

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
Contested Materials Collection  
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
37	1	9/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	American Political Report 4 pgs.
37	1	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Taling Paper for Political Meeting 1 pg.
37	1	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Scali RE Liberals for Nixon. 1 pg.
37	1	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Chapin RE VP Sandwich on McGovern. 1 pg.

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37	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	1972 Electoral Vote Forecast. 1 pg.
37	1	9/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	From Howard to Strachan RE Attached Remarks of John Connally. 6 pgs.
37	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Remarks by John Connally. 8 pgs.
37	1	9/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to President. RE Prelim Report on Canvass Kick Off. 4 pgs.
37	1	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Agnew to Stans. RE Fund Raising Breakfast. 2 pgs.

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37	1	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Bull, Parker, Walker. RE 1972 Presidential Campaign. 2 pgs.
37	1	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman. RE Bob Hill Comments. 1 pg.
37	1	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to GS RE: Attached Memo Dividing McGovern from Local Democrat Campaigns. 2 pgs.
37	1	7/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Colson. RE Attached memo-Thoughts on Post Convention. 6 pgs.
37	1	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Colson. RE Cammpaign issues. 5 pgs.

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37	1	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby. RE Attached memo Haldeman to Colson. 3 pgs.
37	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Memo RE Campaign media. 2 pgs.
37	1	9/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Strachan. RE California polling. 1 pg.
37	1	9/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to Haldeman, Timmons, Chapin. RE Attached memo Shumway to Magruder. 2 pgs.
37	1	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Memo	From Haldeman. RE Soviet commercial. 1 pg.

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37	1	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Haldeman. RE Attached memos and requests. 11 pgs.
37	1	8/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman. RE Security arrangements. 3 pgs.
37	1	8/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman. RE NY Financial Community. 3 pgs.
37	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Notes on Campaign. 1 pg.
37	1	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Ellsworth to Magruder. RE Memo. 1 pg.

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37	1	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Lasker to MacGregor. RE Leaders in Finance. 3 pgs.
37	1	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Ellsworth to Magruder. RE Wall Street for President. 1 pg.
37	1	6/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Bartels to Safire. RE Wall Street Committee. 1 pg.
37	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ellsworth. RE Wall Street Committee. 3 pgs.
37	1	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Shearer, Jr. to State Chairman. RE Campaign duties. 9 pgs.

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37	1	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Reisner to Magruder. RE Campaign groups. 1 pg.
37	1	7/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Colson to Mitchell. RE Ellsworth. 1 pg.
37	1	8/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman. RE NY Financial Communiity. 3 pgs.
37	1	8/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Notes on campaign. 2 pgs.
37	1	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Democrats for Nixon Advertising Proposal. 8 pgs.

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37	1	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek. RE Military registration. 1 pg.
37	1	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to MacGregor. RE Political Action. 7 pgs.
37	1	9/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to Haldeman. RE Senior Advisors. 2 pgs.
37	1	9/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From McGovern to President. RE POW ballots. 1 pg.
37	1	8/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby. RE New Political Field Men. 2 pgs.

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37	1	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to Haldeman. RE Memo from Malek to MacGregor; Nixon-Griffin Organization. 9 pgs.
37	1	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Strachan. RE Sept. 12 primaries. 1 pg.
37	1	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to President. RE Evaluation of primaries. 2 pgs.
37	1	9/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Colson. RE Surrogate attack operation. 3 pgs.
37	1	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Damgard. RE Conservative Party Convention. 1 pg.

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37	1	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Strachan. RE Primary update. 4 pgs.
37	1	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman. RE Campaign Promotional Materials. 13 pgs.
37	1	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Collins to Haldeman. RE Evans-Novak Political Report. 4 pgs.
37	1	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Magruder. RE Campaign Victory Plan. 1 pg.
37	1	9/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman. RE Babbit in Arkansas race. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
37	1	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Buchanan. RE Shriver. 1 pg.
37	1	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Magruder. RE American Flag Lapel Pins. 1 pg.
37	1	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Chapin. RE Young voters. 1 pg.
37	1	9/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman. RE Pat Hunter and Barbara Franklin. 1 pg.
37	1	9/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Amolsch to Failor. RE McGovern's Duluth appearance. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
37	1	8/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rietz to Malek. RE August 12 Registration Drive Report. 5 pgs.
37	1	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Herringer to Haldeman. RE Evans and Novak column. 8 pgs.
37	1	9/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Higby, RE Campaign trips. 4 pgs.
37	1	9/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to MacGregor. RE Campaign major points. 2 pgs.
37	1	9/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Haldeman. RE Voter Bloc Progress and Plans report. 10 pgs.

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37	1	9/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman. RE McGovern's TV ads. 1 pg.

# The American Political Report

In the eight weeks since George McGovern's nomination, he has slipped from a 16% Gallup Poll lag to a 34% deficit. With just eight weeks remaining until Election Day, Washington observers of both parties are now discounting the possibility that the South Dakota Senator can adequately turn things around. Note that during a comparable eight-week period, Democratic comeback campaigners Harry S. Truman and Hubert Humphrey had both begun to gain ground in Gallup trial heats. Under these circumstances, political attention is shifting to several consequential questions: 1) Can the Republicans capture Congress? 2) Who will control the wreckage of the Democratic Party? 3) Can the GOP actually forge that new majority? 4) Is the South going over to the GOP? 5) Will 1973 bring a new era of government social and fiscal restraint?

## AROUND THE WHITE HOUSE

While Richard Nixon's pledge of no new taxes (linked to Congress holding the spending line) is campaign oratory, in light of changing public attitudes (see Special Survey) it may be more realizable than experts generally believe. Analysts who believe that social spending needs will mandate new taxes are paying insufficient attention to public opinion's strong shift away from the expensive social adventurism of the Sixties. Sharp Democratic vs. GOP differences on this issue could turn out to be one of the most important denominators of the election and progenitors of 1973 policy.

Discount speculation over feuding between the White House and the Committee to Re-Elect the President because the Committee is not in a position to "feud" over anything important. Since the resignation of John Mitchell, control of the campaign has firmly passed to the White House -- and now this means the President himself (via chief agents Bob Haldeman and Chuck Colson).

After a quarter-century of politicking, RMN is not going to pass up the chance to engrave his own initials on the biggest triumph of his career -- no way. Colson's strategic emergence is proof of the pudding. If Haldeman is the President's political managerial arm, Colson is his swordarm -- the senior White House staffer who best shares the President's gut approach to politics. Hatchery is only one ingredient. Like RMN, Colson is a skilled lone wolf personally committed to supplanting today's fashionable Liberal Establishment with a "new majority." (Part of his increased influence comes from the fact that his long-recommended constituencies -- Catholics, blue-collar workers and ethnics -- have now, along with Harry Dent's Dixie, become the targets of the New Majority.) Colson's presence is more likely to be felt in these ways than in hatchery, where any failures could boomerang against him because of his reputation. Nor does the prospect that the President will wade into October battle necessarily spell trouble for the GOP if he uses his high visibility to draw important issue distinctions and avoids the I-Am-The-President tactics and overly harsh rhetoric of 1970.

*What does he mean  
by this?*

CAMPAIGN 1972

At the risk of overemphasizing the theoretical forest and paying too little attention to the trees of individual situations, the most important facet of the 1972 election is whether the indicated Nixon victory is going to trigger a political re-alignment that will affect everything from congressional committee structures to interest rates and defense spending.

Conservative Democrats hold the key, and in this connection, the incredible staff bungling and disintegration of the McGovern campaign apparatus may actually serve to arrest re-alignment. As his poll ratings dip, his staff disintegrates and his own image of incompetence grows, McGovern's candidacy is seeming -- to many Democrats -- more and more like an unfortunate aberration from which the party can turn away after November's slaughter. This sort of attitude, among George Wallace and others, will retard Dixie shifts to the GOP. Republican hopes will be better fulfilled if the McGovernites can reduce their poll deficit to 20% and consolidate their intra-party position.

Just how strong President Nixon's poll situation is can be best illustrated by the comparative post-convention Gallup Poll data of previous election winners:

Candidate (Year)	August Heats	September	October	November	Range	Election Result
Truman (1948)	37%	36.5%	39%	44.5%	(37-44.5%)	49.6%
Eisenhower (1952)	47	55	50	47.5	(47-55)	55.1
Eisenhower (1956)		52	52	51	(51-57)	57.4
Kennedy (1960)	44 47	48	49 49	51 49	(44-51)	49.6
Johnson (1964)	59 65	65	62 64	61	(59-65)	61.5
Nixon (1968)	45	43	44 44	42 43	(42-45)	43.4
Nixon (1972)	57 64	?	?	?	?	?

As the chart shows, candidates pretty quickly stake out a "range" in the Gallup Poll, and they usually finish somewhere in the middle of it.

Further prediction of a Nixon victory in the 57% to 64% range comes from the pattern of the 1970 off-year congressional results. During the last fifty years, whenever a party in the White House has lost less than 20 House and Senate seats in its midterm elections, it has gone on to win a landslide re-election. The best off-year showing was FDR's in 1934, when the Democrats actually gained in Congress. Next came the Democrats' very small losses in 1962, followed by the second biggest presidential landslide. The 1926 and 1954 off-year elections (small GOP losses) were followed by the GOP landslides of 1928 and 1956. The 1970 results, third best of the last half-century, add up this way: a net GOP loss of 7 House and Senate seats, suggesting a major 1972 landslide midway between those of 1928 and 1956 (58.2% and 57.4%) and that of 1964 (61.5%). If it works, will it be an interesting coincidence or an extraordinarily useful yardstick?

Exactly how many states McGovern will carry in November remains iffy, but here is APR's earliest-in-print (April 10) profile of a Nixon v. McGovern landslide: Sure McGovern -- District of Columbia; leaning McGovern -- Massachusetts, Hawaii; doubtful -- Rhode Island, West Virginia; the rest leaning or safe for Nixon. As of today, we shift Hawaii and West Virginia to leaning Nixon; otherwise, things don't look too different.

## DIXIE: LINCHPIN OF THE NEW POLITICS

After years of being the national dunghheap and punching bag, the Old Confederacy is finally coming into its own. On September 2, Business Week gave its front cover to "The new rich South - Frontier for economic growth in the Seventies," and Dixie is also clearly emerging as the pivotal political battleground of the 1972 election. As the South opts, so will go the nation. If Dixie elects two or three new Republican Senators, control of the Senate will probably change, and conceivably the House might follow. Congressional upheaval, in turn, will promote further re-alignment of conservative Southerners. Here are the key considerations shaping events below the Mason-Dixon Line: 1) Are Southern conservatives shifting to the GOP? 2) Has the national Democratic Party moved too irretrievably leftward for Dixie? 3) Are Southern state Democratic parties also in the midst of ideo-racial upheaval? 4) Will the trend go far enough this year to tilt Congress?

1) Beyond any doubt, Dixie conservatives are shifting. A new poll in Mississippi shows the GOP pulling ahead in party identification, and in Tennessee's August primary, more whites appear to have voted in the Republican contest than in the Democratic fight. Blacks, meanwhile, are consolidating their Democratic position.

2) APR believes that the national Democratic Party has moved too far left for Dixie even if McGovern is clobbered and moderates recover some ground. Whatever happens to McGovern, the national Democratic Party is moving onto a youth-minorities-middle-class professional base that will not square with Southern ideology. If George Wallace thinks otherwise, he is pursuing a will o' the wisp.

3) State Democratic parties are also in flux leftward. Even in the bad year of 1970, most Southern GOP statewide candidates garnered over 40% of the vote, carrying the middle-class precincts almost everywhere. In turn, the Democratic coalition is becoming one of blacks, low-income whites and some suburban liberals, and party officeholders accordingly are becoming more liberal. While most Southern Democrats still have moderate-to-conservative records, black influence is on the uptrend, and should pull the Democrats further left -- weakening remaining white support -- even as prosperity expands the middle-class (and presumably strengthens its GOP outlook). A Dixie boom in the Seventies will accelerate black gains in the Democratic Party and GOP gains among the population as a whole. Majority coalitions of blacks and low-income whites are unlikely because black assertiveness (still to be felt) will demand too great a voice for most whites to accept.

4) Whether or not Congress tips this year could be the key. If Georgia, Louisiana and Alabama voters demonstrate the shifting party identification hinted in paragraph one, the GOP could capture the Senate. Southern Democratic seniority rests with a few men like Long (La.), Eastland and Stennis (Miss.), Sparkman (Ala.), McClellan (Ark.), and Talmadge (Ga.). When they leave or die, Dixie will have no power left on the Democratic side because the new Southern Democrats (Bentsen, Hollings, Chiles, Spong, etc.), besides being more liberal, lack seniority to accede to chairmanships in less than 10 or 15 years. Thus, there is no percentage in the South electing new Democrats to the Senate: the opportunity lies in electing new Republicans and coupling it with a switch of Virginia's Byrd plus committee chairmen Long, McClellan and Talmadge. But these factors may not be realized below the Mason-Dixon Line, especially with Wallace and others talking about a reconstituted post-McGovern Democratic Party. Dixie's 1972 decision is still a questionmark -- and the pivotal one.

## A NIXON MARKET?

During the next seven weeks, politicians ought to join Wall Streeters in keeping a close eye on the Dow Jones Industrial Average. Even though sophisticates may find other averages more indicative, whether or not the Dow cracks 1000 this fall could be a question of great political (and subsequently economic) importance. Should the Dow break 1000, it should trigger major headlines and consumer/investment confidence among America's 26,000,000 shareholders, who regard it as the key barometer. If so, President Nixon's re-election campaign could benefit substantially. (In the last six years, the D-J has made several attempts at the 1000 mark, always falling short. The closest came in 1966, just as the effects of the war in Vietnam were beginning to be felt.)

But while the Dow will influence politics, the reverse is also true. Past patterns suggest that presidential years affect the behavior of the Dow. Some of this year's effects have been obvious. Market slippage from late May to early July was caused by "McGovern Market" fear of the South Dakotan's surge to the political forefront. Since mid-July, President Nixon's lengthening poll leads have brought the Dow from the 915 range to the 950-975 range. Will it go over the top? Data from previous years laid out in Yale Hirsch's "Stock Trader's Almanac" (Enterprise Publications) suggests that it should.

Looking at the 12 elections since 1900 in which the party in the White House has retained power, 11 have seen the Dow industrial stock average mean for November exceed the mean for September. Putting it more simply, September and October of such years have usually been a good two-month market period. (When the party in power is losing, these two months have typically turned in a net loss.)

However, while the Dow usually rises during the September-October period prior to an incumbent's re-election, the recent pattern is for a decline to follow in November. Since 1948, the market has declined in the day, week and month following the re-election of an incumbent (Truman, Eisenhower and Johnson). In contrast, for all years between 1951 and 1971, September and October on average constitute a period of virtually no net market advance, while the following two-month period is the typical year's best. Thus, the re-election of an incumbent seems to change the regular pattern. If the President appears clearly ahead during the autumn, the market anticipates his re-election, and November's usual gain is speeded up. Based as it is on sketchy and limited data, this hypothesis cannot be given much stature, yet there is other evidence that market highs tend to relate to Election Day. According to market analyst George Lindsay, "important market peaks have often occurred close to a presidential election...There have been 18 presidential elections in this century, and an important market peak came close to six of them. That's not frequent enough to let us forecast a top on this basis alone. But if some other approach calls for a high around election time, the record shows that such a combination has occurred often enough to make it a reasonable expectancy."

Given the Nixon landslide shaping up, and the general identification of investors with Nixon rather than McGovern policies, the September-October period ought to live up to precedent with a good market spurt. Any fair-sized spurt would put the Dow over 1000 and trigger a major confidence crest probably pulling the Dow up to 1050-1100 and surrounding the President with a rosy pre-election aura of economic optimism. This, in turn, would increase the chances of a Nixon landslide big enough to bring about the anti-inflationary policies necessary to make the economy live up to hopes.

