do, and are comfortable doing—vote for the Democrat. The forecast of people whose judgment I respect are between 25 and 35 per cent. My guess is 25 per cent.

More would be better, and less would be dangerous. It is good to have the politicians competing for our support; but why should they compete if we do not show we are prepared to reward friends and punish enemies? Even if McGovern is elected, it will do us no harm at all if he senses in us a certain coldness, or reserve.

It was because the Jews, more than all other whites, supported Mayor Lindsay that he decided to reward us with his plan for Forest Hills and all the boons, internal and external, material and moral, that go with it. If there had been fewer Jewish votes for Lindsay—especially in Forest Hills—he would have treated the Jews more considerately, or at least circumspectly.

Is there any use fighting? Aren’t quotas inevitable? Shouldn’t we accommodate ourselves to the wave of the future? For instance, shouldn’t we begin now to train our children for vocations less dependent on government and large organizations (and on a college education)? I have heard a professor at a rabbinical seminary speak in that vein to his students.

But I also remember what Isaiah Berlin said about twenty years ago in his lecture on Historical Inevitability: the irresistible, often, is only the unresisted.
Although Nathan Glazer (p. 43) is for McGovern and Milton Himmelfarb (p. 48) is against him, they both expect that Jews will give a smaller majority of their vote to the Democratic candidate this year than they have ever given to a Democratic candidate in any recent Presidential election. The normal pattern has been for Jews to give between 80 and 90 per cent of their vote to the Democratic Presidential candidate; this year the figure is widely expected to go below 70 per cent and could even, some say, go below 60. One also hears that a certain number of wealthy Jews who have contributed heavily to Democratic Presidential candidates in the past are either planning to sit this election out or to throw their financial support to Nixon.

Does all this mean that the Jews are beginning to move into the Republican party? I think not—or at least not necessarily. In my opinion, the turn away from McGovern has been caused not by a sudden access of Jewish enthusiasm for Nixon or his party, but by a steadily mounting Jewish uneasiness over McGovern. I think, moreover, that to understand this uneasiness fully, one has to look not only at the two issues of Israel and quotas which Mr. Glazer and Mr. Himmelfarb between them so exhaustively discuss, but also at the character of the “McGovern phenomenon” as a whole. For everything in this discussion depends on whether the forces led by McGovern will retain control of the Democratic party or whether they will indeed prove to be, as many people have predicted, the Goldwaterites of the Left.

This Richard Nixon inspires dislike among liberals, and even hatred is hardly news, and it is hardly necessary to show in detail that in the course of his pre-Presidential career he generally spoke and acted in such a way as to deserve this response. Even as President he has done many things calculated to infuriate liberals. He has unleashed Agnew, he has taken a tough line on civil disobedience and direct-action protest, he has invaded Cambodia, he has intensified the air war in North Vietnam, he has appointed conservatives to the Supreme Court, he has come out against busing.

Yet it is also true that in the course of his career as President he has done more and more to deserve, if not the alienation of liberals, then at least a diminution of their dislike. He has proposed a guaranteed annual income; he has instituted wage- and-price controls; he has withdrawn half-a-million men from Vietnam; he has enunciated a foreign-policy doctrine involving a lesser degree of American intervention in international disputes; he has visited Communist China; he has negotiated an arms-limitation treaty with the Soviet Union and possibly also (if such surprising developments as the move toward unification of the two Koreas and the departure of Soviet troops from Egypt are anything more than coincidence) the beginnings of a long-range political settlement. On balance, surely, it makes more sense for Nixon’s old supporters in the conservative camp like William F. Buckley, Jr., and Richard J. Whalen to feel betrayed (which indeed they seem to do) than it does for liberals to go on hating him as much as they seem to do. Nevertheless liberals do go on hating him, less perhaps than they used to but still much more than, on the record, they rationally should.

And if this is the case with lib-
eral all in general, it is also the case
with Jews, who are still one of the
most liberal groups in the country
(or even if the most wildly pes­
imistic forecasts from the Democra­
tic point of view were to prove ac­
curate, it would mean that “only”
60 per cent of Jewish voters were
going for McGovern—a higher per­
centage than he is likely to get
from any other group except per­
haps the blacks). Jews as liberals
share in the general liberal dislike
of Nixon, and Jews as Jews, often
with an even lesser degree of ra­
tionality, dislike him on their own.
The Israelis say that Nixon has
done more for them than any
American President before him,
and yet in speaking before Jewish
audiences I have repeatedly been
asked what I think makes the Nixon
administration “anti-Israel.” More
Jews have been appointed to pow­
erful positions within the Nixon
administration—one has only to
mention the names of Henry Kiss­
singer, Arthur Burns, and Herbert
Stein—than has probably ever hap­
pened before, and yet I have re­
peatedly been asked by these same
Jewish audiences whether the
“fact” that there are no Jews in the
Nixon administration means that
Ihy President is anti-Semitic. For
just as blacks seem not to realize
that it is under the Nixon admin­
istration that the dual school sys­
tems of the South have finally been
abolished, and that the concept of
“affirmative action” has been
turned into a means of instituting
a quota system mainly in the black
behal, so Jews seem not to realize
that the Nixon administration has
been friendly in a variety of im­
portant ways to them.

To complicate matters even fur­
ther, those Jews who worry about
quotas and who oppose McGovern
because he appears to favor them,
seem not to realize that it is under
the Nixon administration that
quotas have become a threat. But
this is only one of many indica­
tions that the Jewish meekness
over McGovern is not to be fully
explained with reference to specific
issues, any more than the probable
loss he will suffer of normally
Democratic Jewish votes is to be ex­
plained by a newfound Jewish
friendliness for Nixon. The specific
issues are certainly real and the
concern over them is certainly gen­
tine, but there is, I believe, some­
thing larger and more difficult to
define for which they serve as a
manageably concrete though not
altogether satisfactory, stand-in.
This something is the New Politics.

By the New Politics I mean the
insurgency within the Democratic
party which culminated in the
Nixon movement and which, having
lost its chance to capture the party
in 1968 either through Eugene Mc­
Carthy or through Robert Ken­
ney, found a second chance in the
reforms developed by the Mc­
Govern Commission and then
seized it through the candidacy
of McGovern himself. The nature
of the New-Politics movement is eas­
ily enough to describe in sociological
terms. The movement is made up
largely of educated, prosperous
people, members of the professional
and technical intelligentsia and
their wives and children, academics
and their students, the group, in
short, as Michael Novak (p. 132)
reminds us, that David T. Barc­
ton presently identified as a New
Class long before it came to con­
sciousness of itself as a class and as
a potential political force. Thus
for all the self-gratulatory speeches
about the unprecedented “re­
presentativeness” of the 1972 Dem­
ocratic convention, a survey by
Haynes Johnson of the Washington
Post showed that fully 39 per cent
of the delegates—as compared with
4 per cent of the population as a
whole—held postgraduate degrees,
and that 31 per cent had incomes
of more than $25,000 a year,
whereas only 5 per cent of the
population as a whole is in so high
an economic bracket.

But if the sociological character
of the New-Politics movement is
deep, its political or ideological
character has been obscured some­
what in the process of its transfor­
mation into the McGovern “popi­
lism movement. Lately the talk
has been often of tax reform and the
redistribution of wealth, but this
was not an issue indigenous to the
New Politics or to the “McGovern
phenomenon”; it was taken over
from George Wallace, and the carelessness with which the McGovern proposals have been thought out is perhaps a sign of the fundamental indifference to such matters which the New Politics portends until so recently held. For what this movement really cares about is not the distribution of economic power but the distribution of political power. It wishes to "participate in the decisions that affect us" and it wishes to govern; but it has no clear idea of what, in addition to participating and governing, it wishes to do. Consequently it has itself become the issue. Why has the AFL-CIO, which until the nomination of McGovern obsessively kept declaring that its main political priority was the defeat of Nixon, refused to endorse McGovern? As to this question, George Meany and J. W. Abel and the other anti-McGovern labor leaders fish for unconvincing explanations in McGovern's voting record, when what is actually holding McGovern is the hostility of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up.") I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement and the contempt of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up."")

In other words, if there should be a large-scale defection of Jews from the Democratic ticket this year, it would not necessarily signify the birth of a permanently substantial Jewish Republican vote. If the McGovern candidacy should indeed turn out to be a counterpart of the Goldwater candidacy of 1964, with the electorate severely punishing the Democrats now for challenging the Center (which, it should be noted, kept denouncing the Left as it punished the Republicans then for challenging it from the Right), the Democrats would not doubt do in their catastrophic defeat what the Republicans did after theirs in 1964. They would move once again toward the Center, politely overriding their now discredited and demoralized insurgents in the process (just as Nixon has quietly ignored the protests of the Goldwater Right against many of his foreign and domestic policies), and renewing their appeal to groups like the Jews whose repudiation of the insurgents would have contributed to the size of the defeat.

If, on the other hand, the projections of the McGovern strategists should be vindicated and McGovern carried along by a new coalition of blacks, youth, and women, should win despite the defection of traditionally Democratic groups like the Jews, there might be very well come about one of those periodical realignments which C. V. Mann Woodard and other historians tell us is long overdue, with a sizable number of Jews and other former Democrats now turning to the Republican party in the hope of finding or creating a reconstituted Center there. For if America should "come home" to the Democrats under McGovern, many whose home is the Center would no longer be at home with the Democrats.

In either case, we would all know better than anyone knows today where the country is; how it feels, what it wants. In the event of a McGovern victory, even a narrow one, we would know that the McGovernites are right when they say, in the words of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., that "disgust with the way things have been have been recently managed in this country, the recoil against the Establishment, the pess

ism about the national future, the desire for unspecified ... change ... infect every bloc in the nation." By contrast, in the event of a catastrophic McGovern defeat, we would know that the anti-McGovern forces, both Republican and Democratic, are right when they say that such feelings are still confined to an ideologically passionate minority (what the Wall Street Journal sometimes calls the "mass intelligentsia" and sometimes the "modernist-academic elite"); that most other people, if they are really infected with disgust, are disgusted not with the "Establishment" in general but precisely with the way it dominated by the New Class and the New Politics; and that the great majority of Americans believes the country is already "home," that the structure of the house is sound, and that what is mainly needed is patching and straightening up a greater (if they are liberals) or lesser (if they are conservatives) extent.

H. however, the Democrats under McGovern should neither win nor be decisively defeated if that is, Nixon should be reelected by a very close margin—everything would remain uncertain, unsettled, and bitterly polarized, for the Jews and for everyone else.
Dear Len:

Herewith a short memo on the intellectuals. I believe that these suggestions might help some, and I will be happy to elaborate on them in greater depth should you so desire.

Yours (in haste),

Peter P. Witonski
To: Leonard Warment

From: Peter P. Witonski

RE: The Intellectuals and the Re-election of the President.

To date our campaign to gain support for the President's re-election within the intellectual community has not achieved the things we had hoped it would. There has been a vast amount of confusion and duplication (as exemplified by Carothers's operation), and a striking lack of originality. The lack of originality is, I believe, the major problem. The intellectuals approached by the administration, as of this date, have been asked only to lend their names to a list that will eventually appear in the national press. These scholars have been suspicious of petitions since the fifties. Petitions, they feel, are simply a way of using intellectuals. They do not want to be used.

Of course, not all intellectuals are unwilling to append their names to a petition supporting the President. It is simply a case of which group of intellectuals you want on a petition. Most of our efforts, to date, have focused on a small group of disenchanted Kennedy Liberals, who have lately seen the light. The problem is, they have only just recently seen the light; they have not yet committed themselves to the glow. Many of them were burned in the sixties, and are presently unwilling to jump on any political bandwagon. This does not mean that we should forget about these scholars. They can make major contributions to the campaign and
to the status of the second Nixon Administration. However, I very much doubt that many of them will sign our petition of support for the President. I know many of these men personally, and I know for a fact that they would be willing to make their support for the President public in other ways.

In concentrating our efforts on the disenchanted liberals, we have partially ignored the many hundreds of firmly committed Republican academics who have been toiling in the vineyards for many years now. Many of these scholars—and I include such men as Harry Jaffa, George Stigler, Leo Strauss, Russell Kirk, and Ernest van den Haag—are men of great reputations within the intellectual community. Since you will not get many disenchanted liberals to sign a petition supporting the President's reelection—assuming that you still wish to have a petition—I would suggest that you now begin to direct your efforts towards those intellectuals who are already Nixon aficionados, punctuating them with those few disenchanted liberals who will allow their names to be included.

As you know, I am not a believer in these published lists. I don't think they achieve anything politically, save perhaps to interest a few book worms. If I were running the program, I would be far more concerned with getting the intellectuals to interest the general public. Ever since the New Deal, the public has perceived the Democratic Party as the party with "Brains"; and the Republican Party as the party of the un-intellectual bourgeoisie, what J.S. Mill called "the Stupid Party." Our task this year should be to show the
voters that things have changed; that under Richard Nixon, the Republican Party has become the party of ideas, of the "Brains." I doubt that a petition in the New York Times can achieve this.

What I would propose, as an alternative course of action, is a genuine dialogue between the President and the intellectual community. Such a dialogue could enlist the friendly support of many of those disenchanted liberals presently unwilling to sign a petition. It could also influence the public.

The confrontation would be similar in style to the nationally televised forums the President held with various representative citizens during the last General Election. Instead of "citizens," the President, and, possibly the Vice President, would confront a carefully selected audience of leading intellectuals. The impact of such a forum would be powerful. It would receive a great deal of coverage in the media; it would enhance the President's reputation as a thinking-professional, the peer of the best minds in America; and it would greatly impress the public.

If the forum proved a success, we could set up mini-forums (of five to ten intellectuals), that could appear on talk shows all over the country, and address university audiences.

****

There are several other things that should be done to attract intellectuals. We should have people at all the major professional conferences, such as the American Political Science Association Convention, that take
place in the fall. Most important, we should have at least one person at the September meeting of the Mt. Pelerin Society in Switzerland. (The Mt. Pelerin Society is an international association of major conservative intellectuals, that is having its 20th meeting this year. It is made up mainly of American scholars, including such men as Walter Lippman, Milton Friedman, and M. B. Lipset. It will be the only occasion before the General Election when the cream of American conservatism will be gathered under one roof.)

We should also start an immediate writing campaign. I.e., we should get a group of twenty or so intellectuals to start writing favorable essays about the president as soon as possible, so that the essays can get into print before November.

P.P. Witonski
Date: 9/8/72

TO: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Under the new system this was expedited in only 3 short weeks.
The detail work on the joint advertising program is completed. Specifically, letters to Nixon State Chairmen (over your signature), and Nixon State Finance Chairmen (over Paul Muller's signature) announcing the program are drafted (see Attachments A and B) and the certificates have been printed, (see Attachment C).

As you may recall, the Nixon State Chairmen will be responsible for ensuring the program is administered in the states according to (a) the legal requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971; and (b) our strategic requirements for a high-level, quality oriented campaign. Nixon State Finance Chairmen will be responsible for ensuring that records are kept and the certificates are disbursed properly.

The letters are attached for your review and approval (Attachments A and B.)

1. Letter to Nixon State Chairmen
   **APPROVE**
   **DISAPPROVE**
   **COMMENT**

2. Letter to Nixon State Finance Chairmen
   **APPROVE**
   **DISAPPROVE**
   **COMMENT**

Attachments
Dear (Nixon State Chairman):

As you know, one of the President's major objectives is to ensure the election of Republicans to Congressional and State offices. In line with this objective, he plans to give up a portion of his advertising limitation (not actual dollars) to each state for use in joint advertising. The purpose of this letter is to outline our program.

By way of background, the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 requires that the charges for joint advertising on behalf of the candidacy of more than one candidate for federal elective office must be appropriately apportioned to each of the candidates' media spending limitation and each candidate's apportioned share must be certified by that candidate. The certification is that his apportioned share of the charge for advertising does not exceed his media spending limitation under Title I of the Act. To permit you maximum flexibility in scheduling joint advertising of other candidates with the President, we have devised a system to help in your effort.

First, we will supply your Finance Chairman with preprinted certificates drawn against the President's limitation to be used by you in your state. These certificates will be in denominations of $10, $20, $50, and $100 and total $______ for your state.

Second, within this dollar limitation, these certificates contain no restriction on the manner of use and therefore may be employed to support the President's share of joint advertising as you best see fit. However, as a condition of your authority to make these judgments, you must assume the following responsibilities:

A. The Act stipulates that each candidate must certify to a reasonable allocation of the joint advertising cost. You - working with your Finance Chairman - will be responsible for determining that the allocation as to the President's share is accurate. Obviously, we look to you to avoid the penalties that accrue if the allocations are deemed unreasonable by the Federal Elections Office.
B. In addition to the prepaid certificate, the law requires that you also provide the medium with certain other information about the advertisement. A form for this purpose is attached. A copy of this form must also be sent to your Nixon State Finance Chairman. This will provide him with the information he legally must report on schedule C of Election Form 3.

C. Regardless of the media expenditure allocation for certification purposes, 100% of the actual money cost for joint advertising must be provided on a State or local level. No dollar obligation will be assumed by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

D. You will be responsible for determining that any joint advertising involving the President's participation is in good taste and in keeping with the tone of the national campaign. In no instance should Mr. Nixon's name or image be associated with undesirable advertising, such as that containing derogatory statements about the opposition, involving name-calling, and the like.

A detailed explanation concerning the control and issuance of the presigned forms will be provided to your State Finance Committee Chairman in the letter transmitting the certifications to him, a copy of which will be provided to you. Notifying candidates in your state will be your responsibility. Similarly, you will have to determine how best to "spend" your state's allocation.

As you can imagine, it is very important that you fully comply with the Federal Elections Campaign Act of 1971 in the use of the certifications delegated to you. Therefore, if you have any questions concerning the use of these certifications, please call me or call our General Counsel, Mr. Glenn Sedam, at 202/333-1912.

Sincerely,

Clark MacGregor
Campaign Director
ATTAChMENT

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING CERTIFICATION NO. 33.

OF EXPENDITURES AGAINST CAMPAIGN LIMITATION OF RICHARD M. NIXON.

Description of Joint Advertising:

Name and address of medium

Date of Ad Appearance

Length of Ad

Rate

Total Expenditure Certified $__________________________

Charges covered by this certification $__________________________

Information re other Tie-in Candidates:

Name Office Sought State, City, County

____________________________________  ____________________________  ____________________________

____________________________________  ____________________________  ____________________________

____________________________________  ____________________________  ____________________________
September 6, 1972

Dear Nixon State Finance Chairman:

A few days ago Clark MacGregor outlined to your Nixon State Chairman the general procedures to be followed in connection with certifications of expenditures against President Nixon's campaign spending limitations to cover his participation in joint advertising on a State or local level. A copy of this letter is enclosed.

As indicated therein, we are hereby transmitting proscribed certifications as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Total Dollar Value</th>
<th>Certification Numbers</th>
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<td>$100's</td>
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</table>

Total

Kindly acknowledge receipt of these certifications by signing a copy of this letter and returning it to me without delay in the self-addressed envelope provided.

There are several important points to be made regarding the certifications:

1. While they have no purchasing power, they do have a unique value in that they permit part of the total available funds that can be used under the Federal Election Campaign Act for the re-election of the President. Unauthorized use could be a criminal violation under Federal law. Therefore, you should maintain a very careful custody over them. When the campaign is over, any unused certifications should be returned to us.
2. An accurate to the presigned forms will be necessary in order to provide all the information required for certifications under the Federal Election Campaign Act. We are enclosing a format, which when completed and attached to the prepared certificates should satisfy all requirements. (See Attachment A).

3. For practical reasons, the certificates have been prepared in rounded dollar amounts. Depending upon the charge being made against the President's spending limitation it may be necessary for you to supply the medium with several certificates which total to the nearest round figure in excess of the charge. (For example, if against a total ad cost of $350 and the amount allocated against the President's spending limitation is $30, two $20 certificates or four $10 certificates will have to be provided to the medium.)

4. In reporting the expenditure on Schedule C of Controller General Election Form 3, the exact dollar amount allocated against the President's spending limitations should be shown, e.g. in the above illustration, $35 not $40.

5. The responsibilities for proper allocation among candidates in joint advertising, as covered in the General Accounting Office regulations, as it relates to the President's participation will be those of the Joint Committee. Our suggestion is that generally the pre-signed certifications support no more than ten percent of the total cost of the ad. In any event, we look to your Committee to properly document the rationale behind each allocation, and to carefully preserve documentation in the event that it must be supported to a General Accounting office auditor.

We are also enclosing a copy of the authorization by the President for signature of certification on his behalf and of permission by the designee to use facsimiles (Attachment B). A photostate of this document must be furnished by you to each medium requiring a certification on behalf of the President, at the time of the first certification. (The authorization is effective for the entire campaign and therefore only one copy is required for each medium used.)

Hopefully, this letter contemplates all questions that might arise concerning the joint advertising certification procedure.
Should it not, please phone me at (212) 752-3633.

Sincerely,

Paul J. Muller
Finance Director
November Group, Inc.

Receipt of certifications totaling $__________
is hereby acknowledged.

______________________________
Date
**ATTACHMENT A**

**ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCLUDING CERTIFICATION NO.**

**OF EXPENDITURES AGAINST CAMPAIGN LIMITATION OF RICHARD M. NIXON.**

**Description of Joint Advertising:**

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<th>Total Expenditure Certified</th>
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<th>Charges covered by this certification</th>
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**Information re other Tie-in Candidates:**

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<th>Name</th>
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<th>State, City, County</th>
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MEMORANDUM FOR: C. LAUGHLIN WASHBURN
FINANCE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

Sections 104(b) and (c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 require that a candidate for the office of President, or a person specifically authorized in writing by such candidate, certify to any person making a charge for use of any newspaper, magazine, outdoor advertising facility or broadcasting station on behalf of his candidacy that payment of such charge will not violate the expenditure limitations imposed by Title I of the Act.