TALKING PAPER FOR POLITICAL MEETING

RE: Advertising, Vice President

Advertising Budget

Stans has approved advertising expenditures totalling 3,000 for the entire campaign, indicating he may approve on a week by week basis expenditures up to 6,300. The Peter Dailey recommended budget is 11,200.

The pressure on the advertising budget has increased with the DFN opinion that DFN will raise no money for its own advertising.

Vice President

Who is to be his primary contact for the campaign?

The current system is an informal Colson/Buchanan contact. Art Sohmer is asking <sup>Strachan</sup> what the system of information support and prime contact is.

When should he see the November Group and DFN advertising?

How do we explain the fact that "Agnew" is not mentioned in any of the currently planned TV and newspaper ads?

Senate Races

Did the President commit 500 in financial support to Senator Dominick at the Leadership Meeting? If so, who is going to tell Stans? Once the money is raised who decides how it is to be spent?

GS  
9/14/72

2  
September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN SCALI  
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

I read with interest your recent Liberals for Nixon memorandum. As you know, we're doing everything to keep the President's campaigning in perspective. On your suggestion that the President have an interview with a known reporter for a Liberal publication or have a speech especially directed at that segment of the voting public, I would only say that he just did one with Pat Moynihan. Beyond that, I wonder if it isn't possible for others within the Administration to move the line you suggest with almost equal effectiveness to an actual Presidential interview.

Would you please get together with Len Garment and develop a scenario of what we can get others doing within the intellectual community. At this point in time, this is the key to the success we'll have with this group.

cc: Len Garment

HRH:LH:mco

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

H. R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT:

Vice President's Sandwich  
Schedule on McGovern

Last week the Vice President appeared in New York City on Wednesday, September 13. McGovern was also in New York City that day. That was the only successful Vice Presidential sandwich of McGovern.

This week the Vice President and McGovern are scheduled to be in Columbus on Wednesday, September 20. That seems to be the only "sandwich" event.

Can we do better than once a week?

HRH/GS/jb

1972 ELECTORAL VOTE FORECAST

*MS*  
*per per*  
*our advisory*  
 Sept. 12, 1972

ESTIMATED NIXON PERCENTAGE	ELECTORAL VOTE TOTALS	STATES	
66.1% and over	103	( 9) Alabama ( 6) Arizona (17) Florida (12) Georgia ( 4) Idaho (10) Louisiana	( 7) Mississippi ( 5) Nebraska (13) North Carolina ( 8) South Carolina (12) Virginia
61.1% to 66.0%	112	( 6) Arkansas ( 7) Colorado (13) Indiana ( 8) Iowa ( 7) Kansas ( 4) Montana ( 4) New Hampshire ( 3) North Dakota	( 8) Oklahoma ( 6) Oregon (10) Tennessee (26) Texas ( 4) Utah ( 3) Vermont ( 3) Wyoming
56.1% to 61.0%	220	( 3) Alaska (45) California ( 8) Connecticut ( 3) Delaware (26) Illinois ( 9) Kentucky ( 4) Maine (10) Maryland (21) Michigan	(10) Minnesota (12) Missouri ( 3) Nevada (17) New Jersey ( 4) New Mexico (25) Ohio ( 9) Washington (11) Wisconsin
51.1% to 56.0%	74	(41) New York (27) Pennsylvania ( 6) West Virginia	
51% or less	29	( 3) District of Columbia ( 4) Hawaii (14) Massachusetts	( 4) Rhode Island ( 4) South Dakota
	538		

Opinion Research Corporation  
 Princeton, New Jersey

Date: 9/16/72

TO: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: DICK HOWARD

For Your Information                      ✓

FOR RELEASE AT 6:00 P.M. EDT  
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1972

CONTACT: George Christian  
202 785-9500

REMARKS OF JOHN B. CONNALLY  
MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM, SEPTEMBER 16, 1972

Let me begin by thanking Mutual Broadcasting System for providing this time to respond to an earlier political speech delivered by Senator McGovern on August 8. At that time, Senator McGovern took advantage of the free time offered him by the major broadcasting networks to announce his second nominee for Vice President and to make a partisan political speech attacking President Nixon.

My purpose today is to answer that partisan attack with a bipartisan appeal.

I am not a Republican -- in fact, I am a life-long, active Democrat. I am proud of my party, of what it has done for America and of what it stands for with the American people. I believe in its traditions, and the leadership it has produced in my lifetime.

But a political party is either the beneficiary of its leadership or the victim. Throughout most of its history the Democratic Party has benefitted from its leadership. In 1972 it has become the victim.

Senator McGovern and his associates have made it clear that they cannot lead a united party -- and certainly cannot be relied on to lead a united America.

Far from becoming a more open party in which all can participate, the Democratic Party under Senator McGovern has become an ideological machine closed to millions of Americans who have been loyal and steadfast Democrats all their lives.

This year, I am absolutely convinced that it is in the best interest of this country to re-elect President Richard Nixon. Millions of other Democrats all over America are also supporting the President.

Our support of President Nixon does not involve in any way the campaigns of Democratic candidates who are running for state, local and congressional offices across the Nation.

But when it comes to the Presidency of the United States -- when it comes to choosing the man who must lead us all through

the next four challenging years -- we cannot afford to settle for second best.

We cannot afford to put party before country.

As the late Adlai Stevenson so wisely said, "If the voters ever stop looking at the record and the character of the candidates and look only at the party label, it will be a sad day for democracy."

Governor Stevenson made that statement in a political speech during his own campaign as Democratic nominee for President in 1956.

My fellow Americans, we are at a crucial time in our history. Great decisions will have to be made in the next four years that will influence the course of our Nation and the world for years to come.

The next President of the United States may have it in his power to create a generation of peace for us all; to build on the progress for peace that President Nixon has made in Peking, in Moscow and in capitals around the world.

But to do this, the next President will have to be a man that other nations can trust and respect.

And he will have to stand for policies and programs that will keep America strong and healthy -- militarily, economically, and morally.

This cannot be done by a man who advocates weakening our defenses.

This cannot be done by a man who, whatever his good intentions, cannot make up his mind about where he stands on economic and social issues.

This cannot be done by a man who spends much of his time maligning his own country instead of condemning the crimes and brutality of our foes.

The next President of the United States must be a man who not only has good intentions, but good sense as well.

He must be able to perform as well as to promise.

Five American Presidents -- Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson -- believed our country must have a strong defense if we were to have any hope of an enduring peace.

President Nixon has kept us on this wise course. George McGovern has demonstrated that he will not.

Five American Presidents gave people the world over the only beacon of hope for freedom and safety in the atomic age.

President Nixon has kept that commitment. George McGovern has demonstrated that he will not.

Five American Presidents held fast to the belief that the United States should not become a second-class power.

President Nixon has reconfirmed that basic principle of foreign policy. George McGovern has demonstrated that he will not.

My friends, it's frequently tough to be number one.

But for a democracy, it's frightening and dangerous to be number two.

Senator McGovern proposes that our defense budget be cut by thirty-two billion dollars. He wants to cut our Air Force by one-third, our Navy by one-quarter, our aircraft carriers from 16 down to 6, our Marines by a third. This is not trimming the fat. It's cutting out the muscle.

President Nixon has done more to improve this country's foreign policy than any President in modern times. He has opened the lines of communication with China and Russia. He has reached a nuclear arms agreement with Russia -- not by begging on his knees, but by negotiating as the President of the greatest country in the world.

This is the kind of leadership America needs today, and I have reached the inescapable conclusion that Senator McGovern and the men around him just cannot give us that kind of leadership.

That is why I, as a Democrat, am making this bipartisan appeal to other Democrats and Independents across the country to join with me in working to re-elect a man who has proven that he can do the job -- President Richard Nixon.

Many of you may not agree with every policy of the Nixon Administration on every issue, large and small, that faces the Nation.

Neither do I.

But in a Presidential election, it is our duty to choose the best man; to weigh the character and qualifications of both candidates and decide which one comes closest to our ideals and traditions as Americans.

President Nixon has earned the confidence of the American people.

He has worked for peace and worked for prosperity with calmness and skill.

His policies have cut the rate of inflation in half at home and brought more than half a million of our fighting men back from war overseas.

He has held to the high road while his opponents have resorted to name calling and scare tactics in their efforts to garner votes.

As a young Democrat, I can remember the way that Franklin Roosevelt restored confidence and strength to a troubled America, and gave us inspiring leadership in wartime.

I took pride in the leadership of President Harry S Truman, who kept America strong and did not flinch from making the hard decisions a President must make every day. And I supported President Truman in 1948 while George McGovern was a delegate to the convention of the Progressive Party headed by Henry Wallace.

I had the privilege of serving in the administration of President John Kennedy, another great Democrat who had to make tough decisions, and who never for a moment advocated retreat, surrender or a weakened America.

And I still cherish my longstanding friendship with another great Democratic statesman whom it has been my privilege to know and to serve, former President Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Each of these men had a different style, a different tone of leadership. But each of them made me proud to be a Democrat, and more important than that -- proud to be an American.

I am still proud of my party and my country, but this year I am convinced that I can best serve both by voting to re-elect President Nixon. As John Kennedy said, "Sometimes party loyalty asks too much."

In a few weeks the most important decision in the world this year will be made.

It will not be made by statesmen at some faraway conference... not by the wealthy and the mighty in some board room...and not by a handful of power brokers in some political gathering.

It will be made by the American voters on November the 7th, when we will elect a President of the United States -- and that decision which we will make is the most important decision this year anywhere on earth.

By our votes, we will confirm or deny what America stands for... we will determine where America must go in these critical and dangerous days ahead.

There is a philosophy espoused by some in this land that America should be ashamed of its wealth, ashamed of its growth, ashamed of its strength.

I believe that most Americans reject that philosophy. With all of our frailties and shortcomings, we Americans have never shirked responsibility. We have not lost our way. To the contrary, we have created a system and a form of government that has fed better, fed more, housed better, housed more, clothed better, clothed more, given our people more time and more leisure and more freedom than any other system ever devised by man in the history of the world.

\* If you agree with us that President Nixon is the man to lead the United States and the world during the next four years...and that our country should always be put before political party...then I hope you will write us.

John Connally, Democrats for Nixon, Madison Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Thank you very much.

SUGGESTED REMARKS, MUTUAL EQUAL TIME OFFER

Let me begin by thanking Mutual Broadcasting<sup>System</sup> for providing this equal time to respond to an earlier political speech delivered by Senator McGovern on August 8. At that time, Senator McGovern took advantage of the free time offered him by the major broadcasting networks to announce his second nominee for Vice President and to make a partisan political speech attacking President Nixon.

My purpose today is to answer that partisan attack with a bipartisan appeal.

I am not a Republican -- in fact, I am a life-long, active Democrat. I am proud of my party, of what it has done for America and of what it stands for with the American people. I believe in its traditions, and the leadership it has produced in my lifetime.

But a political party is either the beneficiary of its leadership or the victim. Throughout most of its history the Democratic Party has benefitted from its leadership. In 1972 it has become the victim.

Senator McGovern and his associates have made it clear that they cannot lead a united party -- and certainly cannot be relied on to lead a united America.

Far from becoming a more open party in which all can participate, the Democratic Party under Senator McGovern has

become

become an ideological machine closed to millions of Americans who have been loyal and steadfast Democrats all their lives.

This year, I am absolutely convinced that it is in the best interest of this country to re-elect President Richard Nixon. Millions of other Democrats all over America are also supporting the President.

Our support of President Nixon does not involve in any way the campaigns of Democratic candidates who are running for state, local and congressional offices across the Nation.

But when it comes to the Presidency of the United States -- when it comes to choosing the man who must lead us all through the next four challenging years -- we cannot afford to settle for second best.

We cannot afford to put party before country.

As the late Adlai Stevenson so wisely said, "If the voters ever stop looking at the record and the character of the candidates and look only at the party label, it will be a sad day for democracy."

Governor Stevenson made that statement in a political speech during his own campaign as Democratic nominee for President in 1956.

My fellow Americans, we are at a crucial time in our history. Great decisions will have to be made in the next four years that will influence the course of our Nation and the world for years to come.

The next President of the United States may have it in his power to create a generation of peace for us all; to build on the

progress for peace that President Nixon has made in Peking, in Moscow and in capitals around the world.

But to do this, the next President will have to be a man that other nations can trust and respect.

And he will have to stand for policies and programs that will keep America strong and healthy -- militarily, economically, and morally.

This cannot be done by a man who advocates weakening our defenses.

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This cannot be done by a man who spends much of his time maligning his own country instead of condemning the crimes and brutality of our foes.

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that our country should always be put before political party...then I hope you will write us.

John Connally, Democrats for Nixon, Madison Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

Thank you very much.

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

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

September 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: FREDERIC V. MALEK  
SUBJECT: Preliminary Report on Canvass Kick Off

As you know, the purpose of the Canvass Kick Off was to generate local publicity in fifty major media markets for our door-to-door canvass effort to find your supporters so that they can be turned out on election day. Hopefully, the end product of the day will be major stories in the local media which will generate campaign enthusiasm locally, dignify the role of the volunteer, and assist in our volunteer recruitment efforts. To do this, we sent our strongest surrogates into the field to canvass with the local organizations and limited their exposure to the canvass kick off.

We now have preliminary reports from most of the kick off cities and the results are better than our expectations.

1. We had good canvassing in all fifty cities. The average number of canvassers going door to door was over 200. Most headquarters had a much larger crowd to meet the surrogate than the number of canvassers who actually hit the streets. In summary, we estimate that over 10,000 volunteers canvassed door to door in the fifty cities. They will have visited over 400,000 households and reached over 1,000,000 persons by the end of the day. These figures do not include the turn-out for the many other cities which kicked off their canvasses without the surrogates. While we have no record of past efforts, I expect that today's canvass will surpass any one day canvass ever operated in a Presidential campaign.
2. The crowds were enthusiastic with no exceptions.
3. There was excellent press coverage; with rare exceptions there was at least one TV camera crew and in most cases, two or three. Only Trenton (Rumsfeld) and Houston (Kemp) had no TV coverage. The writing press was well represented.
4. The surrogates seem to have enjoyed themselves; our advancements have yet to report an unhappy surrogate.
5. Many warm human interest type stories came out of the canvass. (I will outline them later.)

6. There were few problems - Senator Taft was fogged in on the Cincinnati runway and was not able to get to Bergen County, New Jersey for the kick off. Senator Cook was rained out in Nashville.
7. The First Family events went well according to our preliminary reports.
  - a. Mrs. Nixon, accompanied by Governor Rockefeller and Senators Javits and Buckley, kicked off the canvass with a crowd of two to three thousand in Queens.
  - b. Julie had a large, enthusiastic crowd in Philadelphia in a lower middle class neighborhood. Some 350 canvassers went door to door with her.
  - c. Tricia also had a good crowd in Columbus, Ohio. She was greeted by 800 to 1,000 people, and approximately 250 canvassers accompanied her. National television covered the event.
8. The canvassing results were most encouraging. For example, in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, we canvassed in Ward 20. This Ward has 23,000 registered Democrats, 2,500 Republicans and 4,000 Independents. Today we found 2,244 of your supporters, 946 for McGovern, and 1,068 Undecided. In addition, we found 254 unregistered voters who support you.

Here are a few episodes which indicate the type of local interest stories the surrogates generated in the neighborhoods:

- a. Senator Scott climbed a ladder to canvass a man repairing his roof in Minneapolis.
- b. A canvasser in Cedar Rapids found one of your distant cousins. (She claimed her grandmother was your grandfather's sister.) She is a registered Democrat but strongly supports you.
- c. A blind lady canvassed in Buffalo with Secretary Peterson.
- d. Clark MacGregor canvassed 20 homes which had not been previously canvassed in Pittsburgh and found 20 supporters. The New York Times reporter could not believe it and went back to the Democrats to see if they had been pre-canvassed. They were emphatic in their denials.
- e. Bob Finch canvassed a man in Albany who was repairing his roof. The man recognized him walking across the street and shouted, "Is that Bob Finch?" Bob replied "Yes, and I'm here to ask for your vote for the President." The man replied, "I have voted for the President since 1952, and I will again in 1972."