In accordance with this requirement and the regulations and guidelines found in 11 CFR 4.12(c) and the answer to Question 1, Part VII of the March 16, 1972 Federal Communications Commission Public Notice entitled "Use of Broadcast and Cablecast Facilities: Candidates for Public Office", I hereby authorize you to make such certifications on my behalf for my campaign for nomination and election to the office of President. In that these regulations and guidelines also require a statement of any restrictions or limitations on your authority to act in this regard, I notify you that none are imposed.

As permitted by rulings from the Federal Accounting Office (reference 6335-8; 12-1658 of June 6, 1972) and Federal Communications Commission (reference 6339-4; 09-1584 of June 15, 1972); I, G. Lauglin Washburn, authorize the use of a freestand of my signature on certifications under Section 104(b) and (c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. In making this authorization, I understand that I am personally responsible for each certification in the same manner as if I had personally signed it.

The certification shall be made by this letter and the copy attached hereto that the person named therein, acting for the President of the United States, is authorized to sign this certification.
ADVERTISING CERTIFICATION

TEN DOLLARS  $10.00

I hereby certify that expenditure of the amount shown on this certification for advertising detailed on the attached documents will not exceed the spending limitation of Richard M. Nixon, candidate for the office of President of the United States of America, in the general election of 1972, as specified under Section 104 of the Campaign Communications Reform Act of 1971 Public Law 92-225.

Issued to: ___________________________ Date: ___________________________

CITY THE ORIGINAL GREEN COPY OF THIS CERTIFICATION IF VALID TO THE AMOUNT SHOWN ABOVE.
Geo McCollon
L → Clarke - Job 1 re US Steel project
970 → Kealakekua/Hawaii - late Fri or early Sat morning.
Collins - Nielsen - man rating - update, etc
G → Goodloe - re Olds for U.P.
Check H.
MEMORANDUM FOR: CHARLES W. COLSON
FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR
SUBJECT: Your Request for the Formation of a New Labor Committee

Bill Rhatigan of your office called Glenn Sedam early in August and asked that a dummy committee be established as a vehicle through which a mailing to labor could be funded.

Bill was advised at that time that as a matter of policy new committees would not be formed and that activities should be undertaken under the umbrella of this Committee, budgeted by this Committee, and paid for by the Finance Committee. Bill later called back saying that you insisted that a new committee be organized.

Glenn prepared draft documents that could be filed were a new committee to be registered and forwarded the drafts to Delury. In his forwarding memo he briefly outlined the responsibilities of a chairman and a treasurer under the law.

Glenn, following the policy set out by me, and by Maury Stans, continued to advise all concerned that a new committee not be registered. Further, he continued to advise that if a new committee were intending to solicit or receive contributions or make expenditures on behalf of the President, that committee must be authorized by Maury Stans to do so. Maury is the only person delegated authority by the President to authorize committees to operate on the President's behalf.

A similar issue arose in August regarding a concerned Vietnam Veterans for Nixon Committee. Glenn responded in the same manner. We later learned, however, that the concerned Vietnam Veterans Committee has undertaken a mailing, and has not registered. This puts them in violation of the law, and presents a potentially embarrassing legal violation for us.

Therefore, I ask that all requests for new committees be directed to me. If I believe there is reason to deviate from our policy of "no more committees" I will discuss it with Maury Stans, and if Maury agrees, we will have the committee properly organized and budgeted.
MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Victory Plan

In August we read Bob Marik's victory plans for the large states and the small states. In light of the possibility that Wave III will be received soon, is there any advantage to doing updated victory plans for the crucial states? I am particularly interested in California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and New Jersey. However, the states might change in light of the Wave III results. In any event, give me a call about this project as I do not want to raise it with Bob Marik until you agree with me that it's a good idea.
A study of the effects of the introduction of the 20th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which extended the right to vote to women, was conducted by sociologists John A. Williams and Robert M. toilet in the late 1970s. This study involved a comprehensive survey of women's voting behavior and its implications for political representation.

The study found that women's participation in voting was significantly higher than previously reported. It also highlighted the importance of women's voices in the political process and the need for more inclusive representation. The findings of this study have been widely cited in support of policies that aim to increase women's participation in politics.

These results were presented at a conference on October 23, and the report was published shortly thereafter.

Appended

John A. Williams

Robert M. toilet

Date: November 1978
Dear Fellow Republican:

One vote per precinct was the difference between winning and losing for President Nixon before. And it could be again!

That is why your vote and familiarity with the issues are so important in this Election. Consider the alternative -- the most clear-cut in a century.

The President wants to provide training and work incentives for those on welfare so people who can work will work. Senator McGovern, on the other hand, wants to give every man, woman and child in the country $1,000 whether he works for it or not, whether he needs it or not, and whether we can afford it or not.

President Nixon wants to trim only the fat from our military budget, believing that to insure peace, we must remain strong. Senator McGovern's proposed $32 billion slash would, according to his fellow Democrat, Senator Humphrey, "cut into the very security of this country".

We're sure you approve of President Nixon's strong action and decisive leadership. But mere approval won't get him re-elected.

Consider what the President has accomplished.

DRUGS. The President considers hard drugs Public Enemy No. 1. He has cracked down hard on pushers. He is spending 600% more for rehabilitation than was being spent.

THE ECONOMY. According to the July 22nd issue of the New York Times the second quarter of 1972 showed the fastest gain in the economy since 1965 and a "notable drop in the rate of inflation".

VIETNAM. The President has brought home over 90% of our troops, while demanding that our POW's must be released before we leave Vietnam. Senator McGovern wants us to get out of Vietnam regardless of our POW's.

CRIME. Under President Nixon the increase in the crime rate has been cut 50%. And 80 major cities reported less overall crime this past year.
FOREIGN POLICY. The President's most burning desire is a generation of peace. And he has taken decisive action. He went to China. He went to Russia. He has been negotiating to ease tensions in the Middle East.

He has done all this and much more. But the job is only half finished. That is why we need President Nixon now more than ever.

President Nixon needs your vote. Go to the polls and vote for President Nixon on November 7th. He needs you as a volunteer, even if you're already working a long day. Volunteer if you possibly can. He needs your financial support, even if it's a real sacrifice to give. Please send any amount you can spare.

Use the Volunteer Card enclosed for your contributions. They could prove as important as your ballot. A form for obtaining an absentee ballot is also enclosed. If you expect to be away from home on Election Day, please use it without delay.

Sincerely,

P.S. Although large gifts are needed here in California, small ones are also greatly appreciated. Do give something if at all possible. And please do it now.
Dear Fellow Republican:

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President Nixon needs your vote. Go to the polls and vote for President Nixon on November 7th. He needs you as a volunteer, even if you're already working a long day. Volunteer if you possible can. (There's a serious shortage of volunteers in New Jersey.) He needs your financial support, even if it's a real sacrifice to give. Please send any amount you can spare.

Use the Volunteer Card enclosed for your contributions. They could prove as important as your ballot. A form for obtaining an absentee ballot is also enclosed. If you expect to be away from home on Election Day, please use it without delay.

Sincerely,

P.S. Although large gifts are needed here in New Jersey, small ones are also greatly appreciated. Do give something if at all possible. And please do it now.

PRINTED ON 100% RECYCLED PAPER
Multiply your voting power with this
VOLUNTEER CARD

☐ I agree the President deserves support. Contact me, I'll be a campaign volunteer.

☐ Enclosed is my check for $________ made out to Democrats for Nixon. Re-election of the President.

Signature ___________________________ Telephone ___________________________

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, insert it in the reply envelope and mail today.

IMPORTANT TAX MESSAGE

Political contributions are now tax deductible in two ways (which ever gives you the most benefit:)

1. A $12.50 tax credit ($25.00 for a married couple filing a joint return) can be subtracted from your total tax bill, or

2. A $50.00 deduction can be taken from your taxable income ($100.00 for a married couple filing a joint return).
Dear Fellow Republican:

One vote per precinct was the difference between winning and losing for President Nixon before. And it could be again!

That is why your vote is so important in this Election. Consider the alternative -- the most clear-cut in a century.

For one thing, the President believes in the traditional values that make America great. Senator McGovern seems to have forgotten them.

President Nixon wants to provide training and work incentives so those on welfare who can work will work and will be taken off the welfare rolls. Senator McGovern, on the other hand, wants to give every man, woman and child in the country $1,000 whether he works for it or not and whether he needs it or not, and whether we can afford it or not. President Nixon wants to trim only the fat from our military budget, believing that to insure peace, we must remain strong. Senator McGovern's proposed $32 billion slash would, according to his fellow Democrat, Senator Humphrey, "cut into the very security of this country".

The President has taken a hard line against criminals. Senator McGovern would make Ramsey Clark head of the FBI.

Because of President Nixon's strong actions and decisive leadership we urge you to join us in helping to keep him in the White House.

Consider what the President has accomplished:

SOCIAL SECURITY/HEALTH CARE. He has proposed a National Health Insurance Plan and the liberalization of the Retirement Earnings Test. He has also made Social Security payments inflation-proof -- after having signed into law increases in excess of 51%.

CRIME. He has cut the increase in the crime rate by 50%. And 80 major cities have actually reported a decrease in that rate in the last year.
He has decreased the federal income tax for a family of four earning $10,000 by an average of $320. And has proposed federal-state revenue sharing that would slash your property taxes.

VIETNAM. He has brought home over 90% of our troops. And will end the war as soon as possible without sacrificing our POW’s.

The President has done a lot. But his job is only half finished. That is why we need President Nixon -- now more than ever.

President Nixon needs your vote. Go to the polls and vote for President Nixon on November 7th. He needs you as a volunteer, even if you’re already working a long day. Volunteer if you possibly can. He needs your financial support, even if it’s a real sacrifice to give.

Use the Volunteer Card enclosed for contributions. They could prove as important as your ballot. And use the absentee ballot request form enclosed if you expect to be away from home on Election Day.

Sincerely,

P.S. Although large gifts are needed here in [name of state] a small one is certainly better than none at all. But do give something. And please do it now.
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM August 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN
SUBJECT: Spanish Mailing

The Spanish ensemble will go out under the letterhead of the Committee for the Re-election of the President. This will consist of a letter geared to the interests of the Spanish-speaking Community, and will include a Spanish-oriented brochure, the regular Committee envelopes, and the regular Committee letterhead.

This ensemble has been worked out in detail with Alex Armendaris, and to the best of our abilities, fits the needs of the reachable Spanish-speaking Democrats in Cook County, Illinois and California.

The ensemble will not go to the Spanish-speaking Democrats in New Jersey and Pennsylvania because, in our opinion, we do not have a good chance of converting them to vote for the President.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the letter going to the reachable Spanish-speaking Democrats in Cook County, Illinois and California (TAB A).

APPROVE _______ DISAPPROVE _______ COMMENTS _______

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the brochure to go along with the Spanish letter. The copy is attached as TAB B, and a xerox of the comp is attached as TAB C.