- f. Secretary Shultz signed and handed out new one dollar bills to University of Texas students in Austin.
- g. In Oklahoma City, our celebrity, Madeline Rhue (star in Bracken's World), asked a small boy of the "Dennis the Menace" type if he supported the President. The boy replied emphatically that everybody in this house supports the President.

In summary, I consider the day a success. We have successfully kicked off our most important campaign activity and generated enthusiasm in our State campaign organizations. Also, the effort coalesced the campaign team. All 1701 Divisions, the RNC Field Division and the White House Advance Staff worked effectively and harmoniously together as a team.

The coverage on tonight's news and in the Sunday press will indicate if the kick off was a success with the media.

- I will have a final report for you next week detailing the canvass results as well as the media coverage.

8  
Jerry Jones

Julie - Phil - roses  
concessing  
- Gal married in 3 hrs

Tricia -

Mrs. N - crowd - 2-3000  
Flushing, Queens  
Rocky, Joints, Buckley

KC - Bantz -

Buf - Peterson -

Sunis - mud sun  
Finch - Buffalo -  
Albany - asking  
vote for P.

Dent / Atl - long hair - argue  
on TV.

Anti - War

THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1972

The Honorable Maurice Stans  
Committee for the Re-Election  
of the President  
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest  
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Maury:

Several weeks ago I told you that I would organize a small fund-raising breakfast in New York City. This has now been accomplished, and it was quite successful. Most importantly, the contributors, for the most part, were not traditional supporters of the Party.

The total amount collected is \$43,225, and I am happy to transmit checks in that amount herewith. Mr. Bud Hammerman deserves considerable credit for putting together the event, and you will also note his personal contribution of \$10,000 to the re-election campaign.

As an old pro when it comes to unfair political criticism, I sympathize greatly with your current difficulty. Do not allow your frustration at being unable to get the truth prominently published to wear you down. The American public is not as naive as some believe.

Of course, my confidence in you is undiminished, and I have great respect for your courage under fire.

The Honorable Maurice Stans

September 15, 1972

Page 2

I hope that Kathleen is doing better.

Sincerely,

bc: The Honorable H. R. Haldeman ✓

Bob: The President may be interested in knowing that Bud Hammerman, a traditional Democratic fund raiser and my personal friend, has been working very effectively with the Finance Committee and has made a personal contribution of \$10,000 to the campaign. Also that Raymond DuFour (Montgomery County) has weighed in with \$10,000.

Stu

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 14, 1972

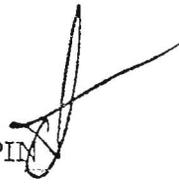
3:30 p. m.

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

STEPHEN BULL  
DAVID PARKER  
RON WALKER

FROM:

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN 

The following is the third chapter in the saga of the 1972 Presidential campaign planning.

1. The President wants to continue the idea of doing the Mormon Tabernacle event sometime during the campaign.
- ✓ 2. The President will not go into any states to help with Senate races. He has made that decision. However, he does want the Family and the Vice President in each major Senate race state. We should let the candidates know that the Family as well as the Vice President will be coming in to help. Dave Parker should arrange the Family schedule as well as checking the Vice President's to make sure that we're covering all these dates. We should also get word to the Senate candidates.
3. We are going to do the San Francisco Mint. That can be locked. I want to see what the plan is for it.
4. The L.A. cancer thing is okay. We can lock that event but we've got to find a place to hold it. Perhaps the best place is the Convention Hall in Los Angeles if indeed one of the Music Center auditoriums won't work. We need the recommendation on that, as well as a survey.
5. The President wants to go to Buffalo, so that should be on our list of places that the President wants to hit.
6. It's been suggested that the President do a small town during the last couple of weeks of the campaign. It could be tied to

a small town and a farm, e.g. Sioux City, Iowa, which would hit Iowa, South Dakota and Nebraska. Another thought is downstate Illinois. The most recent thought advanced by the President is to take a drive across Ohio and Illinois. The only problem with that seems to be the state of Indiana had been put in the middle of the motorcade. In any case, we're supposed to come up with a plan on that.

7. If the President does the Rio Grande school, we should take Congressman de la Garza down with us. He is a Congressman who has supported the President many times and we should have him down with us.
8. Mayor Rizzo says that when we do Philadelphia, we should do the heart of the city and not the suburbs. This is something we should look into and not decide on until we have a better feel for it.
9. Rockefeller is saying that rather than motorcade in New York we should do Westchester and Nassau and not the city. We should check on this also. ✓
10. Regarding Laredo, the President is favorably inclined at this point to do it. We should give the old Mexican border guard an award of some kind. After we do Laredo, we'll go do Rio Grande and then back to the Ranch. We'll need to have a plan for Texas.
11. Connally is evidently a part owner involved in some way with the Astrodome and is checking the availability of that for the 3rd. The idea there would be to have our show with the President speaking the last 15 minutes. We should have a big show and use our top stars. We may even consider live, national television.
12. When the President does Michigan, he does not want to do Detroit. We should look for another city to do.
- ✓13. The President is very interested in doing Pulaski Day in Buffalo. We should get a plan in on that.

cc: Terry O'Donnell

TO  
H  
9/15

September 15, 1972

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

Ambassador Bob Hill passes on this thought.

The President would be better off not to campaign personally in New Hampshire.

If he goes there, he is faced with two problems:

1. Embracing Wes Powell, the GOP nominee for U. S. Senate who has publicly attacked the President.
2. Embracing Meldrin Thomson, the GOP nominee for governor who defeated the incumbent GOP governor in the primary this week. Thomson is a Wallaceite. (That might help in some Southern states.)

The President will win New Hampshire handily and it is not necessary to make a personal appearance.



MMC:a

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

H. FU  
7/26

Date

TO: MS

FROM: L. HIGBY

Will you handle this  
note H's  
country

G → JSM  
7/22  
JSM → FM  
7/27 - nothing  
FM 8/10 - to  
ha Rue?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 19, 1972.

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN  
FROM: BILL SAFIRE  
SUBJECT: Dividing McGovern from  
Local Democrat Campaigns

I think we should draw up a "list" of Democratic congressional campaigns, both House and Senate, which are likely to be damaged by association with the McGovern campaign, and which give the White House much hope where there was little hope before.

Leakage of such a list (surefire publication) would get a lot of Democrats more nervous of catching McGovernitis, would give a boost to our own troops in those areas, and would help prevent McGovern from using the coattails of popular Democrats in local races.

*let the campaign or RNC  
do this —  
not WH*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

H FU  
8/10

Date: 7/8

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Copies should be sent to Colson  
and Malek for follow-up.

- JSM Has  
action
- FU 8/9 w/JSM
- 8/10 - DM - nothing done  
by JSM

H 7u  
7/30

Date: 7/22

TO: CHUCK COLSON  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Bob asked me to send a copy of this memorandum to you for follow-up. Malek also has a copy.

TO: FRED MALEK  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Bob asked me to send a copy of this to you for follow-up. Colson also has a copy.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1972

THOUGHTS ON THE POST-CONVENTION  
(Democratic)

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN  
KEN KHACHIGIAN

This memo deals with strategy thoughts strictly for the period between the conventions.

DISENCHANTED DEMOCRATS

This is the first priority. No sooner should the dust have settled from the Democratic Convention (a few days following, perhaps) than a National Democrats for Nixon should be formed publicly to serve as an "umbrella" for all of the less bold fence-straddlers to join. We should move fast on the Democrats, post Miami Beach, as they will be most vulnerable immediately following the convention. If we have a number of Democrats already locked in, to either abandon their ticket, or bolt the party -- we should trickle these out, state-by-state -- not drop them all at once.

In our judgment, if we have a choice it is far better for Democrats to stay in their party, and denounce McGovern -- than to switch parties now.

Elitism and extremism in the Democratic Party should form the basis of the abandonment of McGovern -- followed by support and endorsement of RN. But, in my view, the former is the more important news story.

Also, if a figure is immensely prominent, his departure should be for national television. But someone like Mills Godwin should have done it from a platform in Richmond.

In addition, we should focus upon and publish not simply the major names, but the minor ones -- state legislators and the like -- and publish those names in ads in the "swing states" especially. The purpose is to leave the impression of massive defections, not just major ones, from the Democratic Ticket. We should be working on these people right now -- all over the various swing states.

Sometime during the campaign, this fall, we need a national press conference, and a national mailing to all political writers etc. listing the hundreds of Democratic party officials who have publicly abandoned the McGovern ticket. The idea, of course, is to create a stampede so that the fence-straddlers and others who might want to hang in there will at the least be publicly disassociating themselves from McGovern.

*Essential* Also, in this time, GOPers running for State Legislature, Governor, Senator, Congressmen, should be instructed to force their opponents to take a stand for or against McGovern and his positions. (This might well involve mailing a copy of the McGovern Assault Book to every GOP candidate, with instructions on how to use it).

#### THE SHAFTING OF WALLACE

If this is a credible argument, it should be made intensively by our people. That Wallace who had more votes than any other candidate, before California, was stripped of delegates and dignity by the radicals at Miami. That the convention which was supposed to be "democratic" ended up stealing his delegates, and denying him the rightful claim to a voice in the platform. The Party is highly unlikely to buy the Wallace positions as announced today on national TV; we should go directly to these voters -- and the GOP Platform should mirror some of the Governor's concerns. On matters of defense, bussing, welfare, responsiveness of government, etc. this should not be difficult.

1701 (RNC) should be collecting assiduously all of the negative statements by Wallace people about their treatment at Miami and about the Democratic Platform; we already have some excellent ones that will go into the Briefing Book.

## CONVENTION

The theme, "If they can't unite their party, how can they unite the country; if they can't even run an orderly convention, how can they run the United States," the same one used in 1968 is a natural.

## THE MC GOVERN SMEAR

Again, clearly the McGovern answer to any and all attacks will be to charge the "Old Nixon" with his "smear" tactics. The response to Stein demonstrated this. We will have five or six of the most egregious McGovern attacks listed -- and out to all speakers, with a short memo by convention's end -- if McGovern is nominated. At that point we ought to elevate all of these horrible statements, and demand to know if McGovern intends to campaign on the issues -- or to continue in this vein of comparing RN with Hitler, calling his Administration "racist" etc. McGovern is still being allowed to get away with being "the most decent man in the Senate" and his rhetoric has been the wildest of any man in recent political history.

## THE ESTABLISHMENT THEME

We ought to set this early that McGovern is not the candidate of the people, but of a small elite, of New Leftists, the elitist children, etc. Again, this impression should be made early in the campaign, before many voters have made their minds up. McGovern theme is certain to be to make himself the "candidate of the people" against the "candidate of the politicians," i. e. us. We have to get in early with this elitist idea; we have to capture the anti-Establishment theme early.

Again, my great concern is that McGovern may successfully establish himself as underdog, anti-Establishment, "out" candidate. Our speaking resources, early, should be directed to thrusting us into the position of the candidate of the common man, in the titanic struggle with the power of the Eastern Establishment.

THE WAFFLER

Again, another strength of McGovern's which will necessarily be weakened post-convention is his reputation for "candor, honesty," "you know where he stands," nonsense. He will start moving, he already is moving on the issues right now -- and there is no contradiction between nailing him with his \$1000 giveaway program one day, and denouncing him for "trimming" by abandoning it the next. For McGovern, movement in and of itself can be damaging -- because his whole campaign program is "Right from the Start." We should nail every shift, every movement -- and nail that "Right from the Start," right from the start.

Buchanan

Note: Have read the McGovern Book in part and analyzed his ads to a degree, and will have some followup thoughts on the "character" of McGovern -- and where he is investing his resources, what issues, what personality traits.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
JOHN EHRLICHMAN  
CHARLES COLSON

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

- 1) Too Much Vice President.
- 2) Dinner part is right on track.
- 3) Need someone charging McGovern.
- 4) Need to develop a written list of people and forums.

Beginning Monday, there are but seven weeks left in the Presidential campaign. Our two operative principles on the attack in those seven weeks should be a) the issues of 1972 have long ago been decided and made and b) we should re-cycle those issues, points and positions which resulted in the collapse of the McGovern campaign. There seems to be a tendency on our part at times to seek out some new indiscretion on the part of the Opposition and attack that simply because it is "new." When we have an airtight case of forcible rape -- this is like saying, "And yeah, we can get him for jaywalking, too."

In the last few days, in my judgment, we have allowed McGovern to "lead" the national debate; our major political statements have focused (i. e., Butz counter-charges, and MacGregor) precisely on those issues McGovern thinks are the only winners he has. In addition, we have sought to counter the charges of campaign financing finagling with the old discredited "tu quoque" argument ("you're another") -- which is the weakest of all arguments.

Meanwhile, little has gone into the public record in the last several days -- from us -- which focuses on and advances the major personal and political issues which are ours. This is partly our fault; but partly the reason is that we now need heavier guns than the ones we have been using.

There may be a point to muddying up the matter -- but we have other fish to fry this fall; and we ought to be about that business.

THE FIRST WEEK. I would open up with two barrels this week. The first is Foreign Policy. And the Vice President is the man. High-level defense of RN's brilliant foreign policy is first third -- and then into McGovern's Asian and European policies as enunciated by him and Chayes.

Filled in with McGovern quotes; McGovern on the POWs; McGovern on the Middle East. Conclusion and lead -- George McGovern is a well-intentioned, but naive bungler, whose foreign policy views are foolish and would be dangerous to the peace and security of the United States and the world. Call for a national debate on two opposing views of America's role in the world. The second barrel would be a John B. Connally, highly publicized response to McGovern, hammering on the title Confidence and Credibility. All of the McGovern waffles would be rolled into this one on the credibility side -- the McGovern flip-flops -- then also, in a peroration, the worst of the McGovern radical rhetoric. Why John Connally broke with McGovern, could include Hoover remark, Hitler remarks, etc. Extremist rhetoric unbecoming a presidential candidate -- least of all these charges is what he says about me. If we could get that peroration on the air; "the language of an extremist" we could resurrect our big winner. Also, to be included here is the Humphrey, Jackson, Muskie and Meany statements -- the more brutal ones on McGovern. Why Democrats are staying away in droves.

The two speeches would be on different days -- maybe two days apart. Given free time, I could get done the entire first speech and the "core" of the second.

What we ought to remember in both these speeches is that the press is less interested in writing about a pro-speech, than they are about attack material -- whether the attack is high level or low level. Both speeches should be built up -- and we should make our television on them those nights.

Note: The attack group should be aware of what the President is doing that day also for media -- he can knock us off the front pages and the networks quicker than anyone else.

THE SECOND WEEK. Economics and Welfare. Connally and/or the Veep would be excellent on Economics. Reagan, if he would do one of our speeches, would be ideal on Welfare at the National Press Club.

The economic speech would give the voters a choice between the present prosperity and radical change -- radical change that would mean a busted stock market (capital gains tax), a destroyed aerospace industry and an undeclared economic war in the American middle class. The McGovern previous proposals should be regurgitated; his simplistic and naive approach should be laid out. His \$100 billion increase in budget and thousand in taxes the lead. The language in an economic

speech is vital. We could work on this one as well. The Welfare speech should focus on McGovern, of course, as in favor of pouring millions more in; putting millions more onto the rolls.

These items should serve as the key for surrogate speakers as well. However, the letters operation need not be geared in to this -- in our judgment that should be moving the negative, radical material on McGovern into the key states at full blast. We can be much more direct in letters than in rhetoric.

THE THIRD WEEK. The Social Issue. In this week a major address should be written, again preferably with the Veep in the lead-off contrasting the President and McGovern on social issues. Marijuana and drugs. McGovern's endorsement of the Black Caucus and what it contains. Bussing, bussing, bussing. RN versus McGovern on the use of scatter-site housing; amnesty. While the Vice President can high level this -- laying out the deep differences between the two -- others can really start hitting hard on the issue. Also, law and order, the Hoover quote -- etc. This can all be drawn into this question. This is 1970 politics, but the issues are ours this time, and if we can get McGovern talking on them, they are winners. No name-calling -- just point out here the radical record.

THE FOURTH WEEK. Defense. This is one area McGovern has held fast. We could lay out his defense budget at the top level and portray it as an invitation to disaster in Europe, the Mideast, the world, the future. Again, here we have quotes from Jackson and Humphrey to back us up. And two days after the defense speech -- there is released the "ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE MCGOVERN DEFENSE BUDGET" from Laird to Capitol Hill, giving state by state the number of jobs lost by McGovern Defense Budget and aerospace cuts, also the number of bases shut down and exactly which ones and where. All laid out, special mailing to every newspaper in every state in the country. Something he will never catch up with.

Within this week as well, we ought to have some real tough speeches in the aerospace communities, the "Ghost Town" stuff. Also, the same thing they did to us around the military bases in 1970. Included in the military stuff would be McGovern's attack on the Military Industrial Complex whereas what he is talking about is the workers at GE, McDonnell, etc.

If we go this route, we are at the Middle of October -- there is no need now to decide what we will do those last three weeks. This includes our basic inventory of large, overall issues. Other sub-themes include:

A) The Ellsberg connection, tying McGovern to him and his crime -- as soon as the indictment come down, if McGovern insists on charging people, uncharged by the Grand Jury. This would be a separate tough attack; and it should be echoes all over the country.

B) Space, and defense should of course be on-going issues for any speaker in a community near an aerospace plant or military base. Perhaps our Nixon people ought to be doing what they did to us in 1970 -- put out the rumor around every big base in the country that if McGovern is elected this base will shut down, this plant will close.

C) The McGovern Quotes need to be gotten out. We will do another mailing on the Best Twenty-five -- and maybe the time has come to move them and our Attack Book (truncated) to the National Press, or at least the most friendly of the national columnists.

*good theme*  
*Will Connally do it.*  
D) • ~~The Democratic Party and its rescue.~~ This is an ideal Connally Big Speech some time, urging Democrats to take back the party of their fathers, by repudiating the extremists who have seized it in November. In the speech, he could lay out cold all the radical leftism, and extremism of McGovern positions, a real blistering speech on McGovern, the kind that the President and the Vice President cannot make -- but hitting him on the twenty odd issues where he has been so vulnerable. The kind of thing that Human Events would publish -- genuinely hard, which we could then get out into the hands of our entire speakers list from top to bottom to use, as their basic text.

*What about Meacham who will be up here next week.*  
E) We have to start back to getting the Democratic anti-McGovern quotes into the record again -- The Meany, Humphrey, Jackson quotes. Also, the "elitism" and "extremism" themes need to be renewed to the average voter.

F) The attack group should continue -- making sure that these themes are moved week-by-week -- still meeting day-by-day to key off something McGovern has said, to fire at targets of opportunity, to program our people on the media to keep moving all these good materials we have back into the public record again and again. The Hoover quotes and the quotes on the Chicago Police are two examples. Our objective should be to either move McGovern off of his Watergate issue, onto our issues or kill him on our issues; secondly, to continually break any momentum he develops by changing the subject in a week.

FINAL NOTE: Again, the critical point is that just as McGovern ought to make "Nixon" the issue -- so the issue this fall is McGovern. Will

he and the hard-core left-winger radicals who took over the party take over America. That's the bottom line. If the country goes to the polls in November, scared to death of McGovern, thinking him vaguely anti-America and radical and pro the left-wingers and militants, then they will vote against him -- which means for us. What we have done thus far, and fairly well, is not put the President thirty-four points ahead -- but McGovern thirty-four points behind.

The best tribute to what we have done, I think, came from McGovern I believe just after the convention when he said -- "They've got fifteen guys shooting at me from all sides while the President's acting like he's not even in a campaign." If we can continue that, we're golden.

Buchanan

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Handwritten initials "JFC" with a large arrow pointing downwards.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LARRY HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **S**

SUBJECT:

September 6 Memo from  
Haldeman to Colson

Discussion with Dick Howard today indicated that this memorandum has been used as the basic document for the attack meetings. All attempts are aimed at pushing these lines out. Howard is prepared to submit formal reports on these longer memos but asks that we not put such a requirement on him. He says that Bob talks with Colson daily and keeps him informed as to the status of these projects. Also, as is noted on the follow up copy, Bob indicated that he had covered the subject in a meeting.

*Memo please*

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : CHUCK COLSON  
FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN

*Covered on  
the mtg this  
AM.*

It is important to get our surrogates out immediately on an all out attack on McGovern's most extreme positions. There are stories indicating that McGovern during the past week suddenly was changing his line and sounding more and more like a Democratic candidate in the old Democratic tradition. We must not let him get away with this. It is vital to keep him on the defensive on his most vulnerable issues.

The issues that are most difficult for him to finesse are Vietnam and Defense. He cannot move too far off his extreme position here or he will lose his whole Left Wing support. For example, the quote from Fortune with regard to his beliefs that the Communists would not test him because they would not want to lose his friendship would be very effective in carrying out George Meany's line that he just doesn't understand the Communist threat.

It is very important here to see that this is the kind of material that is used only by highly sophisticated people in a way that McGovern will not be able to respond that his loyalty or patriotism is being questioned. Every statement should be prefaced with the idea that he is naive and lacks judgement on appraising the Communist threat. However, when you have such a collection of statements -- i. e. that the Russians rearmed after World War II only because we did, that we throw Thieu out and have a Communist government come into power in South Vietnam, the statement in Fortune, the quote from Newsweek that Kissinger has given to you and which Newsweek didn't use -- these and others provide ammunitions that could be used over the next two months in a devastating way.

Obviously every effort should be made to keep reminding people of his extreme welfare plans and his high budget which would result in an increase in taxes. It is vitally important to keep the ball on his side of the court -- in other words have the debate be about his plans and not about our tax reform plans which may come later on in the campaign.

Finally, in view of the Harris poll results, our positive speakers should hammer courage, integrity, world leader, and of course, the hard line in Vietnam, knowing that we find a very receptive audience to begin with on these points. All speakers should now start taking the line of calling our people to join the New Majority, give the President the chance to finish the job that he has begun at home and abroad.

cc: John Ehrlichman  
Dwight Chapin  
Ron Ziegler

You asked what was wanted and that you would deliver.  
Two areas are outlined below:

1. We need to set up a program so that when McGovern goes to a city, particularly a key city, some committee in that city runs an ad -- full page -- asking McGovern questions that should be answered that day. For example, when he goes to Milwaukee, an ad should run that is headlined "Milwaukeeans want to know, Senator McGovern, what are you going to do about your promise about \$1,000 for everyone?" or, "Senator McGovern, tell Milwaukeeans what your position is on amnesty."

Obviously this can't be done every time McGovern makes an appearance, but it should be done periodically.

2. Also, there is a need to tighten up on the media monitoring system. For example, Shriver was in Dallas last week and when he came into town, he led off by saying that he was a poor boy and couldn't afford the money we are spending to get on television. At that point, the three local Dallas stations leaped to their feet and announced that they would be delighted to have Sargent Shriver on for however long he would like to be on -- free. Shriver, however, did not respond to this. They then offered to go out and cover Shriver wherever he would be, which turned out to be a supermarket. The people on Shriver's staff said they did not know where his next appearance would be, that it would be a last minute appearance. A couple of the stations, nonetheless, found out where he was going that next morning and went there to cover him at the supermarket. In questioning the people at the supermarket, they found out that, first of all, Shriver had set up his visit to that supermarket three days in advance and, secondly, the lady who was going to be there had been given a list of prepared questions to ask Shriver. The television stations, subsequently, ran editorials on the fact that Shriver refused to accept free time.

All of this points out a hole in our media monitoring operation. One of the stations involved is Station KRLD in Dallas and apparently Clark MacGregor is giving them a call.

What the above means is that we need to check out our media monitoring system, particularly in Dallas, Texas.

LH:kb:LH:car

71  
1  
September 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN

Find out who was used as the polling people in California. In other words, who did Teeter hire to do the actual field work?

HRH:pm

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT



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

September 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN  
WILLIAM TIMMONS  
DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

CLARK MacGREGOR *CM*

Please note the attached memo from Shumway to Magruder. It came to my attention this morning for the first time. No action has been taken to implement Shumway's recommendations.

On the basis of what I now know, I am reluctant to either apologize to Scoop Jackson or to do him any big favor. I would like to discuss this matter with each of you; perhaps we could take a few minutes immediately following the President's Cabinet-Leaders meeting Tuesday morning, September 12th.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: Jeb S. Magruder

FROM: DeVan L. Shumway



Karen Hansen, our Washington State press director, called late last night to tip us off to a possible problem area involving Senator Henry Jackson, probably Washington State's most popular and influential political figure.

According to Karen, Tricia Nixon was in Seattle on Friday for a Legacy of Parks dedication ceremony and the White House for some reason apparently made the decision not to invite Senator Jackson to participate. He showed up anyway.

After Tricia made a presentation in which she discussed her Father's inspiration for the Legacy of Parks Program as having come during a walk along San Clemente Beach, Senator Jackson addressed the audience and said that actually the program had been under consideration in the Congress for sometime and that he (Senator Jackson) had been deeply involved in assuring access to public property.

Karen's concern is that Senator Jackson is now angry -- so angry that he may shortly and strongly endorse McGovern, who he has kept pretty much at arms length to date.

If it is possible, I recommend we get Clark MacGregor to make a verbal apology to Senator Jackson for his having been left out of this event and then we should do him a favor shortly -- let him announce a major contract for his state or give him some other kind of appropriate boost.

The event: Legacy of Parks, Fort Lawton (Seattle), Washington  
September 1, 1972

cc: Mr. Abrahams

SEP 5 1972

16  
ACTION MEMO

Review the Soviet commercial again. We should probably drop Tanya. We should check this as to whether it is too soft on the Soviets. We should add the Rickey quote and we should not refer to the President making friends around the world.

HRH:pm

9/14/72

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

JEB S. MAGRUDER

To follow-up on the memoranda and requests of the past month, I have assembled the following:

1. Bud Wilkinson met with Clark MacGregor on August 3 to discuss an increased role in the campaign. Of particular significance will be the contribution that Bud would like to make in working with our youth programs. While meeting with Bud, MacGregor brought Rietz and Ken Smith into the meeting to discuss speaking opportunities. Afterwards, Rietz and Smith met with Wilkinson to discuss his role in more detail and Wilkinson agreed to send them his speaking schedule so that they could work to build media and secondary events.
2. The line that George Wallace is a great patriot because of his strong support of the President on Defense issues has been put into action at two points. First, MacGregor mentioned this point specifically at the Alan Emory luncheon. In addition, this line was given to Van Shumway so that he and Powell Moore could put it into their conversations when they talked with reporters during the routine business of the day.
3. The line that McGovern has always run behind expectation in the polls is also a line that was put into circulation by Shumway and Moore following Magruder's morning meeting to discuss strategy with Marik, Failor, and Abrahams.
4. The PR operation has recently been strengthened with the addition of Tony MacDonald and Laura Walker. In addition to these resources, Al Abrahams has been brought over from the Price Commission to manage the entire Press/PR operation. Obviously, Cliff Miller, who is working full time for the Committee as of August 1, has been working primarily with White House Staff members, particularly on the documentaries.
5. Porter indicates that John Eisenhower is being used as a surrogate and that Pat O'Donnell has the action on improving the use of his time, scheduling him into Defense oriented forums rather than the campaign forums that Porter schedules.
6. Porter also indicates that he and his staff are working extensively with voting bloc directors Wirth, Goldberg, and Armendaris to ensure that surrogates are used whenever possible in ethnic forums.
7. There have not been and there will not be any personal attacks on Senator McGovern since it has been our strategy for the past few weeks to allow the negative news that he has received to play itself rather than to attempt to risk generating sympathy for him.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date 7/28/72

TO:

AS

FROM: L. HIGBY

Please get this  
handled and report  
back to H —

L

ACTION MEMO

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

HRH

7/28/72

**ACTION MEMO**

Somebody, probably Clark MacGregor, must make a strong public statement praising George Wallace as a great patriot, and for his strong stand on defense in contrast to those who are trying to hamstring the President in this area. He should be congratulated for putting the country above party and for the concrete contribution that he's made to the debate, and that while his voice was not heard at the Democratic Convention, it will receive a full hearing at the Republican Convention.

The basic thing is to get across to him the fact that he has been heard.

*7/31 at luncheon*

HRH<sup>pm</sup>

7/26/72

July 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

CHUCK COLSON  
CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

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

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

HRH:pm

July 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

I have a feeling that Cliff Miller and the PR operation at 1701 generally is too involved with trying to figure out the strategy and presentation of the President and not enough involved in figuring out the use and publicizing of our surrogates, young people, etc. This is, of course, where they can really make the big contribution and yet little, if anything, has been seen about most of them outside of MONDAY.

Whatever happened to Don Schollander or some of our other young people. What have our celebrities done in terms of getting on talk shows and what has the media impact been by some of our other surrogates, i. e., Arthur Flemming?

I am not saying that nothings been done here, but am sure more could be and you might want to mention this directly to Magruder.

bcc: Gordon Strachan

HRH:LH:kb

July 25, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:           CHUCK COLSON  
FROM:                       L. HIGBY

John Eisenhower should be used as extensively as possible as a surrogate speaker on national defense policy and foreign policy. He can be very effective. A good speech should be worked out for him and should be speaking on the road as much as his schedule will permit.

Chuck, you, or somebody here should probably be in touch with Mr. Eisenhower initially to see what his current schedule is.

LH:kb

cc: Pat O'Donnell  
Ray Price  
Bart Porter

**ACTION MEMORANDUM**

**John Eisenhower should be used as extensively as possible as a surrogate speaker on national defense policy and foreign policy. He can be very effective.**

**A good speech should be worked out for him and he should be put on the road as much as he is able to do so.**

*G → Resner 7/31*

**HRH  
July 25, 1972**

**HRH:kb**

July 21, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR  
CHARLES COLSON

FROM: L. HIGBY

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

cc: Jeb Magruder  
Dwight Chapin  
Dave Parker  
John Whitaker

LH:kb

**ACTION MEMORANDUM**

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

*G → Reiser 7/31*

**HRH**  
**July 20, 1972**

**HRH:kb**

**ACTION MEMORANDUM**

Whoever controls editorial content on MONDAY should tell them to end their attacks on the press and concentrate on attacking McGovern on his positions. There should be no personal attacks on McGovern and no attacks on press accuracy or press bias from now on.

HRH  
July 20, 1972

HRH:kb

August 28, 1972

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

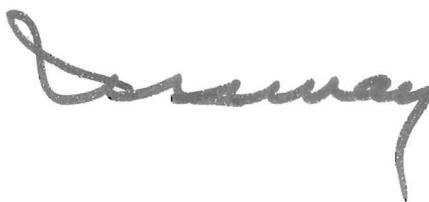
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

It is not necessary to have security arrangements any longer at the campaign headquarters.

All the McGovern people have to do is read the newspapers and learn how our political strategists are going to win the campaign.

The Sunday morning edition (August 27) of the Washington Post gives the story of the telephone-mail campaign to win the ethnic support. Details are given to the press, which are not even known to most of the campaign organization.

May I respectfully suggest that our people wait until after the election to tell how they won it?



MMC:bh  
Enclosure

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

# Nixon Committee Aims Campaign at 'Ethnics'

*"I'm sorry that we're sold out of 'Polish for President Nixon' buttons. But we'll have lots more during the campaign."*

—Nixonette button salesman at a Miami Beach hotel.