APPROVE _______ DISAPPROVE _______ COMMENTS _______
RECOMMENDATION:
That you approve the use of the regular Committee envelopes and the regular Committee letterhead for this mailing. (TABS D, E and F respectively).

APPROVE ______ __ DISAPPROVE ______ __ COMMENTS ______

RECOMMENDATION:
That you approve the use of the Volunteer/Contributor Card, which is the same as the one used with the regular Republican ensembles (TAB G).

APPROVE ______ __ DISAPPROVE ______ __ COMMENTS ______

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

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik
Dear Fellow American:

Spanish Americans have traditionally voted Democratic. This year we are not. Here are a few of our reasons.

President Nixon has agreements with 20 countries to help stop drug traffic and has cracked down hard on pushers.

President Nixon supports tax credits for parochial students. George McGovern doesn't.

He says our POW's must be freed before we leave Vietnam. George McGovern would risk abandoning them.

And what has the President done just for our people?

President Nixon has appointed over 40 Spanish-speaking Americans to top level government positions -- 700% more than the previous administration.

He has created the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People and directed it to develop the programs necessary to meet the needs of Spanish Americans.

He has continually increased funds for bilingual education so Spanish-speaking children can be educated in the language they know best -- while they learn English.

He has established the Office of Minority Business Enterprise and directed it to help Spanish Americans to open their own businesses.

President Nixon has done all this and more -- in only four years. We can only ask ourselves -- what has George McGovern done for Spanish Americans?

Because of his strong action and decisive leadership, we urge you to join us in helping to re-elect the President. We need your vote. We need you as a volunteer.
President Nixon. We need him now more than ever. Vote for him on November 7th. If you want to do more to see the President re-elected, please use the Volunteer Card enclosed to make a contribution of time or money.

Sincerely,
In 1968, Richard Nixon promised Spanish-speaking Americans that they would not take a backseat to other Americans in receiving appropriate government programs and aids. The President has kept his promise. Here is his record.

The Democrats have always taken Spanish-speaking Americans for granted and then -- ignored them. President Nixon has spent 4 years making Spanish-speaking Americans count. That's why we need President Nixon.

Above mas que nunca

To better understand -- and solve -- the problems of Spanish-Americans, the President has brought the Spanish-speaking into his Administration. Now Spanish-speaking Americans are directly influencing the government programs that affect their lives.

He has appointed nearly fifty Spanish-speaking Americans to executive-level policy-making positions -- five times more than the last two Democratic Administrations combined. These include:

Philip Sanchez -- Director, Office of Economic Opportunity

Romana Bameles -- Treasurer of the United States

Henry Ramirez -- Chairman, Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-speaking People

He initiated the "16 Point Program" to bring the Spanish-speaking into all levels of government. As a result, more Spanish-Americans were hired in the past year than any other ethnic group of Americans.
President Nixon has created special programs for Spanish-speaking children.

- He took the concept of bilingual education and made it a reality. Today, Spanish-speaking children learn in Spanish as they progress in English. At the same time they are instilled with pride in their Spanish heritage through the study of the rich histories and cultures of the countries of their parents.

- He has increased college opportunities for Spanish-speaking youth from inner-city schools through special Office of Economic Opportunity programs.

- He has supported OEO projects which provide the funds to help migrant children stay in school and let go on to college.

**Housing**

Under President Nixon, an innovative housing program has been undertaken to provide both better homes and more jobs for Spanish-speaking Americans. Today, 87 housing projects providing over 6,000 units of low income housing are being built by Spanish-speaking contractors, sub-contractors and workers — for Spanish-American families.

**Health**

President Nixon has approved more and more funds for improved health care programs especially for Spanish-speaking Americans.
SPANISH BROCURE

- 3 -

. Under his Administration a network of health care clinics have been established by OEO to provide medical and dental assistance to Spanish-speaking Americans.

A comprehensive health care program for migrant workers from maternal and child health services to out-patient clinics and disease control programs is now provided by his Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

President Nixon has worked to increase businesses, jobs and job training for Spanish-speaking Americans.

. He established the Office of Minority Business Enterprises to help start new businesses owned by Spanish-Americans. As these businesses grow, they will provide more and more jobs for the Spanish-speaking and contribute to the economy of the Spanish Community.

. The President's CEME has also helped Spanish-speaking communities form their own banks. In their first year, these banks had nearly $64 million in deposits.

. Last year, 197,000 Spanish-speaking Americans learned new skills so they could get better jobs under President Nixon's Department of Labor Manpower programs.

DRUGS

President Nixon has moved to combat drug abuse in Spanish-speaking communities. His Drug Abuse Program is providing local programs in drug education, treatment and rehabilitation for Spanish-Americans.

PUBLISHED AND PAID FOR BY THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT, MAURICE H. STONE, CHAIRMAN; C. LANGHERTE WASHBURN, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; PAUL HARRICK, TREASURER, 1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C.
Ahora mas que nunca:

Al fin, un amigo en la Casa Blanca.
Horatius Roma

Comparison

Committee for the Election of the President.
Multiply your voting power with this

VOLUNTEER CARD

☐ I agree the President deserves support. Contact me, I'll be a campaign volunteer.

☐ Enclosed is my check for $__________________________
made out to Democrats for Nixon.
Re-election of the President.

Signature ___________________________ Telephone ___________________________

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, insert it in the reply envelope and mail today.

IMPORTANT TAX MESSAGE

Political contributions are now tax deductible in two ways
(which ever gives you the most benefit):

1. A $12.50 tax credit ($25.00 for a married couple filing a joint return)
can be subtracted from your total tax bill, or

2. A $50.00 deduction can be taken from your taxable income
($100.00 for a married couple filing a joint return).

Giving costs less this year! See tax note on other side.
Three (3) options are suggested in this memorandum for your review and decision. These options have been developed on the basis of political considerations within the specific confines of the budget restrictions.

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

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

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

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

STRATEGY WITH MC GOWEN AS THE CANDIDATE

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OPTION I MAILED</th>
<th>COSTS</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QUANTITY</td>
<td>(000's)</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential Letter</td>
<td>6,260</td>
<td>713,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Mailing</td>
<td>5,478</td>
<td>657,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans in NJ. and Calif.</td>
<td>3,125</td>
<td>450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegram to Identified Pro-Nixon Voters</td>
<td>13,825</td>
<td>1,244,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28,698</td>
<td>3,065,190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The letter to Republicans would include an absentee ballot request and non-personalized letter, a brochure and a personalized volunteer/contribution card.
All of the Priority states would receive "Get Out the Vote" telegrams to all Republicans and all non-Republicans who are for the President.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All of the Priority states would receive &quot;Get Out the Vote&quot; telegrams to all Republicans and all non-Republicans who are for the President.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The first ethnic mailing is the same.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUANTITY MAILED (000's)</th>
<th>COSTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Mailings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans in NJ. and Calif.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegram to Identified Pro-Nixon Voters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,260</td>
<td>$ 751,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,125</td>
<td>450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,825</td>
<td>1,244,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23,210</td>
<td>$2,445,450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

APPROVE________ DISAPPROVE________ COMMENTS________

OR

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

APPROVE________ DISAPPROVE________ COMMENTS________

OR

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

APPROVE________ DISAPPROVE________ COMMENTS________

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

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Schedule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>10-20 July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>17 July-21 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>17 July-15 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>17 July-15 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>Universal List (presently available)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>1 August-15 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>17 July-7 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>10 July-21 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>31 July-21 August</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### ORIGINAL DIRECT MAIL BUDGET

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>$936,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailing and Services</td>
<td>1,559,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage</td>
<td>1,559,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research</td>
<td>41,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List Development and Software</td>
<td>392,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL BUDGET</strong></td>
<td><strong>$4,490,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This manual has been prepared by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President to define the tape input specification, data validity criteria documentation required to support the Voter Registration Data Base.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Zip Code
- City Name
- Reel Number

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

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

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

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

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

Two types of errors will be defined in attachment "5". A Fatal Error is one considered definite and unacceptable. A file containing any Fatal errors is not acceptable. A Warning Error is a condition which may or may not be a problem. Each warning error should be researched and corrected if necessary, but does not necessarily indicate that the record is not acceptable.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BYTE</th>
<th>LENGTH</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>JUSTIFICATION</th>
<th>ZERO SUPPRESS</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L LEFT</td>
<td>R RIGHT</td>
<td>X NOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X suppressing</td>
<td>N suppress</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>State Abbreviation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>County Code</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sequence Number</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>Always 0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Zip Code</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Township/City Code</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ward Code</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Precinct Code</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Political Unit Code</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Congressional District Code</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
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<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Given Name-1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>67</td>
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<td>Surname Suffix Code 1</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Title Code-Name 2</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
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<td>79</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>80</td>
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<td>Title Code-Name 3</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
<td>JUSTIFICATION</td>
<td>ZERO</td>
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<td>Given Name-4</td>
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<td>103</td>
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<td>Surname Suffix Code-4</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
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<td>104</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Local Address Code</td>
<td>X</td>
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**ADDRESS FIELDS**

If Code 1 in Byte 104:

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

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

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<th>LENGTH</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>JUSTIFICATION</th>
<th>ZERO</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Blank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rural Route Designation</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Post Office Box Designation</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYTE</td>
<td>LENGTH</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
<td>JUSTIFICATION</td>
<td>ZERO</td>
<td>TYPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Blank</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Zip Post Office Name (Town Name)</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Political Party Code</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Length of Residence</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
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<td>163</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Contributor/Volunteer Code</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Contribution in Dollars</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
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<td>Source of List</td>
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<td>Y</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
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<td>N</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Special Interest Codes</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Issue Codes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
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<td>192</td>
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<td>Attitude Code</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Blank</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE DETAIL DESCRIPTION

Only the following characters are acceptable in this file:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An error in this field is considered Fatal.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TITLE CODE 1 - Must contain one of the following:

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

Any other character results in Fatal Error.