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Nixon re-election campaigners, with visions of a new political coalition filling their heads, have aimed their voting identification and turnout programs squarely at vulnerable blocs of urban, blue-collar Democrats.

In an effort to make these several million "peripheral urban ethnics" part of President Nixon's apparently emerging majority, the Nixon campaign committee has prepared an elaborate, multi-layered apparatus designed to produce an interlocking series of mailings, telephone identification and voter turnout programs.

These programs, which will cost \$20 million of the estimated \$40 million earmarked for the re-election campaign, also will reach the traditional middle-income and high-income Republican voter in the suburbs and wealthier sections of the cities.

But their intent is to find and turn out at the polls vast numbers of institutional Democrats—especially among the 12 million Americans of Italian, Polish, Slavic and Hungarian descent—whom the Nixon campaigners believe to be disillusioned with the Democratic nominee.

The Committee to Re-Elect President Nixon has been collecting data on the attitudes and outlook of urban ethnics for more than

# If You're 'Ethnic,' You're a Nix

## GOP, From A1

a year. Administration officials believed then that this was the key to victory in what appeared to be a close fight with Sen. Edmund Muskie; these same officials now regard the ethnic strategy as the cornerstone of the new majority they hope to create.

### What He's Like

"The target voter is ethnic in the East, less ethnic as he goes West," says one high-level administration source. "He is blue-collar and lives around the cities, is Catholic in most places, Eastern Orthodox in some. He makes \$10,000 to \$15,000 a year and probably his wife works. He belongs to a labor union. He's anti-welfare, or at least he thinks that he doesn't get the proper share for his own efforts. He's not a hawk on the war—nobody is anymore—but he doesn't want to bug out, either. Mostly, he feels comfortable with his country."

This voter is viewed as in-

terested in the issues of parochial school aid, busing, welfare, tax reform and crime. And while he is not usually a union official, he tends to rally around his union if it seems threatened.

"At least two-thirds of the delegates attending the Republican convention probably favor right-to-work laws philosophically," says an administration source. "But right-to-work isn't in the platform and for a damn good reason. The President didn't want it there."

What the President wants within the Republican Party, the President gets. And what he is getting in voter identification and turnout is one of the most, systematic and lavishly financed programs ever unleashed upon the American voters.

Here, in the description of administration and campaign officials, is how the plan will work:

In mid-September, voters in 12 states—the major population states except for Massachusetts plus some Re-

publican "sleepers" such as Connecticut—will receive letters urging them to vote for President Nixon.

The letters, — there are 12 basic versions and hundreds of combinations — will be targeted to key issues and specific ethnic concerns.

Concurrently, professional "boiler room" operations in these key states will be used for telephoning voters. The telephone operators will use party voter lists where they are available; otherwise they will use the lists of the Reuben F. Donnelly Co. of Houston, which claims to possess the most extensive compilation of household lists in America and is used by such publications as Reader's Digest.

Telephone responses will be sorted into favorable, undecided and unfavorable. The unfavorables will receive no further contact from the Nixon campaign organization.

The names of the favorables and undecideds will be sent to a regional center and stored there on a computerized list along with the names of favorable responses from the mailings.

Undecided voters will receive a sond mailing. If they have indicated a special concern, such as busing or taxes, the letter will be focused on that issue; otherwise, it will be a general mailing.

Favorable voters will receive a letter in telegram form two or three days before the election reminding them to vote for the President.

"The person getting it thinks it's a telegram, but really it's a letter," explains one administration official.

In addition to the mailings and the telephoning, storefront operations will be established in hundreds of locations and used as the basis for a voter canvass. This canvass, in strategic areas such as Cleveland's Cuyahogo County or Illinois' Cook County, will focus on ethnic Americans.

The list of favorable voters located by this traditional canvassing method also will be fed to the computer center and stored there.

In mid-October the phone centers will be converted into get-out-the vote centers. The list of favorable voters who have been uncovered by canvass, telephone or



mailings will be fed back into the phone centers and the local vote turnout operations for use on election day.

This interlocking matrix of voter identification and turnout will meet Sen. George McGovern's forces on the level where they are supposedly strongest. And the Nixon turnout campaign is finding that money is no obstacle.

Estimates provided by campaign chief Clark MacGregor place the cost of the telephone operation at \$6 million and the cost of the storefronts at \$12 million. Field operation costs will exceed \$2 million, putting the cost of the entire program at something above \$20 million.

The importance of this voter identification and turnout program is seen when the costs of the program are compared to the other campaign. A White House source, who declined to be identified said that \$9 million will be spent on television and radio advertising, \$2.5 million on fundraising efforts and \$2 million on each of four other programs —ballot security, literature, candidate support and surrogate speakers.

This totals \$19.5 million which, when added to the \$20 million or the voter identification-turnout system, is just under the \$40 million which GOP finance director Maurice Stans has estimated as the entire campaign cost.

### Not Only Targets

"Peripheral urban ethnics," as the Nixon campaigners term them, are not the only targets. Other

groups that tra-  
vote Democratic,  
Jews, also are sec-  
of the new Nixon r-

"The Jewish vo-  
high-information  
says one admini-  
strategist. "Even  
Govern has satisfi-  
the issue of Israel  
satisfied with the  
defense budget be-  
concerned about  
we'll have the cap-  
adequately defend-

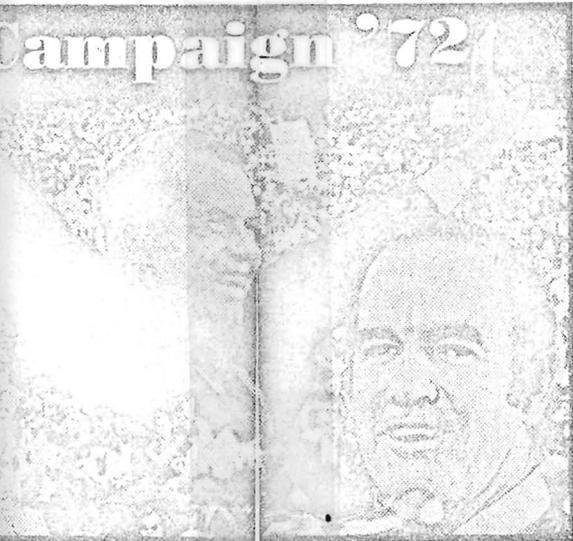
Lower-income J-  
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Republican data s-  
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sues of busing, ta-  
crime. In this res-  
are seen as beha-  
in this election  
ethnic groups.

Almost no polit-  
has been left un-  
the re-election o-  
Subcommittees ai-  
Spanish-speaking,  
young, people far-  
yers, businessmen  
and the elderly  
created and will b-

But the comm-  
spite Vice Presid-  
Agnew's acceptan-  
statement that th-  
"one America",  
spend its voter  
tion and turnout  
in such Democr-  
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pollster Robert J-  
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# u're a Nixon Campaign Target



ngs will be fed back  
the phone centers and  
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place under the jurisdiction of Robert H. Marik at the committee shows clearly that ethnics with incomes substantially under \$10,000 are far less inclined to vote Republican than their better-paid brethren.

One of the most interesting products of the Republican research is the finding that the voting behavior of other urban groups sometimes resembles the behavior of "peripheral urban ethnics", particularly in the West.

"In Los Angeles County (which Hubert Humphrey carried over McGovern in the primary) you have the same kind of people but they came from Oklahoma," says an administration official. "They have the same outlook on life as the second-generation ethnic in Chicago but they're not Polish."

Only the most optimistic campaign officials see the peripheral urban ethnic vote as producing a Republican majority. Rather, they see an emerging Nixon majority that could become the basis of a new political coalition in America.

Phase Two of the new coalition-strategy would then call for a bloc of Democrats in Congress, many of them from the South, to switch parties or to vote with the Republicans organizationally. In return, the Republicans would guarantee defectors their seniority rights.

A hush-hush operation under the leadership of Sen. William Brock of Tennessee and House Minority Leader Gerald Ford of Michigan is exploring the possibilities of this realignment, but no Democratic congressmen have come forth publicly.

"This isn't the sort of thing where one or two guys are going to crawl out on a limb and then let it get sawed off on them," says one Republican congressman. "Either we're going to have a big switch of 20 or 30 guys after election day or we're going to have none at all. Even if we put it together on paper, it's not

going to happen unless the President wins big."

Republican Party officials throughout the country are, on the whole, less bullish than the re-election committee about the possibilities of such a new majority.

A number of state chairmen and other key GOP officials are inclined to be critical of the committee over what they regard as poor field work, uncertain budgeting and inadequate communication. This criticism boiled over the week before the Republican convention when chairmen met in a closed-door session with Party Chairman Bob Dole and sounded off about a variety of complaints.

## Called Overkill

Some are also skeptical about the voter identification-turnout programs, which even one administration official described as "overkill of the first order." A California party worker says sarcastically that the mailings by the committee in that state during the primary were "so efficiently organized that they reached many voters after election day."

Top officials at the committee believe that many of the criticisms are unfair. They concede that field operations were deficient but point out that the committee has been undergoing complete reorganization.

"We've had some communications problems," says Fred Malek, who with Jeb Magruder, shares the deputy director duties under MacGregor. "But we came in seven weeks ago and we've been so busy building we haven't had time to communicate. We're going to improve that. We're going to work closely with the regular Republican organizations because we know they're important."

Many of the regular Republicans nonetheless feel taken-for-granted, a normal enough attitude for vineyard-toilers in a minority party. Part of the problem is that President Nixon appears to be so far ahead.

"It's like Johnson and the Democrats in 1964," says

one veteran Republican field worker. "Nobody feels a real need to cooperate with the other guy to get votes for the President—they only cooperate to get votes for themselves."

## Natural Conflict

Republican Party workers point out, in their own defense, that the Republican Party remains the basis of the Nixon vote and that other Republicans will not necessarily be pulled in with Mr. Nixon.

Their interests naturally conflict with such presidential confidantes as former campaign election chairman John Mitchell, who last week wrote about the presidential election as "the only contest that counts."

The Republican Party and the Committee to Re-Elect Nixon have cooperated, however, to produce a voter identification and turnout book, "Sixty Days to Victory," that professionally describes the canvass, mailing and telephone techniques which will be used this fall on such a massive scale.

"We devised all this when it looked like the President's opponent would be Sen. Muskie, who is Catholic and Polish and at one time was beating us in the polls," says one of the administration officials. "We went after the ethnic American because we thought the election would be close and he would make the difference. Now, if we do it right, he's the basis of the new majority."

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

New York Financial Community  
for President Nixon

Magruder reviewed your suggestions on Bob Ellsworth's New York Financial Community memorandum with Peter Flanigan and then Bob Ellsworth - pursuant to your request. Flanigan concurred with your views. In discussion with Ellsworth, Magruder learned that Bob Ellsworth is most anxious to have you call him personally to ask him to undertake this project. Apparently, there is some 1968 background explaining the request that you talk with Ellsworth personally. A Talking Paper based on the Ellsworth revisions of the memorandum is attached.

GS/jb

To  
H  
no  
call  
JSM  
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handle

PS

TALKING PAPER FOR BOB ELLSWORTH

SUBJECT: New York Financial Community

I have read your original memoranda describing your plans to organize the New York Financial Community for the Re-Election of the President. I understand Jeb Magruder has reviewed my comments as well as Peter Flanigan's with you.

This project offers us an outstanding opportunity to put New York State in the Nixon column. The President joins me in thanking you for taking on this project.

GS  
8/28/72

SUGGESTIONS FOR ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW YORK FINANCIAL  
COMMUNITY COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

- I. Purpose (No change from previous memo.)
- II. Clearances (No change from previous memo.)
- III. Personnel

A. The Chairman of the Committee should be a senior figure on Wall Street. He should be man who is well and favorably known in the New York financial community and respected for his integrity.

From the standpoint of power in the community, I believe the best choice would be the head of one of the large commercial banks, either:

- ~~X~~
- A
- 1) ELLMORE C. PATTERSON, head of Morgan Guaranty Trust, well liked, active and highly esteemed; or
  - 2) WALTER B. WRISTON, head of FNCB, young man (under 50), and definitely pro-Nixon.

Alternatively, the Chairman could be one of the following:

- A
- ~~X~~
- B
- 3) DON REGAN, head of Merrill Lynch, believed to be close to the White House;
  - 4) RALPH SAUL, the highly respected Chairman of the Executive Committee at First Boston, slated to emerge within a year as head of that powerful house; or
  - 5) WILLIAM MORTON, head of American Express.

B. If and when authorized to do so, I will sound out the men on this list (in the order in which they appear) to explain the program, and to insure availability and willingness to serve as Chairman.

NB: At the appropriate point in the "sounding out" process, I should be authorized to indicate that the ultimate request to the individual to serve as Chairman comes from the President, and will be confirmed -- assuming I can report back that the individual is prepared to serve -- by a personal phone call from the President.

12  
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Gate 4 - Hullin used last night

ROBERT ELLSWORTH  
ONE ROCKEFELLER PLAZA  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

August 3, 1972

Mr. Jeb McGruder  
Committee to Re-Elect the  
President  
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20006

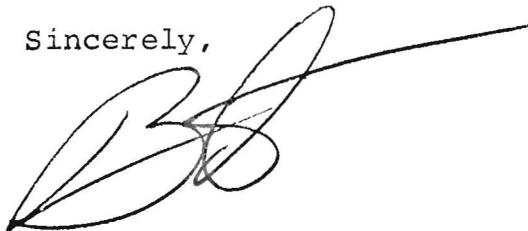
Dear Jeb:

Here's a memo which specifies some  
amendments to my memo of July 26th.

I suggest you use the memo, as amended,  
as the basis for a memorandum from Clark to  
me, which would then give me a point of refer-  
ence on which to proceed.

I look forward to hearing from you  
and/or Clark soon.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'RE', with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Encl.

Bernard J. Lasker

**Vice Chairmen**

Harold H. Helm  
Mrs. Edward F. Hutton  
Gordon W. Reed  
Harry A. Richardson, Jr.  
Mrs. David M. Strassenburgh

Robert H. Abplanalp  
Hoyt Ammidon  
Mrs. W. Vincent Asior  
George F. Baker  
George F. Berlinger  
Elmer H. Bobst  
Howard E. Buhse  
William A. M. Burden  
Harold W. Carhart  
George Champion  
Albert L. Cole  
James W. Davant  
Mrs. Preston Davie  
C. Douglas Dillon  
Frederick L. Ehrman  
Eli Ellis

Mrs. John R. Fell  
William Ward Foshay  
Mrs. James W. Gerard

Joseph A. Gimma  
Albert H. Gordon  
James G. Hellmuth  
George L. Hinman  
Daniel Hofgren  
Mrs. Peter Holzer  
Donald M. Kendall  
Robert Kenmore  
I. Robert Kriendler  
Charles T. Lanigan  
William S. Lasdon  
Gustave L. Levy  
Alfred L. Loomis, Jr.  
Mrs. V. Theodore Low  
Dan W. Lufkin  
Mrs. Edmund C. Lynch  
Mrs. Keith McHugh  
David H. Marx  
Louis Marx, Jr.  
Mrs. Joseph A. Meehan  
Mrs. Arthur C. Merrill  
Mrs. Clifford Michel  
Mrs. Jeremiah Milbank, Jr.  
John A. Mulcahy  
Mrs. Joseph A. Neff  
Emil J. Pattberg, Jr.  
Mrs. Charles S. Payson  
Mrs. Paul E. Peabody  
Stephen M. Peck  
Mrs. James C. Penney  
Mrs. Ogden Phipps  
Donald T. Regan  
David Rockefeller  
Mrs. Nelson A. Rockefeller  
Mrs. Mary G. Roebbing  
Mrs. A. Douglas Russell  
Mrs. Guy G. Rutherford  
David T. Schiff  
Mrs. Evelyn Sharp  
Mrs. H. Virgil Sherrill  
William E. Simon  
Mrs. Lyon Slater  
Donald Stone  
Donald Stott  
Robert L. Stott, Jr.  
Mrs. Albert H. Swanke  
Landon K. Thorne  
Willard A. Wood



August 4, 1972

Dear Clark:

It was fun seeing you this morning. Here is a list of the leaders in finance. I think these people would comprise a fantastic advisory committee.

Please let me know what I can do to help further this or any other idea you might have.

Keep up the great work.

Very best regards,

Mr. Clark MacGregor  
Committee for the Re-election  
of the President  
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C., 20006

Enclosure

*C* Noye Friedman *Chairman*  
United States Trust Co.  
45 Wall Street  
New York, 10004  
425-4500

*B* Gustave L. Levy *Senior partner*  
Goldman Sachs & So.  
55 Broad Street  
New York, 10005  
676-8120

*B+* Howard E. Buhse *Senior partner*  
Hornblower & Weeks, Hemphill Noyes  
8 Hanover Street  
New York, 10004  
DI4-6600

*C* V. Theodore Low *Senior partner*  
Bear, Stearns & Co.  
1 Wall Street  
New York, 10005  
DI4-8500

*B-* George Champion *Former chairman*  
Chase Manhattan Bank  
1 Chase Manhattan Plaza  
New York, 10005 (LL2-3155)

*C* Emil J. Pattberg, Jr. *Chairman*  
First Boston Corporation  
20 Exchange Place  
New York, 10005  
344-1515

*B-* James W. Davant *Senior partner*  
Paine, Webber, Jackson, Curtis  
140 Broadway  
New York, 10005  
437-2121

*C* Donald C. Platten *President -  
become chair  
Jan 1, '73*  
Chemical Bank  
20 Pine Street  
New York, 10015  
770-1234

*B* Frederick L. Ehrman *Chairman*  
Lehman Bros  
1 William Street  
New York, 10004  
269-3700

*A* Donald T. Regan *Chairman*  
Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner &  
70 Pine Street  
New York, 10005  
944-1212

*A* Albert H. Gordon *Chairman*  
Kidder Peabody & Co.  
10 Hanover Square  
New York, 10005  
747-2500

*A-* David Rockefeller *Chairman*  
Chase Manhattan Bank  
1 Chase Manhattan Plaza  
New York, 10005  
552-3255

*A-* Gabriel Hauge *Chairman*  
Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.  
350 Park Avenue  
New York, 10022  
350-3300

*A-* William E. Simon *General partner*  
Salomon Bros.  
1 New York Plaza  
New York, 10004  
747-7000

*C* Harold H. Helm *Former Chairman*  
Chemical Bank  
277 Park Avenue  
New York, 10017  
922-6338

*A* Walter B. Wriston *Chairman*  
First National City Bank  
399 Park Avenue  
New York, 10022  
559-1000

*3-* Bernard J. Lasker *Senior Partner*  
Lasker, Stone & Stern  
20 Broad Street  
New York, 10005  
944-0320

Democrats:

Henry H. Fowler  
Goldman, Sachs & Co.  
55 Broad Street  
New York, 10004  
676-8000

*A senior partner*

James C. Kellogg III  
Spear, Leeds & Kellogg  
111 Broadway  
New York, 10006  
DI9-1000

*Senior partner*

John L. Loeb  
Loeb, Rhoades & Co.  
42 Wall Street  
New York, 10005  
530-4000

*Senior partner*

William R. Salomon  
Salomon Bros.  
1 New York Plaza  
New York, 10004  
747-7000

*Senior partner*

ROBERT ELLSWORTH  
ONE ROCKEFELLER PLAZA  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

July 26, 1972

Mr. Jeb McGruder  
Committee to Re-Elect the President  
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Jeb:

Here's a memo which follows up our conversation last Friday afternoon with regard to the possibility of organizing "Wall Street" for the re-election of the President.

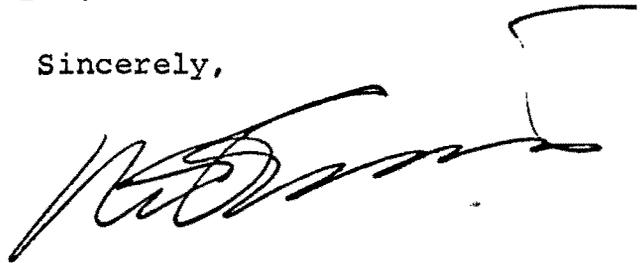
You will note I suggest the Committee be entitled "New York Financial Community for Re-Election of the President." I have listed an alternative with "Wall Street" in the title, but recommend the broader name because so many of us are no longer located anywhere near Wall Street.

My memo is a very preliminary effort; after I have your reaction (and that of Bob), I will re-work it and build in some details with reference to the program, dates, funding, etc.

I await your reaction -- and look forward to working enthusiastically in every way I am able.

Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,



Encl.

# SHASKAN & CO., INC.

67 BROAD STREET  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10004

MEMBERS  
NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE  
AMERICAN STOCK EXCHANGE

TELEPHONE  
344-4950

June 27, 1972

Mr. William Safire  
Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bill:

It was nice talking to you today.

I think it is about time we had an active Wall Street Committee. McGovern's economic policies are starting to get people hot under the collar. His concept of the "American Dream" is to confiscate all income above \$50,000, and let us work until we drop or qualify for glorious Social Security.

There are quite a few youngish chaps down in canyon country who have been pleased and proud of the President, especially since the August 13th wage-price freeze. I am sure they would want to contribute some effort toward the maintenance of the Administration.

Cordially,



Stanley L. Bartels  
Senior Vice President

SLB:tp

SUGGESTIONS FOR ORGANIZATION OF A NEW YORK FINANCIAL  
COMMUNITY COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

(Alternative Name: WALL STREET COMMITTEE TO  
RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT)

I. Purpose

The purpose of a "New York Financial Community Committee to Re-Elect the President" would be to provide an effective system for fast, accurate, and authoritative communication within the New York financial community of the policy achievements of the Nixon administration (as well as the President's goals for his second administration.)

The points to be stressed by this Committee would include the President's principal foreign and domestic policy achievements and programs, interpreted and presented in a manner designed to show a coherent, integral Presidential concept.

The Committee would not, repeat not, be limited to self-serving New York financial community issues (e.g., SEC reforms, etc.) in which Wall Street has an obvious interest.

Neither would it be the purpose of the Committee to raise money for the campaign. The New York financial community has contributed and will contribute heavily to the campaign, but this Committee would expressly abjure all fund-raising activities.

Nor would the purpose of the Committee be to encourage registration or voting. There are too many jurisdictions (Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, etc.) represented in the New York financial community. Registration and get-out-the-vote efforts are better handled within the various jurisdictions.

II. Clearances

It should be noted that a number of prominent figures in the New York financial community are already actively engaged in different ways in the campaign to re-elect the President. I have in mind particularly Gus Levy, Bunny Lasker and Pierre Rinfret. There may be others; the point is that before this new Committee is announced, those I have named and possibly others (I would rely on you to provide the names of others, if any) should be fully informed of the

*Too limited*

*No*

Committee, its purpose, and its personnel. Levy and Lasker, especially, have worked long and hard for the President, put their great names and prestige on the line publicly, invested dozens of hours, and are entitled -- under the rules of politics -- to be fully apprised of this new operation before it attains notoriety.

### III. Personnel

A. I will be glad to work actively with, and as a Member of, the Committee in every way I can.

B. The Chairman of the Committee should be a senior partner in one of the ten or twelve most prestigious underwriting houses. He should be a man who is well and favorably known in the New York financial community and respected for his integrity. He should be entirely familiar with the financial community; the community will respect and have confidence in him. Both Levy and Lasker certainly qualify, but since they are already fully occupied with high level responsibilities in the campaign, we should turn to other names:

Nat Samuels, for example, was the managing partner of Kuhn, Loeb before serving for three years as President Nixon's Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. He is now back at Kuhn, Loeb.

Al Gordon is the head of Kidder, Peabody and is believed to be close to the President.

Ralph Saul is the highly respected Chairman of the Executive Committee at First Boston Corp. and is slated to emerge soon as the head of that powerful house.

Don Regan is the head of Merrill Lynch and is believed to be close to the White House.

Bill Donaldson of Donaldson, Lufkin and Jenrette is a little younger than the others I have mentioned, but is respected and quite influential.

With regard to recruiting the Chairman, I know all of the above named men personally (except for Al Gordon) and would be willing to sound them out if you wish. However, in my opinion, it will take a call from the President to recruit a Chairman.

#### IV. Program

The program of the Committee could consist of pre-planned public statements (prepared in your headquarters) by the Chairman and other members of the Committee, prominent community figures all, on different aspects of the Nixon policies and achievements. These statements would be timed over a period of weeks leading up to Election Day.

In addition, it would be useful for the Committee, during September and October, to meet with Herb Stein, George Shultz, Cap Weingerger, Kissinger, Connally, etc. etc. here in New York. This would enable the Members of the Committee to speak with authority, and by reference to the appropriate officials by name, on current matters of interest in the campaign.

. In this regard, it is important to keep in mind that the New York financial community constitutes to a large degree an "oral and aural" communication system which reaches into almost every nook and cranny of the American capitalist system: industry, charity, education, etc. As we get this fast-thinking, fast-talking, and influential community of men and women swinging with accurate versions of Nixon policies and ideas, it could be one of the most helpful activities of the campaign.

The oral and aural communication system is reinforced, however, by a powerful set of written media which would be fully exploited. There is, first, the minute-by-minute PR News Wire service which feeds the Dow Jones and Reuters tickers. On a daily basis, there is the Wall Street Journal and the Financial Times -- both of which are, to some extent, consumer newspapers -- both of which are closely followed by the financial community. Weekly media include Investment Dealers Digest and the Commercial/Financial Chronicle (as well as the more consumer oriented Barron's, Forbes, Business Week, and The Economist). On a bi-weekly basis, we have the Wall Street Letter, Financial World, and Magazine of Wall Street.

Thus, I believe the Committee could, in fact, provide an effective system for fast, accurate and authoritative communication within the New York financial community during the campaign.

for the Re-election  
of the President

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

July 25, 1972

Dear State Chairman:

Thank you for assuming this most important job.

Your role is a key one in the Campaign to Re-elect the President. You will be instrumental in enlisting thousands of volunteers in your state who can give their time to do the many things necessary to accomplish this most important objective.

The purpose of this letter is to outline some of the things we think are important in setting up your organization. We hope that these suggestions might be helpful in determining the scope of your organization and the time required of you to do this.

The attachments will give you the specific points of contact for your assignment. Go over them carefully.

PURPOSE

The purpose of your committee will be:

1. Develop a vehicle whereby volunteers can be made available to your State Nixon Campaign Director or his delegate. The opposition is mounting a massive effort here. We must surpass them.
2. Maintain a communications network whereby members can be activated, or informed about issues.

METHOD OF ORGANIZATION

The basic design of this organization is one in which no one person will be responsible for more than five people. He will enlist five people and will follow-up to see that each of his five people enlist five other people.

The State Chairman's first job is to pick your five vice chairmen. Each should hopefully represent and be assigned to a different geographical area of the state. Each of them should then pick five people who will agree to volunteer and can then pick five, and so on.

You should follow up on your organizational efforts by keeping an organizational chart of as much of your organization as possible. You, of course, want to have the names and addresses of your five

vice chairmen, the names of the people your five vice chairmen recruit and then the names of the 125 people these 25 people recruit.

If, as Chairman, you are aware of the organization to this point, you should be fairly well assured that an effective job of organizing is being done.

When you run out of people in your professional or interest group, sign up friends and neighbors for your next layer. Nobody would be responsible for more than five people, but using this principle of the 1:5 ratio, you can be responsible for getting thousands of badly needed volunteers for your state. This force is vital to our efforts, as it will be used to register voters, identify friendly voters, get them to the polls, attend rallies and such other jobs as may be identified by the Campaign Chairman.

#### BIOGRAPHY

Please submit the biographical form that was given you by your national regional chairman. The information you send us will be forwarded to the Nixon Campaign Director in your state for use in the press announcement of your appointment.

#### VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT

The enclosed list is to be filled out by you for your five vice chairmen. Please be sure the list is returned to us immediately.

A kit similar to the one you will receive will be mailed to your five vice chairmen the same day we receive their names from you. We expect the vice chairmen will recruit five others (preferably from your vocational/avocational/interest group) and return the five commitment cards to us immediately so we can continue a rapid distribution of materials to the citizen volunteers enlisted.

We ask that you request the names, addresses and phone numbers of the persons recruited by your vice chairmen, so that you can monitor their progress. You should ask your vice chairmen to get similar information from those they sign up so they can forward the information to you. This will enable you to make sure the person you recruited has done his job.

#### COMMUNICATIONS

In addition to recruiting volunteers, it is our hope that your pyramid of committed and available people will act, upon request,

as a communications and action network that can be activated by your national chairman when the need arises. When requested to do so by your national regional chairman, we ask that you contact your vice chairmen. They in turn should pass on your message to their five and instruct them to continue the chain. Through this system, we should be able to get the word out and create in hours a massive response by millions of Americans. The entire success of this important program depends on your action and the response by all the members within your organization. The communications program can be activated either by a call or letter from your national regional chairman or your State Nixon Director, or his delegate.

#### OTHER

You may wish to create and organize "Special Projects" for persons recruited as members of your "Citizen Volunteers" effort. Or the State Nixon Director or his representative may wish to work with you on some in line with your group's special interests or talents. Remember - all activities other than volunteer recruitment and communications as described above must be approved in advance by the State Nixon Director or his representative.

#### MONEY

Your organization is not being asked to raise funds. However, you may wish to take up a collection from your committee members for the purchase of materials. Care should be used not to exceed the \$1,000 limit imposed by the new campaign law. (It is wise to check with your State Finance Chairman, who is familiar with the law, if you decide to raise any money.)

#### GENERAL

The President's re-election depends on people and people-generated activities at all levels.

You are the key to thousands of volunteers who are critically needed in this year's campaign to get the word out to all voters; to generate excitement and vote-producing activity; and to get out the vote on Election Day.

America needs President Nixon.  
President Nixon is depending on you.

Can you think of any more important job this fall?

Sincerely,

Charles E. Shearer, Jr.  
Executive National Director  
Citizens Committee

GROUP \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

STATE CHAIRMAN \_\_\_\_\_

My five (5) vice chairmen are :

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Business Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Home Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Business Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Home Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Business Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Home Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Business Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Home Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Business Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Home Phone \_\_\_\_\_

When you have recruited your five vice chairmen, please mail this form to:

Citizens Volunteers for the  
Re-election of the President  
Room 572, 1701 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20006

You will have problems from time to time. Your contacts will be in the following directions.

1. The regional citizen's chairman who recruited you will relay instructions when the national organization has something that needs to be done.
2. The Nixon campaign organization in your state runs the campaign and will relay instructions to you when the state campaign needs action from you. They will use the volunteers you recruit, and may activate them either by a call to you or by calling them directly. The person in this organization who is the point of contact for all citizen activities is:

Miss Elaine Weeks  
 Maine Committee for the  
 Re-election of the President \*  
 Box 110 - 114 State Street  
 Augusta, Maine 04330  
 (Phone) 207- 622-4611

You should make contact with this person immediately, in case you have not already done so. Agreement must be reached with the state organization before activities other than the aforementioned volunteer program can be initiated, as the responsibility for carrying the state for the President rests with them.

3. A field director has been assigned from the Committee for the Re-election of the President to assist you and the state organization in meshing citizen activities into the campaign organization. Call him if you have problems. The director covering your state is:

Mr. Louis F. Lann \*

<u>Washington Address</u>	<u>Field Address (After Convention)</u>
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Suite 572 Washington, D. C. 20006 (Phone) 202- 333-8590	Room 2633 420 Lexington Avenue New York, New York 10017 (Phone) 212- NU6-3330/31

4. Your first area of contact is, of course, the five people you recruited. The success of the entire volunteer effort depends on your personal motivation of these people.