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

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

Fatal Errors: Embedded Blanks

Numeric Characters

Blank Field
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SEPTEMBER PRESIDENTIAL LTR Delivery 9/11</th>
<th>SEPTEMBER ETHNIC MAILING Delivery 9/18</th>
<th>SEPTEMBER REPUBLICANS ONLY Delivery 9/18</th>
<th>NOVEMBER &quot;GET OUT THE VOTE&quot; Delivery 11/2-4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Computer Ltr (b) Computer Env.</td>
<td>(a) Ltr (d) Bristol (b) Brochure Card (c) BRE (e) Window Env.</td>
<td>(a) Computer Ltr/Vol. Card (b) Brochure (c) BRE (d) Window Env.</td>
<td>(a) Teleg. Form (b) Window Env.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>STATE</strong></td>
<td><strong>PRIORITY</strong></td>
<td><strong>QUANTITY</strong></td>
<td><strong>QUANTITY</strong></td>
<td><strong>QUANTITY</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook Cty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of (Illinois)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td><strong>PRICE PER THOUSAND</strong></td>
<td>$120</td>
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## TOTAL BUDGET

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<tr>
<td>$4,490,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ $1,000,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>$5,490,000</strong></td>
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**TOTAL BUDGET**

**LESS: EXPENSES**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Expense Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>California Primary Expense</td>
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<tr>
<td>UCC Expense Including Key Punching</td>
<td>$1,100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Database Development Expense</td>
<td>$514,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Direct Mail Request</td>
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<td><strong>$3,367,000</strong></td>
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**OPTION I**

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<td>Volunteer Mailings</td>
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**OPTION II**

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<td>Volunteer Mailings</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
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<td><strong>$358,150</strong></td>
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**Remaining Monies for Emergency Mailings**
$ 4,490,000  First Budget Approval  
+ 1,000,000  UCC Budget Approval  
$ 5,490,000  TOTAL BUDGET  

LESS: EXPENSES  

- 300,000  California Primary Expense  
- 5,190,000  
- 1,100,000  UCC Expense Including Key Punching  
- 4,090,000  
- 514,000  Data Base Development Expense  
- 3,576,000  
- 209,000  New York Direct Mail Request  
- 3,367,000  
- 2,445,450  OPTION III  
- 921,550  
- 50,000  Agricultural Mailings  
- 871,550  
- 50,000  Volunteer Mailings  

$ 821,550  Remaining Monies for Emergency Mailings
MEMORANDUM

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB NARIK
SUBJECT: Signature for New Jersey Republican Letter

As a part of the direct mail program, a letter will be sent to all Republicans in New Jersey in late September or early October. It is our conclusion that the joint signatures of Senator Case and Governor Cahill would be most appropriate on this mailing.

Recommendation

That you approve Senator Case and Governor Cahill to jointly sign the Republican mailing in New Jersey.

Approve / Disapprove Comment

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MARICK
SUBJECT: Direct Mail Strategy

As you know, the Direct Mail budget was recently reduced by $500,000. Under these circumstances, we can only implement additional mailings by reducing the currently planned mailings accordingly. Two situations have recently come up where we feel that such a change in strategy is warranted.

CALIFORNIA. Bob Patch of California has communicated to us that leaders of several unions in that state are prepared to send a mailing to their membership urging a vote for President Nixon. (See TAB A.) We feel that such a mailing represents a unique opportunity for the President to gain support from union families. It is expected to yield greater benefits than an equal number of letters sent to registered Democrats in the state.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you authorize a reduction of 500,000 letters from the planned mailing to 3,200,000 Democrats in California, and that the funds thus saved be applied to a mailing to 500,000 union families as described above. The decision on which Democrats to omit from the mailing would be made jointly by us and by the California Re-election Committee.

APPROVE [✓] DISAPPROVE COMMENTS

ILLINOIS/MICHIGAN. In the second wave of polling, the President held a substantial lead in the State of Illinois. Nevertheless,
as a conservative measure, Cook County was designated as a Priority I "State".

Democrats for Nixon mailings are presently planned for Italians, Irish, Polish, other PUE's, Elderly and Veterans among registered voters in Cook County. In addition, there are mailings scheduled for Spanish surname voters and Jewish voters. The total number of all of these is estimated to be 280,000. In addition, we are planning to mail to 560,000 high and middle income voters in Cook County, under the Committee for the Re-election of the President letterhead. Although we do not have registration by party, this latter group would be expected to be predominantly behavioral Republicans. If the third wave of polling, which should be available in preliminary form by Wednesday night, shows the President still in commanding lead, this latter mailing to high and middle income voters in Cook County could be considered expendable.

At the same time, Bob Teeter has uncovered some extremely interesting information about the voters who are declaring themselves undecided in Michigan door-to-door and telephone canvassing. Bob did a professional survey on a representative sample of these voters. Our expectations were that many pro-McGovern voters would be hiding behind a claim of undecided. However, the results showed that the "undecided" favor the President by 48 to 13. Therefore, it would seem to be effective strategy to mail a follow-up letter to all voters found to be undecided in the Michigan door-to-door and telephone canvass.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the elimination of the high and middle income mailing from Cook County, Illinois, and that the money thereby saved by applied to a comparable size mailing to undecided voters as identified by door-to-door and telephone canvass in Michigan.

APPROVE   DISAPPROVE   COMMENTS

9/13
September 13, 1972

FROM: ROBERT F. NICH

TO: LABOR LEADERS

Today we are organizing our state labor committee for the president and we have been able to get some top leaders representing labor unions in this state to endorse the President. Our meeting today is for Southern California and within ten weeks, we will have another press conference for northern California. The labor leaders want to solicit each of their members to vote for the President and I believe such a letter would be an effective use of your mail budget for California. The four main unions (but there are others also) in California who support the President are the Teamsters, Building Trades, Operating Engineers and various marine unions. I estimate that we will have somewhere around 1,000,000 members represented. A letter from your leader should have great impact on their vote and I request consideration for such a letter in California.
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Letter in Support of Senator Percy

Senator Percy has asked for a letter of support to twelve hundred Illinois County officials from you. A draft of the proposed letter is attached.

As you may recall, we have asked Percy to sign an Illinois (Cook County) mailing for us, which he has agreed to do. I believe we should meet Percy's request.

 Agree [ ] Disagree [ ]

Comment [9/13]
Dear Illinois Leader:

I'm sure we agree that the President has compiled a remarkable legislative record over the past four years, particularly in view of the fact that the Congress has been controlled by the opposition.

That record will be even better over the next four years if, in addition to returning the President with an overwhelming mandate, we give him a Republican Congress.

A big part of our effort will be to return to the Senate every Republican incumbent up for re-election. The re-election of these important Senators would provide the foundation on which we can conceivably build a majority in the Senate. In Illinois, that means we need to work for the re-election of Senator Charles Percy.

In the past four years the Congress, through inaction, has scuttled many of President Nixon's most innovative legislative proposals. In the Senate the best example is the President's comprehensive legislative package to reorganize and streamline the departments of the executive branch.

At the President's request, Senator Percy served as the chief Senate sponsor of the legislation. And when the Senate reported the bill to the Government Operations Committee, Percy, as the senior Republican member, became the prime mover behind the bill.

But the Democratically-controlled Committee treated the most important, thoroughly studied and carefully drafted reorganization legislation since the creation of the civil service in a manner which can only be considered cavalier.

The bill moved through the Committee at a turtle's pace. The Committee arbitrarily cut short the number of hearings. Had it not been for Percy's efforts, the bill probably would have even been denied the six days of hearings it ultimately received.

As the chief Senate sponsor of the President's Drug Abuse Office and Treatment Act, Percy met with more success. In the Conference Committee, when members of the Senate and House got together to iron out the differences between the versions each body had passed, Percy determined negotiations were largely responsible for winning an increase of about $500 million in funds for drug treatment and rehabilitation.
More of these kinds of victories lie ahead in the next four years if we can re-elect Senators like Chuck Percy and return a majority of Republicans to the Senate. A Republican majority in the Senate would mean that Chuck Percy would become the Chairman of the Government Operations Committee. No longer would the government reorganization plan lie dormant.

In a Republican-controlled Senate, Percy would also replace Senator George McGovern as Chairman of the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. Senator McGovern has said that President Nixon has done more to feed the hungry in America than any other President in our history. With a Republican, Chuck Percy, in charge of the Hunger Committee, the President could accomplish even more.

As the Campaign Director of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, I ask your support in the effort to re-elect Senator Percy. I believe an all-out effort to acquaint all the people of America with the record of achievement of the first four Nixon years can win a mandate for further service. To translate that mandate into a successful program for peace in the world and progress at home, the President will need the continued support of Republican Senators like Chuck Percy.

Sincerely,

Clark MacGregor
Campaign Director
MEMORANDUM

August 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: L. ROBERT MORGAN
FROM: BOB HARIK
SUBJECT: Signatures for Direct Mail

This memorandum summarizes where we stand on decisions for signatures on direct mail and authorization to use each name.

CALIFORNIA

Jewish Letter:
Letterhead: Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President
Signers: Albert Spiegel, Lewis Boyar

Italian Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: John Wirth to provide 1 or 2 names. (May use Jeno Paulucci.)
Target Date: Monday, August 28.

Spanish-Surname Letter: (L.A., San Diego, other)
Letterhead: Committee for the Re-election of the President
Signers: Caesar Romero (Permission given verbally by agent to Alex Armandarias.)
Text of letters must be cleared by telephone with Mrs. Sue Taurog, Suite 625, 9229 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90069, (213) 278-3233.
Elderly Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: John Connally

P.U.E. Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Edward Kiernan, President, International Conference of Police Associations. (212) 544-2700.

(VIeignty Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon

High Income—Middle Income:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: John Connally

COOK COUNTY ILLINOIS

Jewish Letter:
Letterhead: Concerned Citizens
Signers: Samuel Rothberg, Paul Hurwitz
Italian Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: John Wirth to provide names. (May use Jeno Paulucci)
Target Date: Monday, August 28.

Irish Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Frank Fitzsimmons (permission verbally secured by Dick Howard. Will get permission at time of review of final ensemble.)
Edward Kiernan. (See California P.U.E.)

Polish Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Frank Prochot, Vice President, Polish National Alliance. (Probable)
Casimer Zukomski, Vice President, Polish American Congress. (Probable) John Wirth securing permission.

Spanish Letter:
Letterhead: Committee for the Re-election of the President
Signers: Caesar Romero - Permission Granted. (See California Spanish Letter)

Elderly Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats or CREP
Signers: James Roosevelt (Permission not yet obtained.) John Connally
Veterans Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Raymond Gallagher and John O'Neill (Permission Granted—See California Veterans Letter.)

High, Middle Income:
Letterhead: CREP
Signers: Clark MacGregor

NEW JERSEY

Jewish Letter (P.U.E.)
Letterhead: Concerned Citizens
Signers: David Litwin, Philip Hoffman

Elderly P.U.E.
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Connally
Gallagher (permission granted)

Non-elderly P.U.E.
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Connally
Fitzsimmons (permission granted)

Italian Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: John Birch to provide names.
Target Date: August 28.
Elderly (Other):
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Connally

Non-elderly, high, middle income:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Thomas Dunn, Mayor, Elizabeth, N.J. (201) 353-1188. (Permission granted and letter received (Tab A).

PENNSYLVANIA
P.U.E. Elderly Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: James Roosevelt
John Connally

P.U.E., Other, Non-elderly:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Connally
Fitzsimmons (permission granted)

P.U.E. Jewish Letter:
Letterhead: Concerned Citizens
Signers: Arlen Spector, Leonard Goldfein

Italian Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: John Wirth to provide names.
Target Date: August 28.
Irish, Polish Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Fitzsimmons (permission granted)
         Kiernan (Permission Granted.)

Other, Elderly:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Connally

Non-elderly (High and middle income):
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Connally

Other Jewish Letter:
Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Herman Fineberg
Dear Bob:

Please convey to Governor Connally my authorization, as requested by you in our telephone conversation today, to affix my name to a New Jersey mailing espousing the cause of re-electing President Nixon by the "DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON".