Good luck, and thanks for all you are doing to help re-elect the President.

Charles E. Shearer, Jr.  
 National Executive Director  
 Citizens Committee for the  
 Re-election of the President

\* Denotes individual state changes

COMMITTEE

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>PHONE NO.</u>
CHAIRMAN		
CO-CHAIRMAN		
CO-CHAIRMAN		
REGIONAL CHAIRMAN		

Washington Citizens' Committee

1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W. 202-333-8590

Alabama	-	Arthur B. Durkee Sterne, Agee & Leach, Inc. Birmingham	Kansas	-	John S. Ranson Ranson & Company, Inc. Wichita
Alaska	-		Kentucky	-	Henning Hilliard J.J.B. Hilliard, W.L. Lyons & Co. Louisville
Arizona	-	Joseph L. Refsnes Rauscher Pierce Securities Corp. Phoenix	Louisiana	-	Herman S. Kohlmeier Kohlmeier & Co. New Orleans
Arkansas	-		Maine	-	George S. Payson H. M. Payson & Co. Portland
Calif.	-	Warren H. Crowell Crowell, Weedon & Co. Los Angeles	Maryland	-	F. Barton Harvey, Jr. Alex. Brown & Sons Baltimore
Colorado	-	Robert M. Kirchner Kirchner, Moore and Company Denver	Mass.	-	John M. Bleakie W. E. Hutton & Co. Boston
Connecticut	-	John H. Brooks Advest Co. Hartford	Michigan	-	H. Alex McDonald, Jr. Manley, Bennett, McDonald & Co. Detroit
Delaware	-	David C. Boyer Laird, Bissell & Meeds, Inc. Wilmington	Minn.	-	Harry C. Piper, Jr. Piper, Jaffray & Hopwood Incorporated Minneapolis
Florida	-	David R. Murphey Pierce, Wulbern, Murphey, Inc. Jacksonville	Miss.	-	
Georgia	-	Alexander Yearley, IV The Robinson-Humphrey Company, Inc. Atlanta	Missouri	-	George Newton Stifel, Nicolaus & Company, Incorporated St. Louis
Hawaii	-		Montana	-	
Idaho	-		Nebraska	-	Herbert H. Davis, Jr. Kirkpatrick, Pettis, Smith, Polian Inc. Omaha
Illinois	-	Wallace D. Johnson Howe, Barnes & Johnson, Inc. Chicago	Nevada	-	
Indiana	-	Kenneth Brown K. J. Brown & Co., Inc. Muncie	New Hampshire	-	
Iowa	-				

New Jersey -		Texas -	Thomas W. Masterson Underwood, Neuhaus & Co., Incorporated Houston
New Mexico -	Arthur P. Quinn Quinn & Co., Inc. Albuquerque	Utah -	
New York -		Vermont -	
North Carolina -	Charles Jonas, Jr. Reynolds Securities Inc. Raleigh	Virginia-	Henry L. Valentine, II Davenport & Co. Richmond
North Dakota -		Washington -	Girton R. Viereck Bache & Co. Incorporated Seattle
Ohio -	John G. Butler Prescott, Merrill, Turben & Co. Cleveland	West Virginia -	
Oklahoma -	Edgar R. Oppenheim Leo Oppenheim & Company, Inc. Oklahoma City	Wisconsin -	
Oregon -	William B. Boone Dean Witter & Co. Incorporated Portland	Wyoming -	
Pennsylvania-	John B. Richter Butcher & Sherrerd Philadelphia		
Rhode Island-			
South Carolina -	Geddings H. Crawford R. S. Dickson, Powell, Kistler & Crawford Columbus		
South Dakota-			
Tennessee -	Harold W. Clark The Cherokee Securities Company Nashville		

Chapman Smith  
Bunley

✓ Mr. Gordon L. Calvert  
Securities Association  
425 13th Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20004

DeVant - Pam  
Weller

Mr. Donald T. Regan  
Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, Inc. (212) 944-1212  
70 Pine Street  
New York, New York 10005

✓ Mr. Robert H. B. Baldwin  
Morgan Stanley & Company (212) 732-2100  
140 Broadway  
New York, New York 10005

Mr. William E. Simon  
Salomon Brothers (212) 747-7866  
One New York Plaza  
New York, New York 10005

Mr. Donald W. Crowell  
Crowell, Weedon & Company (213) 620-1850  
One Wilshire Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California 90017

Mr. Willard S. Boothby, Jr.  
Eastman Dillon, Union Securities & Co., Inc. (212) 770-8000  
One Chase Manhattan Plaza  
New York, New York 10005

✓ Mr. George A. Newton  
Stifel, Nicolaus & Company, Inc. (314) 421-1980  
314 N. Broadway  
St. Louis, Missouri 63102

✓ Mr. John Haire  
Anchor Group of Mutual Funds  
Elizabeth, New Jersey

CONNECTICUT  
Stock Broker Chapman

Red Samuel  
Ralph Saul

Harry Muzzigon  
White Weld  
900 Chapel St  
New Haven, Conn  
203/624-9841

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

JULY 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: BOB REISNER

WHAT KIND OF ACTION WILL BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE FORMATION OF  
THE GROUPS ON

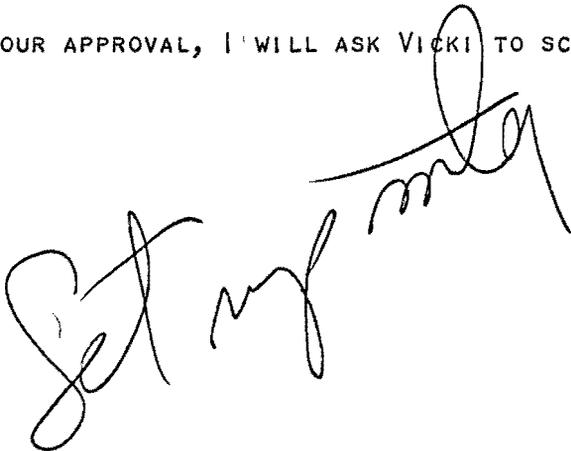
SECURITY INDUSTRY \_\_\_\_\_

INTELLECTUALS \_\_\_\_\_

THERE WOULD SEEM TO BE A CASE FOR GIVING THE ACTION TO SHEARER  
ON EACH OF THESE. ON THE OTHER HAND, YOU MENTIONED TO MALEK  
YOUR INTEREST IN DOING IT YOURSELF.

SINCE SHEARER HAS ALREADY DONE SOME THINGS ON THESE AREAS, I  
WOULD RECOMMEND THAT THE MOST APPROPRIATE ACTION WOULD BE TO  
HAVE SHEARER AND WHATEVER PEOPLE HE WOULD LIKE TO BRING WITH  
HIM COME DOWN SO THAT HE CAN GIVE YOU A BRIEFING ON THE PRO-  
GRESS IN THESE AREAS.

WITH YOUR APPROVAL, I WILL ASK VICKI TO SCHEDULE A MEETING.

A large, handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Bob Reisner, is written over the bottom portion of the typed text. The signature is fluid and somewhat stylized, with a large loop at the beginning.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 13, 1972

*Talking Paper*

*Des*

*Put in MacGregor folder*

Dear John:

This is just to confirm our conversation last Friday. Bob Ellsworth, as you know, wants to help in the campaign and is willing to do so any number of ways. I suggested to Bob that he might take an active role in organizing some of the powers of Wall Street which he said he would be delighted to do if you would like.

I am sending a copy of this letter to MacGregor, because Clark may have some additional assignments that he would like to have Bob handle. Will you let Bob know?

In any event, Bob feels that it would be most useful to have a dinner meeting with you, Howard Stein, Bob and perhaps Felix Rohatyn. He believes Stein can be won over; Rohatyn already has been. Bob feels Stein would need the kind of extra care and attention that a dinner with you would signify. I have told Bob that he would also be hearing from you directly in this regard.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Colson  
Special Counsel to the President

John Mitchell, Esq.  
Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander  
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C.

/hh

cc: Clark MacGregor ✓

*Call Ellsworth  
ask for help to put  
Samuel, my par. Hugh  
Fred, to help set  
up Wall St*

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

New York Financial Community  
for President Nixon

Magruder reviewed your suggestions on Bob Ellsworth's New York Financial Community memorandum with Peter Flanigan and then Bob Ellsworth - pursuant to your request. Flanigan concurred with your views. In discussion with Ellsworth, Magruder learned that Bob Ellsworth is most anxious to have you call him personally to ask him to undertake this project. Apparently, there is some 1968 background explaining the request that you talk with Ellsworth personally. A Talking Paper based on the Ellsworth revisions of the memorandum is attached.

GS/jb

TALKING PAPER FOR BOB ELLSWORTH

SUBJECT: New York Financial Community

I have read your original memoranda describing your plans to organize the New York Financial Community for the Re-Election of the President. I understand Jeb Magruder has reviewed my comments as well as Peter Flanigan's with you.

This project offers us an outstanding opportunity to put New York State in the Nixon column. The President joins me in thanking you for taking on this project.

GS  
8/28/72

SUGGESTIONS FOR ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW YORK FINANCIAL  
COMMUNITY COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

- I. Purpose (No change from previous memo.)
- II. Clearances (No change from previous memo.)
- III. Personnel

A. The Chairman of the Committee should be a senior figure on Wall Street. He should be man who is well and favorably known in the New York financial community and respected for his integrity.

From the standpoint of power in the community, I believe the best choice would be the head of one of the large commercial banks, either:

- ~~A~~
- 1) ELLMORE C. PATTERSON, head of Morgan Guaranty Trust, well liked, active and highly esteemed; or
- A
- 2) WALTER B. WRISTON, head of FNCB, young man (under 50), and definitely pro-Nixon.

Alternatively, the Chairman could be one of the following:

- A
- 3) DON REGAN, head of Merrill Lynch, believed to be close to the White House;
- ~~A~~
- 4) RALPH SAUL, the highly respected Chairman of the Executive Committee at First Boston, slated to emerge within a year as head of that powerful house; or
- B
- 5) WILLIAM MORTON, head of American Express.

B. If and when authorized to do so, I will sound out the men on this list (in the order in which they appear) to explain the program, and to insure availability and willingness to serve as Chairman.

NB: At the appropriate point in the "sounding out" process, I should be authorized to indicate that the ultimate request to the individual to serve as Chairman comes from the President, and will be confirmed -- assuming I can report back that the individual is prepared to serve -- by a personal phone call from the President.

Malek + 10 Regional Dir's

① Tracking System

Develop system to find out how the sys is working

8 Reports Possibl 800 - phone fr/each  
# coded storefront

\$18 - 25,000 -

- Charts in 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor show progress

Go

PO st chmn w/ their storefronts are reporting directly to 1701

Entirely separate fr/Morgan's Dir mail w/ they reports

Spot Checking + review of numbers

Competition bet sto + cnt's

Malek realizes conflict + animosity

bet GOP Chmn + 1701 (w/ef of awoy not specific) so Mac G + Mal

will call periodically + Region Dir's

are to meet w/ GOP st chmn

② Jerry Jones needs reports - names + addresses of Org estab.

G-FU this wk

③ Volunteers - FM prob to reach goal of 1 mil by <sup>concess</sup> ~~comp~~ Kill off on (8/16)? - Volunteer Chmn naming

- John Safer - Full time volunteer - <sup>Sen McCull</sup> ~~comp dir~~ m68

Safer - c figure control + will work  
w/ Stan Anderson who will be on  
Volunteers after Convention.

Canvass Kick Off -

G. copy

memo out - Adpts - Names + Ad's  
20 days to implement.

Reg Dir's to meet w/ St Beley  
Cities must

Pa - will have kick off on Sep 9

FM -  $\rightarrow$  OK but major publicity 9/16

- Generate Volunteers

- Make Canvassing an accept

- Ill simple test - \$5000 prob

G  $\rightarrow$  all keep

Dems for Nixon - prob - no local  
volunteers + canvassers

#### (4) Convention Activities

Flemming - Reels Fight - "not  
involved"

- Report of DO comm - no quotes

- Releg apportion - really big st/  
little st fight

- Possil Floor Fight on Tues  
no P. involve leaf no int.

3:30 today to Com Post + Allen's  
Program

G.

Kay Bulow - BT Sec'y

G - Daily - 8:30

FM - Avoid press but see special w/ FM

DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON  
ADVERTISING PROPOSAL

September 4, 1972

DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON

ADVERTISING PROPOSAL

I. Advertising Objectives

The advertising objective is to persuade traditional Democrats to vote for Richard Nixon in November.

Care should be taken that this objective is not diluted by other, less vital, goals, specifically:

- No attempt will be made to gain converts to the Republican Party -- this is too big a jump to ask most people to take and it would take years to accomplish.
- No attempt will be made to persuade Democrats to vote the Republican line. It's too tough a sale.
- No attempt will be made to broaden the appeal of Democrats for Nixon to include traditional ticket splitters and/or independents. The Committee to Re-elect will be concentrating most of its energies on this group. The Democrats for Nixon should concentrate on Democrats.

II. Creative Strategy

The basic thrust of the advertising message should be:

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

This year, it is necessary that you (the Democrat) put country ahead of party.

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

Advertising copy must be restrained both in condemnation of McGovern and praise of the President. There is no need to resort to excess emotionalism, distortion, or innuendo

to point out the dangers of a McGovern administration.

His positions on defense, welfare, taxes, isolation, and peace terms are in conflict with the thinking of most Democrats and should be the major issues.

### III. Media Strategy

At this point in the campaign, advertising should be concentrated in those states where current polling data shows the President either close to or behind McGovern. As we get further into the campaign, consideration will be given to scheduling some commercials nationally if we find the margin of difference eroding in more states.

Initially, though, it is proposed that local television (prime and fringe evening time) and full page newspaper ads can be scheduled in states as summarized in Section IV.

#### Prime & Fringe Evening Local Time

Use of television will enable us to quickly generate awareness to the broadest cross-section of the population with the greatest possible impact in order to expose the weakness of McGovern's policies.

#### Full Page B/W Newspaper Ads

The addition of newspapers will extend the reach and frequency of the television effort through the use of a secondary supplemental medium and will provide us with the opportunity...

- To more fully develop distinctions between McGovern and the President.
- To feature names of prominent (local if possible) Democrats for Nixon to help generate bandwagon support.
- To provide response coupons to help generate volunteers and contributions.

IV. Media Plan

It is recommended that local spot television start Sept. 18 in the following states and markets, at 12 to 15 spots per week (150 GRP's), plus a full page B&W newspaper ad.

<u>State</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>TV</u>	<u>TV Cost</u>	<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Newspaper cost</u>
Calif.	San Francisco	1wk.	\$16.7	full page	10.5
N.Y.	N.Y.C.	"	32.8	" "	29.3
N.J.	all	"	*	" "	12.0
Pa.	Philadelphia	"	12.6	" "	13.9
Ohio	Cleveland	"	6.6	" "	10.0
Ill.	Chicago	"	16.2	" "	9.7
Mich.	Detroit	"	7.5	" "	9.9
Wisc.	Milwaukee	"	3.5	" "	4.4
	Madison	"	.9	" "	1.0
Mo.	all	"	10.6	" "	12.5
Texas	Houston	"	4.8	" "	5.0
	Corpus Cristi	"	.6	" "	1.0
sub total:			112.8		119.2
Oregon	Portland	"	3.4	" "	3.8
	Eugene	"	1.2	" "	1.1
Wash.	all	"	8.0	" "	10.4
W.Va.	all	"	3.9	" "	5.8
Minn.	Minneapolis	"	5.7	" "	6.9
sub total:			22.2		28.0
Grand total:			135.0		147.2

\* Covered by New York City and Philadelphia

Extending this plan on an alternate week basis would result in the following budget:

	<u>TV</u>	<u>N.P.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Week of Sept 18	\$135.0	\$147.2	\$282.2
" " Oct 2	135.0	147.2	282.2
" " Oct 16	135.0	147.2	282.2
" " Oct 30	135.0	147.2	282.2
	<u>\$540.0</u>	<u>\$588.8</u>	<u>\$1128.8</u>

V. Scheduling

It is recommended that the following ads and commercials be scheduled:

	<u>TV</u>	<u>N.P.</u>
Week of Sept. 18	Credibility	Credibility
" " Oct. 2	Welfare	Welfare
" " Oct. 16	Defense	Defense
" " Oct. 30	To come	To come

VI. Future Plans

This is to be considered an "initial" schedule, to be reviewed on a weekly basis. Additional states and markets can be added as funds permit, and polling indicates the need.