Further, as I mentioned in my telephone talk with you, Chairman Connally of the "DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON" has carte blanche approval to use my name, signature, etc., on any matter that will aid in the re-election of the President, providing same is approved by the Chairman.

Should you wish to contact me in the forthcoming week, please call on one of the following numbers:

- August 21st-25th  [609] 492-8423 LONG BEACH ISLAND
- August 26th on.  [201] 353-1185 OFFICE-CITY HALL
- [201] 353-6069 RESIDENCE

Cordially,

[Signature]

MAYOR

P.S. For information purposes: I have been the Democratic Mayor of Elizabeth, New Jersey since January 1, 1966. I am seeking re-election in the forthcoming General Election for my third four-year term. From mid-1971 to mid-1972, I served as President of the New Jersey Conference of Mayors. Any other "relevant" facts can be obtained by calling my secretary Sally at the office. [201] 353-1185

T.G.D.
MEMORANDUM FOR:  
MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH:  
MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM:  
L. ROBERT MORGAN

SUBJECT:  "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President"

Max Fisher and Larry Goldberg have promoted the pseudonym "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President". An article recently appeared in Time magazine mentioning the group. "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President" is not a legal committee, but we intend to use it as a name on the top of the letters, envelopes and brochures to the reachable Jewish Democrats. The advertising to the Jewish Community will carry the same "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President" theme.

The letter and the brochure will both have the disclaimer that they are paid for by the Committee for the Re-election of the President. The letters in the different states (Cook County, Illinois, California, New Jersey and Pennsylvania) will be signed by different people. The Volunteer/Contributor return card will come to a Washington post office box for processing; the money will be placed in the Finance Committee's bank account, and the volunteers will be computerized and immediately sent to the respective states.

The attached ensemble has been approved by Max Fisher. This mailing is scheduled to go out for delivery on September 25, which is after the Jewish High Holidays.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the letter going to reachable Jewish-surnamed Democrats with the letterhead "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President". The letter and letterhead are attached as TABS A and B respectively.

APPROVE  
DISAPPROVE  
COMMENTS  
RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the brochure to go along with the "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President" letter. The copy is attached as TAB C, and a xerox of the comp is attached as TAB D.

APPROVE / DISAPPROVE COMMENTS

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the mailing and reply envelopes that go along with the ensembles, attached as TABS E and F respectively.

APPROVE / DISAPPROVE COMMENTS

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the use of the Volunteer/Contributor Card, which is the same as the one used with the regular Republican ensembles (TAB G).

APPROVE / DISAPPROVE COMMENTS

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

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik
Dear Concerned Citizen:

Rarely in history has there been such a clear-cut choice between Presidential candidates. Although most of us are Democrats and Independents, our choice has to be President Nixon. We'd like you to know some of the reasons.

The President believes in traveling to any country in the world for peace. But he also believes in negotiating from strength. He is firmly committed to a strong Mediterranean fleet to help keep peace in Israel, and the Middle East.

In fact, the President is widely regarded as one of the greatest friends Israel has had. To cite just one example of his commitment to Israel, he has provided more military and economic assistance than all previous administrations combined.

On the other hand, Senator McGovern's record is disturbing. He has suggested the internationalization of Jerusalem and a return to the insecure pre-1967 boundary line. Most worrisome of all, he is now advocating the reduction of the Sixth Fleet which is in the Mediterranean to discourage Arab-Soviet aggression.

Turning to domestic issues, the President believes, of course, in helping the poor. But he doesn't believe in increasing the taxes of the average American in order to finance a $1,000 giveaway to every man, woman and child—as proposed by Senator McGovern.

The President believes the merit system made America great. Senator McGovern seems to believe in the quota system. He feels minorities should be represented in proportion to their number, eligible or not, qualified or not.

Under President Nixon, things have become quieter, more orderly. Our campuses are back to the work of scholarship. Our cities don't have the almost weekly riots they used to have. And through a combination of firmness and reason, the President has succeeded in slowing down the drug traffic into America and cutting the serious crime rate in half.

The President has decreased personal income taxes by 22 billion dollars, and has proposed a Federal revenue sharing plan which would help each state ease the burden of property taxes.

And the President acted boldly against inflation when he made his courageous decision to impose a wage-price freeze. As a result of this decision, the rate of inflation has been cut dramatically for the first time in years.

For reasons such as these, we support President Nixon—and believe you should, too. We need your vote. We need you as a volunteer. We need your contribution.

Sincerely,
P.S. Citizens in (name of state) have just begun raising money, so give generously. Give whatever you can. But give something. And please do it now; it's needed now.
Concerned Citizens
Executive Committee
will be listed down
the left-hand margin.

PAID FOR BY THE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT, PAUL BARRICK, TREASURER

PRINTED ON 100% RECYCLED PAPER
"The United States stands by its friends. Israel is one of its friends."

Richard Nixon

"On that issue (Israel) President Nixon has proved himself. He has provided as much economic and military assistance to Israel as all the White House predecessors combined. In times of crisis he has stood up to the Soviet Union in the Middle East. McGovern is more of a mystery."

Time Magazine
August 21, 1972

Foreign Policy:
President Nixon, in the name of peace, went to Moscow where he negotiated agreements with the Soviet Union to limit development of missiles. He visited Peking to begin improving U.S.-China relations. He called a halt to crisis diplomacy, seeking to reduce tension in such troubled areas as the Middle East.

Defense:
President Nixon believes in a strong America. He believes that the best way to decrease the defense budget is through mutual disarmament. He has proved his point with the Russian SALT Agreements. His democratic opponent, however, this year favors deep cuts that the President opposes, despite warnings from military experts that the U.S. would thereby be weakened around the world. In the Middle East, such weakness could encourage aggression against Israel.

Soviet Jewry:
President Nixon increased Voice of America programs to the USSR and introduced special Jewish programs. He granted financial aid to help Soviet Jews resettle in Israel—the first such aid ever offered, and ordered the Justice Department to admit Soviet Jews to the United States on a non-quota-basis. The President recently spoke out on the matter when he visited Moscow, and has promised to continue doing so.

The Economy:
President Nixon has taken strong action to halt inflation and increase employment. He initiated a 90-day wage-price freeze, followed by more flexible controls, and introduced a package of tax cuts to stimulate the economy. The inflation rate has been cut in half, and the Gross National Product has expanded at a yearly rate of over 7%. Housing starts, a prime indicator of economic vitality, are up 42% over last year.
Environment:
President Nixon established the Environmental Protection Agency, the first Federal unit ever set up to protect our quality of life. He has increased funding for environmental improvement by over 500%, and initiated a Legacy of Parks program to bring increased recreational opportunities to cities. No less than 25 separate environment bills have been proposed by him.

Taxes:
Under President Nixon, Americans are paying $22 billion less in Federal taxes. In addition, the President's proposed revenue sharing plan would return more money to the states, enabling them to lessen state taxes—especially the property tax. This savings affects not only homeowners but, eventually, many tenants, too.

Education:
Stating that "no qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money," President Nixon signed the Education Amendments Act of 1972, the largest higher education bill in history. Though increasing the education budget by $4 billion, the President places the emphasis on "quality" in education, opposing a lowering of educational standards, the busing of children and unnecessary government intrusion.

Social Security:
During President Nixon's term, social security benefits have increased by 51%, including a recent 20% increase. The President's program also has an inflation-proof feature that allows benefits to go up whenever the cost of living goes up. To further ease the cost of living for older Americans, the President has asked Congress to grant them reduced transportation fares.

Stability:
In 1968, there was mass rioting in cities and on campuses across America. Under President Nixon, riots have become a fraction of what they were. The President has spoken out strongly for the need to respect the law, but effectively worked to solve many of the problems disturbing Americans.

Vietnam:
The President has done everything in his power to bring peace to Vietnam without sacrificing the South Vietnamese in the process. He has brought home 500,000 men...reduced casualties by 95%...ended ground combat of American forces...and cut spending by two-thirds. Strong steps are continually being taken to get the enemy to cease its aggression and make peace.
"George McGovern is wrong on Israel."

"...Now if you start cutting the Sixth Fleet, with the Soviet buildup in its fleet in the Mediterranean, one of these days the Soviet Union is going to present you with a fact accomplished, so to speak, a fait accompli, in which it says, listen, we are in North Africa, we're going to stay in North Africa, we have our bases in North Africa. They can overrun Israel in the Middle East. The only protection which Israel has in that part of the world right now is the presence of the American Sixth Fleet as a counterbalance to the power of the Soviet Union."

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey

"I am a little surprised that Senator McGovern has announced this (welfare and tax reform) as his program. I find myself with a great many questions about it. I don't know where we get that money that we would have to make up if it is to be a balanced program. Even if McGovern added $43 billion to his revenues through elimination of the Social Security payments, there still would be a 'very sizable deficit'."

Rep. Wilber Mills

"Everyone who earns between $8,000 and $20,000 would be socked in the proverbial jaw with the tax load from McGovern's ambitious programs."

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey

"McGovern has become the spokesman of some of the most dangerous and destructive currents in American politics. Some call the McGovern Doctrine the new populism. I call it the new extremism."

Sen. Henry Jackson

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

Sen. Edmund Muskie
A very competitive 30 years
Multiply your voting power
with this
VOLUNTEER CARD

☐ I agree the President deserves support. Contact me, I'll be a campaign volunteer.

☐ Enclosed is my check for $__________
Made out to the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President.

Signature ______________________________ Telephone ______________________________

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, insert it in the reply envelope and mail today.

A copy of our report filed with the Committee on Governmental Affairs is available for purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Giving boosts you less this year! See tax note on other side.
IMPORTANT TAX MESSAGE

Political contributions are now tax deductible in two ways (which ever gives you the most benefit):

1. A $12.50 tax credit ($25.00 for a married couple filing a joint return) can be subtracted from your total tax bill, or

2. A $50.00 deduction can be taken from your taxable income ($100.00 for a married couple filing a joint return).

For record purposes, please fill in the information below:

Principal place of 
Occupation _________________ Business (if any) _________________
MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR  
FROM: JEB S. NAGRUDER  
SUBJECT: Distribution of Computer Voter Lists to States

As you know, we have assembled a list of the majority of the registered voters for nine key states (New York not included). These lists are the key to our direct mail and telephone operation and have been compiled at considerable cost to the Committee.

In the past several weeks we have had several inquiries from state officials who are aware of the lists and have asked to have access to them. Thus, at this point, we are faced with a decision as to whether we (a) release the list to certain states or candidates within a state; and (b) charge for this service.

After discussions with Bob Marik and Jerry Jones, of Fred Malek's staff, I believe:

1. Under no circumstances should we release our primary data sources -- i.e., computer tapes and cards.

   APPROVE ✓  DISAPPROVE __

   COMMENT

2. We should make computer lists available (print-out or chesire labels) on a selected basis for a fee. Specifically, we should determine an appropriate charge for every situation after considering both the direct cost to us for preparing the list/labels and the original acquisition cost of the data.

   APPROVE ✓  DISAPPROVE __

   COMMENT
3. Each request for these lists should be reviewed by you and Mr. Haldeman to ensure that consideration is given to both political points of view and the President's interests.

APPROVE _____  DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENT
Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 6, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: BOB NARIK

SUBJECT: Direct Mail for Illinois

As you recall, we recommended two weeks ago that Senator Percy be added to sign the late September letter to high and middle income voters in Cook County, Illinois. Mr. Haldeman has not endorsed that plan.

All of our information indicates that Senator Percy is by far the strongest public figure (aside from the President and Vice President) among this voter segment, most of whom are Republican.

I strongly feel that, with due respect to Mr. Haldeman's reservations, it is firmly in the President's interest to have Senator Percy sign the letter.

Recommendation

That you approve the use of Senator Percy's signature on the letter to high and middle income voters in Cook County, Illinois.

Approve ☑ Disapprove Comment

CONFIDENTIAL
MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Computer Lists

Bob Morgan has provided me the following information on which states participated in financing of our voter lists, and whether they are by advance agreement to receive a copy of the voter tape.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Financial Participation</th>
<th>Copy of Tape</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>*One copy of tape to:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bob Monagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RSCCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>One copy to State Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>No copy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>No copy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>50% Texans for Tower</td>
<td>One copy to Senator Tower</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*California got a copy of the tape because of the low cost and Lyn Nofziger asked to have it done early, based on his cooperation in the state.

**A Universal List was used in Michigan and it still belongs to Donnelley.
As you know, we will make mailing labels (not lists or computer tapes with exceptions noted above) available to state candidates within the following guidelines:

1. The labels will cost $15.00 per thousand, which is about our cost including handling.

2. Each request for these labels will be reviewed by Messrs. MacGregor and Haldeman or their designees.

3. Each request will require about two weeks to process and mail.
MEMORANDUM

September 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN
SUBJECT: Republican Mailing Ensembles to California, New Jersey, and Cook County, Illinois

Attached to this memorandum is the entire Republican ensemble in one package, including a stat of the brochure, a xerox of the brochure copy, a xerox of the letter as it will appear, a xerox of the Volunteer/Contributor Card, a xerox of the absentee ballot request self-mailer, as well as the mailing and reply envelopes. These are put together as they would appear in an ensemble received by the recipients.

The Republican ensembles basically vary in two (2) ways -- Older Americans letter and brochure, and all other Republicans letter and brochure. Known contributors in California and New Jersey will be separated from our regular mailing and given computerized letters, which we anticipate will increase their contributions. The computerized letter will take the place of the regular fund-raising letter that would normally go out in California to the same group of people; consequently, avoiding a duplication of effort. All responses to these mailings go directly to the state headquarters.

All of the Republican ensembles will be posted with a 5¢ pre-cancelled stamp to increase the personalized effect.

The objectives of this mailing are:

1. To be supportive of the Republican position.
2. Develop an additional cadre of volunteers.
3. Increase the contributions from our donors.
4. Make it easy for voters who are going to be away from polling places on Election Day to get an absentee ballot.

RECOMMENDATION:
That you approve the Older Americans ensemble.

APPROVE  DISAPPROVE  COMMENTS

RECOMMENDATION:
That you approve the General Republican ensemble.

APPROVE  DISAPPROVE  COMMENTS

Attachments:
TAB A (Older American Ensemble)
TAB B (General Republican Ensemble)
Dear Fellow Republican:

One vote per precinct was the difference between winning and losing for President Nixon before. And it could be again!

That is why your vote is so important in this Election. Consider the alternative -- the most clear-cut in a century.

For one thing, the President believes in the traditional values that make America great. Senator McGovern seems to have forgotten them.

President Nixon wants to provide training and work incentives so those on welfare who can work will work and be taken off the welfare rolls. Senator McGovern, on the other hand, proposed giving every man, woman and child in the country $1,000 whether he works for it or not and whether he needs it or not, and whether we can afford it or not.

President Nixon wants to trim only the fat from our military budget, believing that to insure peace we must remain strong. Senator McGovern's proposed $30 billion slashing would, according to his fellow Democrat, Senator Humphrey, "cut into the very security of this country".

The President has taken a hard line against criminals. Senator McGovern would make Ramsey Clark head of the FBI.

Because of President Nixon's strong actions and decisive leadership we urge you to join us in helping to keep him in the White House.

Consider what the President has accomplished:

SOCIAL SECURITY/HEALTH CARE. He has proposed a National Health Insurance Plan and the liberalization of the Retirement Earnings Test. He has also made Social Security payments inflation-proof -- after having signed into law increases in excess of 51%.

CRIME. He has cut the increase in the crime rate by 50%. And 80 major cities have actually reported a decrease in that rate in the last year.

TAXES. He has reduced the Federal income tax for a family of four earning $10,000 by an average of $320. And has proposed federal-state revenue sharing that would reduce your property taxes.

VIETNAM. He has brought home from South Vietnam over 90% of our troops. And will end the war as soon as possible without sacrificing our prisoners of war.

PRINTED ON 100% RECYCLED PAPER
The President has done a lot. But his job is only half finished. That is why we need President Nixon — now more than ever.

President Nixon needs your vote. Go to the polls and vote for President Nixon on November 7th. He needs you as a volunteer, even if you're already working a long day. Volunteer if you possibly can. He needs your financial support, even if it's a real sacrifice to give.

Use the Volunteer Card enclosed for contributions of time and money. They could prove as important as your ballot. And use the absentee ballot request form enclosed if you expect to be away from home on Election Day.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan
Chairman

P.S. Although large gifts are needed here in California, a small one is certainly better than none at all. But do give something. And please do it now.
The time has come for a new attitude toward old age in America. To stop regarding older Americans as a burden and start regarding them as a resource.

President Nixon.
Now more than ever.

Committee for the Re-election of the President.
"The time has come for a new attitude toward old age in America...to stop regarding older Americans as a burden and start regarding them as a resource..."

Richard Nixon

SOCIAL SECURITY

During President Nixon's term, social security benefits have increased by 51%. The President's program also has an inflation-proof feature that allows benefits to go up whenever the cost of living goes up. Regarding the income situation for older Americans, the President has also asked Congress for an expansion of the retirement earnings test, and an increase in widows' benefits.

HEALTH CARE

President Nixon has earmarked massive amounts of money to find a cure for cancer. Federal outlays for health care and research in 1973 will reach $25.5 billion, and the President has proposed a National Health Insurance Standards Act, a Family Health Insurance Plan, and the National Health Education Foundation, all aiming at better health care for everyone. He has also requested the elimination of $5.80 monthly premium under Part B of Medicare.

STABILITY

In 1968, there was mass rioting in cities and on campuses across America. Under President Nixon, riots have become a fraction of what they were. The President has spoken out strongly for the need to respect the law, has effectively worked to solve many of the problems disturbing Americans.
DEFENSE

President Nixon believes in a strong America. He believes that the best way to decrease the defense budget is through mutual disarmament. His recent SALT agreements with Russia prove that point. Senator McGovern favors deep cuts that the President opposes, despite warnings from military experts that the U.S. would thereby be weakened around the world.

NEW GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS

President Nixon has embarked on a comprehensive program within the government to insure coordination between all Federal and state agencies involved in the field of aging. This has included the formation of a fully staffed Cabinet Committee on Aging and the appointment of Arthur Fleming as a full-time consultant.

CRIME

The President's vigorous law-enforcement policies have cut the increase in the nation's serious crime-rate from 10% two years ago to 1% in the first quarter of this year. Eighty (over half) of our major cities have reported actual decreases in crime, and Washington, D.C. has achieved a 30% decrease over last year. Making all this possible has been President Nixon's program of increased aid to states and localities.

THE ECONOMY

President Nixon has taken strong action to halt inflation and increase employment. He initiated a 90-day wage-price freeze, followed by more flexible controls, and introduced a package of tax cuts to stimulate the economy. The inflation rate has been cut in half, and the Gross National Product has expanded at a yearly rate of over 7%. Housing starts, a prime economic indicator, are up 42% over last year.
FOREIGN POLICY

President Nixon, in the name of peace, went to Moscow where he negotiated agreements with the Soviet Union to limit development of missiles. He visited Peking to begin improving U.S./China relations. He called a halt to crisis diplomacy, seeking to reduce tensions in such troubled areas as the Middle East.

TAXES

Under President Nixon, Americans are paying $22 billion less in Federal taxes and corporations are paying $10 billion more. In addition, the President's proposed revenue sharing plan would return more money to the states, enabling them to lessen state taxes -- especially the property tax. This affects not only homeowners but, eventually, many tenants too, through increased rents.

VIETNAM

The President has done everything in his power to bring peace to Vietnam without sacrificing the South Vietnamese in the process. He has brought home 500,000 men...ended ground combat of American forces and cut spending by two-thirds. Strong steps are continually being taken to get the enemy to cease its aggression and make peace.
California Commission for the
Preservation of the President
March 1932 to March 1933
Multiply your voting power with this

VOLUNTEER CARD

☐ I agree the President deserves support. Contact me, I'll be a campaign volunteer.

☐ Enclosed is my check for $ ____________
   made out to Democrats for Nixon.
   Re-election of the President.

Signature ___________________________ Telephone ___________________________

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, insert it in the reply envelope and mail today.

Giving costs you less this year! See tax note on other side.

IMPORTANT TAX MESSAGE

Political contributions are now tax deductible in two ways
(which ever gives you the most benefit:)
1. A $12.50 tax credit ($25.00 for a married couple filing a joint return)
   can be subtracted from your total tax bill, or
2. A $50.00 deduction can be taken from your taxable income
   ($100.00 for a married couple filing a joint return).
Will you be unable to get to your polling place on Election Day?

Use this form to get election accommodations.
Dear Sir, I am unable to get to my polling place on November 7th because

Please send me an Absentee Ballot.

(Signature)

Date of application: ________________

Print: ____________________________

The residence shown on my Absentee of Registration is:

City: ____________________________  Zip: __________

Address: ____________________________

City: ____________________________  Zip: __________

IMPORTANT: County Clerk must receive this application by Oct. 31, Calif.

If you have not voted prior to October 5, 1972, you must re-register before you can obtain an Absentee Ballot. Call or write your County Clerk or Registrar of Voters for details.

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</table>
Dear Fellow Republican:

One vote per precinct was the difference between winning and losing for President Nixon before. And it could be again!

That is why your vote and familiarity with the issues are so important in this Election. Consider the alternative -- the most clear-cut in a century.

President Nixon wants to provide training and work incentives so those on welfare who can work will work and be taken off the welfare rolls. Senator McGovern, on the other hand, proposed giving every man, woman, and child in the country $1,000 whether he works for it or not, whether he needs it or not, and whether we can afford it or not.

President Nixon wants to trim only the fat from our military budget, believing that to insure peace, we must remain strong. Senator McGovern's proposed $30 billion slash would, according to his fellow Democrat, Senator Humphrey, "cut into the very security of this country".

We're sure you approve of President Nixon's strong action and decisive leadership. But mere approval won't get him re-elected.

Consider what the President has accomplished.

DRUGS. The President considers hard drugs Public Enemy No. 1. He has cracked down hard on pushers. He is spending 600% more for rehabilitation than was being spent when he first took office.

THE ECONOMY. According to the July 22nd issue of the New York Times the second quarter of 1972 showed the fastest gain in the economy since 1965 and a "notable drop in the rate of inflation".

VIETNAM. The President has brought home from South Vietnam over 90% of our troops, while demanding that our prisoners of war be released before we leave Vietnam. Senator McGovern wants us to get out of Vietnam now and risk abandoning our prisoners of war to the enemy.

CRIME. Under President Nixon the increase in the crime rate has been cut 50%. And 80 major cities reported less overall crime this past year.
The President has done a lot. But his job is only half finished. That is why we need President Nixon -- now more than ever.

President Nixon needs your vote. Go to the polls and vote for President Nixon on November 7th. He needs you as a volunteer, even if you're already working a long day. Volunteer if you possibly can. He needs your financial support, even if it's a real sacrifice to give.

Use the Volunteer Card enclosed for contributions of time and money. They could prove as important as your ballot. And use the absentee ballot request form enclosed if you expect to be away from home on Election Day.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan
Chairman

P.S. Although large gifts are needed here in California, a small one is certainly better than none at all. But do give something. And please do it now.
President Nixon.
Now more than ever.

Committee for the Re-election of the President.
"Let us reject the narrow visions of those who would tell us that we are evil because we are not yet perfect, that we are corrupt because we are not yet pure, that all the sweat and toil and sacrifice that have gone into the building of America were for naught because that building is not yet done."

Richard Nixon

DEFENSE

President Nixon believes in a strong America. He believes the best way to decrease the defense budget is through mutual disarmament. He has proved his point with the Russian SALT agreements. Senator McGovern favors the deep cuts that the President opposes, despite warnings from military experts that the U.S. would thereby be weakened around the world.

DRUGS

President Nixon has been both tough and flexible. He won the agreement of Turkey to place a total ban on the growing of opium poppy...made an agreement with France to assist in halting the traffic of drugs...and stepped up arrests of pushers. He is spending 600% more for drug education than ever before. Together, these actions are finally turning the tide against the drug scourge.

VIETNAM

The President has done everything in his power to bring peace to Vietnam without sacrificing the South Vietnamese in the process. He has brought home 500,000 men...ended ground combat for American forces...and cut spending by two-thirds. Strong steps are continually being taken to get the enemy to cease its aggression and make peace.
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In 1968, there was mass rioting in cities and on campuses across America. Under President Nixon, riots have become a fraction of what they were. The President has spoken out strongly for the need to respect the law and has effectively worked to solve many of the problems disturbing America.

FOREIGN POLICY

President Nixon, in the name of peace, went to Moscow where he negotiated agreements with the Soviet Union to limit development of missiles. He visited Peking to begin improving U.S./China relations. He called a halt to crisis diplomacy, seeking to reduce tension in such troubled areas as the Middle East.

ENVIRONMENT

President Nixon established the Environmental Protection Agency, the first Federal unit ever set up to protect our quality of life. He has increased funding for environmental improvement by over 500%, and initiated a Legacy of Parks Program to bring increased recreational opportunities to cities. No less than 25 separate environment bills have been proposed by him.

HEALTH CARE

President Nixon has earmarked massive amounts of money to find a cure for cancer and sickle cell anemia. Federal outlays for health care and research in 1973 will reach $25.5 billion, and the President has proposed a National Health Insurance Standards Act, a Family Health Insurance Plan and the National Health Education Foundation, all aiming at better health care for everyone.
TAXES

Under President Nixon, individuals are paying $22 billion less in Federal taxes and corporations are paying $10 billion more. In addition, the President's proposed revenue sharing plan would return more money to the states, enabling them to lessen state taxes -- especially the property tax. This tax affects not only homeowners but, eventually, many tenants too, through increased rents.

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California Commission for the
Deaf elects
Ann White, 1940-1943
Multiply your voting power with this
VOLUNTEER CARD

☐ I agree the President deserves support. Contact me, I'll be a campaign volunteer.

☐ Enclosed is my check for $______________
made out to Democrats for Nixon,
Re-election of the President.

Signature ____________________________ Telephone ____________________________

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, insert it in the reply envelope and mail today.

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--- IMPORTANT TAX MESSAGE ---

Political contributions are now tax deductible in two ways
(which ever gives you the most benefit):

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2. A $50.00 deduction can be taken from your taxable income
($100.00 for a married couple filing a joint return).
Will you be able to get to your polling place on Nov 7th?

Use this form to get an absentee ballot.
MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR  
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
SUBJECT: Jeno F. Paulucci Food Industry Letter  

September 5, 1972  

**ATTACHED IS** the Paulucci letter and related pieces for mailing to businessmen in the food industry. This ensemble reflects Mr. Paulucci’s revisions and as far as he is concerned is the final copy. The ensemble includes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>APPROVE</th>
<th>DISAPPROVE</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Jeno Paulucci personal letter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Letter from Frank Register to Senator McGovern</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Letter from Senator McGovern to Frank Register</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(d) Contributor card</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(e) Reply and mailing envelopes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MEMORANDUM

September 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MORGAN
SUBJECT: Jeno F. Paulucci Food Industry Letter

Attached is the copy for the Paulucci letter to businessmen in the food industry. This copy reflects Mr. Paulucci's revisions and is the final copy.

The total ensemble will include: Jeno Paulucci's personal letter, reply envelope, mailing envelope, letter to Senator McGovern from Frank Register, letter to Frank Register from Senator McGovern, and a contributor card.

Attachment:
Jeno F. Paulucci Letter

c: Dr. Robert H. Marik
...discuss his concerns to the CONGRESS about Senator McGeorge's attitude toward the food industry. The attached correspondence explains one of the reasons...

...a copy of the EARNEST letter to Senator McGovern from Frank Register, Executive Director.

...a copy of Senator McGovern's answer to Frank Register. (Please read paragraph 4 carefully).

Senator McGovern later tried to "whitewash" the matter with a telegram which stated his letter was "unauthorized and ill advised." This is what concerns business and industry...just what is McGovern's true attitude toward the businessmen? His constantly changing position on domestic and foreign affairs already have some of us concerned about our country's future, should McGovern attain the Presidency.

Independents and Democrats must unite with Republicans to assist in the re-election of President Nixon. With the short time remaining, John Connally, Chairman of Democrats for Nixon, and myself need your strong financial support to put together an effective campaign. We need your help. Please send your check to:

Jean F. Pouluc Orb
Vice Chairman - Independents
Democrats for Nixon
802 Madison Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20005

Regards,

JENK (SIGNATURE)

JEPP:cev

one: EARNEST letter
McGovern letter

P.S. I'm concerned for two reasons: to protect my country and to protect my business. How about you? J.R.P.

(UNREAD)
May 22, 1972

Senator George McGovern
United States Senator from South Dakota
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator McGovern:

In yesterday's news telecasts, you were shown endorsing Caesar
Chavez and the lettuce boycotts.

I would suggest that you consider this position carefully from a
number of standpoints. Under existing law, such boycotts are
clearly illegal. Secondly, the pattern established in the grape
boycott was one of damage and destruction to innocent third
parties—in this instance, retailers who have no way of knowing
who is right in a labor dispute many miles away. Thirdly, such
tactics, if successful, result in increased costs which mean in-
creased prices, a subject which I know is of concern to you.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Frank D. Regester
Executive Director
Dear Mr. Register:

Thank you very much for your recent letter.

You should know, Mr. Register, that I have competent legal advice and you need not worry about me on that score.

Your reference to innocent third parties was intriguing to say the least. If you are suggesting that retail grocers are under any definition of the term "innocent," I would be surprised. I may interest you to know that I am fully aware of the monopoly meat and other commodity pricing practices of the chain stores. I am also aware of rate of return on your investment.

You may be sure, Mr. Register, that when I am President suits will no longer be brought by stockmen, egg producers and others, but by the Attorney General of the United States.

With very good wish, I am

Sincerely,

George McGovern

Frank D. Register
Executive Director
National Association of Retail Grocers of the U.S., Inc.

Suite 626
2000 Spring Road
Oak Brook, Illinois 60521
MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR
FROM: JEE S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Jeno F. Paulucci Food Industry Letter

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM

Attached is the Paulucci letter and related pieces for mailing to businessmen in the food industry. This ensemble reflects Mr. Paulucci's revisions and as far as he is concerned is the final copy. The ensemble includes:

(a) Jeno Paulucci personal letter
(b) Letter from Frank Register to Senator McGovern
(c) Letter from Senator McGovern to Frank Register
(d) Contributor card
(e) Reply and mailing envelopes

APPROVE ______ DISAPPROVE ______

COMMENT
Senator McGovern later tried to "whitewash" the matter with a telegram which stated his letter was "unauthorized and ill advised." This is what concerns business and industry... just what is McGovern's true attitude toward the businessmen? His constantly changing positions on domestic and foreign affairs already have some of us concerned about our country's future, should McGovern attain the Presidency.

Independents and Democrats must unite with Republicans to assist in the re-election of President Nixon. With the short time remaining, John Connally, Chairman of Democrats for Nixon, and myself need your strong financial support to put together an effective campaign. We need your help. Please send your check to:

Jeno F. Paulucci  
Vice Chairman - Independents  
Democrats for Nixon  
802 Madison Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20036  

Regards,

Jeno  (Signature)  

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enc: MW's letter  
McGovern letter  

P.S. I'm concerned for new reasons to protect my integrity and to protect my position. How about your J.F.K.?  

Re: McGovern - mw
May 22, 1972

Senator George McGovern
United States Senator from South Dakota
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator McGovern:

In yesterday's news telecasts, you were shown endorsing Cesar Chavez and the lettuce boycotts.

I would suggest that you consider this position carefully from a number of standpoints. Under existing law, such boycotts are clearly illegal. Secondly, the pattern established in the grape boycott was one of damage and destruction to innocent third parties; in this instance, retailers who have no way of knowing who is right in a labor dispute many miles away. Thirdly, such tactics, if successful, result in increased costs which mean increased prices, a subject which I know is of concern to you.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Frank D. Register
Executive Director

FDR/CCS
Dear Mr. Register:

Thank you very much for your recent letter.

You should know, Mr. Register, that I have competent legal advice and you need not worry about me on that score.

Your reference to innocent third parties was intriguing to say the least. If you are suggesting that retail grocers are under any definition of the term "innocent," I would be surprised. It may interest you to know that I am fully aware of the monopoly meat and other commodity pricing practices of the chain stores. I am also aware of rate of return on your investment.

You may be sure, Mr. Register, that when I am President suits will no longer be brought by stockmen, egg producers and others, but by the Attorney General of the United States.

With very good wish, I am

Sincerely,

George McGovern

Frank D. Register
Executive Director
National Association of Retail Grocers of the U.S., Inc.
Suite 620
2000 Spring Road
Oak Brook, Illinois 60521
(Initials and date written, but unclear content)