VII. Network Opportunity

Two five minute telecasts are available on 9/19 (Marcus Welby) and 9/21 (Owen Marshall) at \$10,000 each. It is recommended that these be used to initiate a prime-time national appeal by John Connally to establish 1) why Democrats for Nixon; 2) why Mr. Connally is opposed to McGovern; 3) why he is for the President. The telecast would close with an appeal for contributions and volunteers. (While this is not the major purpose of the telecast, it will help broaden participation in Democrats for Nixon).

NEWSPAPER LIST

CALIFORNIA

\$10,500

San Francisco Chronicle/Examiner  
Oakland Tribune  
Napa Register  
Santa Rosa Press Democrat  
San Jose Mercury News

NEW YORK

\$29,300

New York Times  
New York Post  
New York News  
Long Island Press  
Long Island Newsday  
Westchester Rockland Group  
Poughkeepsie Journal  
Middletown Tribune-Herald  
Kingston Freeman

NEW JERSEY

\$12,000

Atlantic City Press  
Camden Courier - Post  
Trenton Times/Times Advertiser  
Woodbury Times  
Trenton Trentonian  
Vineland Times - Journal  
Huckensack Record  
Jersey City Jersey Journal  
Newark Star Ledger  
Morristown/Parrippany Record  
Asbury Park Press  
New Brunswick Home News  
Paterson Clifton Passaic Group  
    Dover Advance  
    Passaic Clifton Herald News

PENNSYLVANIA

\$13,900

Philadelphia Bulletin  
Philadelphia Enquirer  
Boston-Wilson Express  
Reading Eagle-Times  
Levittown-Briston Courier Times  
West Chester Local News  
Strouds East Pocono Record  
Hazleton Standard-Speaker  
Allentown Call-Crhonicle

OHIO \$10,000

Cleveland Press  
Cleveland Plain Dealer  
Ashtabula Star-Beacon  
Lorain-Journal  
Akron Beacon-Journal  
Dover-New Philadelphia Times-Reporter  
Wooster Record  
Canton Deposit  
Mansfield News Journal

ILLINOIS \$9,700

Chicago Tribune  
Chicago Sun-Times  
Chicago Today  
Chicago News

MICHIGAN \$9,900

Detroit News  
Detroit Free Press  
Pontiac Oakland Press  
Royal Oak Tribune

WISCONSIN \$5,400

Milwaukee Journal Sentinel  
Racine Journal-Times Bulleitn  
Sheboygan Press  
Madison Capital Times Wisconsin State Journal

MISSOURI \$12,500

St. Louis Post Dispatch  
St. Louis Globe Democrat  
Kansas City Star Times  
Columbia Tribune  
Jeff. City Capital News/Post Tribune  
Sedalia Capital Democrat  
Joplin Globe  
Kirksville Express and News  
St. Joseph News - Press Gazette  
Springfield News Leader and Press

TEXAS \$6,000

Houston Chronicle  
Houston Post  
Galveston News  
Corpus Christi Times Caller

OREGON

\$4,900

Portland Journal of Commerce  
Salem Oregon Statesman/Cap. Journal  
Albany Democrat Herald  
Eugene Register-Guard  
Rosenburg News Review

WASHINGTON

\$10,400

Seattle Times  
Seattle Post-Intelligencer  
Tacoma News Tribune  
Everett Herald  
Olympia Olympian  
Bremerton Sun  
Spokane Chronicle/Review  
Wenatchee World  
Bellingham Herald  
Yakima Herald-REpublic  
Walla Walla Union-Bulletin

WEST VIRGINIA

\$5,800

Charleston Gazette Mail  
Huntington Herald Dispatch  
Parkersburg News Sentinel  
Logan Banner  
Beckley Post Herald Raleigh Reg.  
Bluefield Telegraph Sunset News-Observer  
Clarksburg Exponent Telegram  
Elkins Inter-Mountain  
Grafton Sentinel  
Wheeling Intelligencer News-Register

MINNESOTA

\$6,900

Minneapolis Star Times  
St. Paul Dispatch  
St. Cloud Newspaper  
Redwing Eagle  
Fairbault News  
New Alma Journal  
Willmar Tribune  
Waseca Journal

44

TALKING PAPER - FRED MALEK

Bob wants a weekly report from now on on what's happening with regard to our military registration. McCain showed the President a report out in the Pacific that indicated that 70% of all military personnel supported the President and 60% of those under 25.

Therefore, he wants this to become a very high priority item with us going full blast on it. He would also like weekly reports for the next four weeks on what we are doing to hypo this effort.

LH:pm

9/6/72

Malek

July 25, 1972

Hru  
~~7/50~~  
8/11

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR  
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

We need to put major concentration of our external campaign effort in the primary states, particularly where McGovern has campaigned heavily. This would particularly include California, Oregon, Florida, Wisconsin, and probably New York. In these states, McGovern's people have made a major effort during the primary. Also, these are the areas where we have been under greatest attack. McGovern's people have a lot of bumper stickers and other high visibility items out. Currently we have nothing. We must correct this within the next couple of weeks. There should be an all-out drive on these items in these states.

cc: Fred Malek  
Jeb Magruder

HRH:LH:kb

8/10 - Noans, just complete loops; exactly what being done

July 25, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

We need to put major concentration of our external campaign effort in the primary states, particularly where McGovern has campaigned heavily. This would particularly include California, Oregon, Florida, Wisconsin, and probably New York. In these states, McGovern's people have made a major effort during the primary. Also, these are the areas where we have been under greatest attack. McGovern's people have a lot of bumper stickers and other high visibility items out. Currently we have nothing. We must correct this within the next couple of weeks. There should be an all-out drive on these items in these states.

cc: Fred Malek  
Jeb Magruder

HRH:LH:kb

POLITICAL ACTION MEMORANDUM

Our youth registration should be strongly limited to the key states to the extent that that's practical, at least in the allocation of money and national resources. California is by a wide margin the first priority because of the much greater effect there.

*Handwritten notes:*  
✓  
If kept  
Orig to  
cover at  
Thursday  
outg  
✓

*Malott  
Pres. no  
answer*

There should be a major concentration of external campaign effort in the primary states, particularly California, Oregon, Florida, Wisconsin, and probably New York. In these states at least, McGovern's people made a major effort during the primary and have a lot of bumper stickers and other high visibility items out. We have nothing. That must be corrected within the next couple of weeks. There should be an all-out drive on this.

We've still got to solve our California problem. There are no Democrats on our committee, we have no Democratic organization, and we apparently still have Nofziger still running the campaign there.

HRH  
July 25, 1972

HRH:kb

TO  
DC

HFU 7/31

AS  
Let's all  
Bud Evans  
surrogate  
L

June 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB BROWN  
HOWARD COHEN  
BUD EVANS  
BARBARA FRANKLIN  
BILL MARUMOTO  
JOHN WIRTH

FROM:

FRED MALEK

SUBJECT:

Developing Surrogate Plans

The purpose of this memo is to outline the requirements for each Voter Bloc's Surrogate plan. I have covered much of this verbally with you in the past, but no group has yet developed an acceptable plan. This crucial area has been one of the real disappointments of the campaign to date. I expect to have draft surrogate plans from each of you by July 7th patterned after and including each of the key Steps covered below.

#### DEVELOPING SURROGATES

The first step is to decide exactly who your surrogates will be. In some cases, of course, we have already done this. The list should include mostly people in the Government but also a group of leaders from outside (e.g., Lee Trevino for Spanish Speaking, Sammy Davis, Jr. and Floyd McKissick for Blacks, and Frank Borman for Veterans). In selecting your Government surrogates, you will obviously pick the top people but should also include lesser officials (e.g., Deputy Assistant Secretary level) who can be important to your constituency and make big news in places like Springfield, Illinois, or Trenton, New Jersey. Outside surrogates should as much as possible be people with national followings or recognition.

In developing surrogates you should pick one or two who will be built into your major stars and command national and major regional coverage. In some cases, the selection of this star is obvious (e.g., Butz for Agriculture) and Flemming for Elderly), but in other cases will require more creativity on your part. The key point, however, is you must develop at least one star for your group to gain any real publicity.

The next step is to gain commitment from the surrogates. The best method is to have the group in to explain the program, its priority, and what is expected of them. We have done this with good effect for Women, Spanish Speaking,

and Blacks. I will participate in any of these meetings as desired. You should also determine those events already committed to by each surrogate and other responsibilities that will preclude them from appearing during certain periods.

SELECT KEY STATES AND MEDIA MARKETS

The surrogates should be scheduled almost exclusively in the key States with the large and essential electoral votes. Some appearances will have to be made in other States, but pressures in this direction should be resisted. As you know, the following States have been identified as key to the President's re-election.

- a. California, Illinois, Texas, Ohio, and New Jersey
- b. New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Michigan, Connecticut, and Washington
- c. Missouri, Wisconsin, Oregon, and West Virginia

In scheduling within these states, you should focus as much as possible on the major media markets. These are:

California  
Los Angeles  
San Francisco  
Sacramento  
Fresno  
San Diego  
Connecticut  
Hartford  
New Haven  
Illinois  
Chicago  
Springfield  
Maryland  
Baltimore  
Annapolis  
Michigan  
Detroit  
Lansing

Missouri  
St. Louis  
Kansas City  
New Jersey  
Newark  
Trenton  
New York  
New York City  
Rochester  
Albany  
Buffalo  
Ohio  
Cincinnati  
Columbus  
Cleveland  
Oregon  
Portland  
Salem

Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia  
Pittsburgh  
Harrisburg  
Texas  
Dallas  
Houston  
Austin  
Washington  
Seattle  
Spokane  
Olympia  
West Virginia  
Charleston  
Wisconsin  
Milwaukee  
Madison

In many cases, of course, it may not be possible for a minor surrogate to get attention in one of these major cities, and you will want to select other cities in the State. Also, you will want to prioritize among these States and media markets, those that have the greatest meaning with your group. For example, we would not want to schedule many Spanish Speaking surrogates in Ohio, or Jewish surrogates in Washington.

### SCHEDULE SURROGATES

At this stage you have a list of surrogates and a prioritized list of media markets where they should appear. The next step is to match the two up. A number of factors should be taken into consideration. These factors include (a) the surrogate's particular constituency and political appeal, (b) the surrogate's native geographical area, (c) the surrogate's existing schedule and other responsibilities, such as a surrogate Congressman's need to attend to his own re-election effort, (d) the surrogate's known limited availability, and (e) the surrogate's office responsibilities.

Generally, there is no reason why each of your Government surrogates cannot cover at least two media markets per week, and you should plan accordingly.

In assigning surrogates to specific cities on specific days, do not be concerned about lack of an actual event at that time. The main thing is that you are locking your surrogates into an out-of-town appearance on a number of specific dates. Obviously, some modifications will be made in this ideal master schedule, and you should allow for plenty of flexibility in lining up specific events.

### DEVELOP EVENTS

As much as possible, you should lean on your surrogates to develop their own events, as close as possible to your master schedule. In many cases the event could be simply a tour of an area where a program from the surrogate's Department or Agency is in operation. You and your staff should be helpful in generating events, but try to get the surrogates to use their resources.

Two other key points should be kept in mind in your scheduling. First, the event itself will be generally secondary to the related coverage. Thus, be sure that each surrogate thoroughly understands the need to arrange talk shows, press conferences, radio tapes, and editorial interviews in each city visited. The surrogate's Department or Agency should make these arrangements, but you should check to make sure it is done.

The second key point is coordination. Bart Porter's office is scheduling major Presidential surrogates, and you will want to coordinate closely with him. This means that you should keep him apprised of your master schedule and any changes in it to avoid overlap of appearances. Also, once you have developed a master schedule we will want to compare it with all other schedules and make modifications to avoid overlap or bunching in any one area. Bart and his staff are also available to assist you in developing your surrogate plans.

\*

\*

\*

In my mind, the surrogate plan should be the most effective public relations tool at your command. It, therefore, deserves priority attention, and I look forward to receiving your draft plans by July 7th.

cc: Alex Armendariz  
Larry Goldberg  
Paul Jones  
Ken Rietz  
Stan Scott  
Dan Todd

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

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

To  
H  
9/12

September 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
THRU: CLARK MacGREGOR  
FROM: FRED MALEK *FMM*  
SUBJECT: Senior Advisors

You asked for a proposal for designating certain individuals to act as Senior Political Advisors for various states and regions.

The concept, simply stated, is to provide the President with a high-level contact in certain key states to give an objective and direct assessment of the campaign. The Advisor will be asked to constantly keep himself informed on political developments in his state and be prepared to brief the President if called upon to do so.

The Regional Directors will talk with these Advisors on a regular basis to keep them informed on developments. Finally, the Senior Advisors will be asked to be available to handle tough political problems that may arise before the election in their state(s). Clark or I will be in contact with the Advisors on these problems.

Following is a listing of the individuals we propose to be Senior Advisors followed by the state or region for which they will be responsible.

Clark MacGregor	Minnesota and Wisconsin
John Mitchell	New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut
Don Rumsfeld	Illinois
John Ehrlichman	Pennsylvania, Michigan, Washington, and Oregon
Bob Haldeman	California
Ray Bliss	Ohio
John Connally	Texas
Bob Dole	Farm States
Chuck Colson	Massachusetts
Cliff White	Mountain States
Rogers Morton	Maryland

All states and areas are not covered, but I feel the main contested areas are included. If you approve of this concept, we will contact each Advisor, brief him on the program, and put him in contact with the appropriate Regional Directors.

DECISION

You should be aware that there are some negatives to this project. First, liaison will be difficult to achieve because of other demands on the Advisors' time. It will also pose added time burdens on Clark, the Regional Directors, and me. Finally, I am not convinced that it will be used by the President or even by us due to the typical need for rapid response on problems that arise. Nevertheless, it is workable and can be implemented if you or the President so desire.

Please indicate your decision below:

- Proceed with project \_\_\_\_\_
- Do not proceed \_\_\_\_\_
- Discuss \_\_\_\_\_
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

McGovern 72  
Shriver

1910 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006 • (202) 333-4900

H

Response → C C to  
2, Hain  
Rent, RT

(E)

September 11, 1972

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to suggest that we explore the possibility of absentee balloting for American prisoners of war held in North Vietnam. The obstacles are considerable, particularly those involving the secrecy of the ballot. But I believe they may not be insurmountable if we approach the other side in a carefully planned joint effort.

As you know, the deadline for the filing of absentee ballot applications is approaching. May we hear from your staff by September 14 or 15? My staff contact is Bob Sherman, who can be reached at 333-4900, extension 215.

Sincerely,



George McGovern

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

August 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : L. HIGBY  
FROM : G. STRACHAN  
SUBJECT : New Political Field Men

At 3:00 p. m. today, Fred Malek, Fred LaRue, Ed Morgan, John Whitaker, Jerry Jones, met at the Doral Hotel. I sat in.

Malek learned of the meeting by accident from Whitaker at 2:20 p. m. Jerry Jones had talked with Whitaker and knew that the plan was to bring Whitaker, Morgan and Harry Dent into the political field operation as "the President's men".

Malek saw MacGregor in my presence at 2:50 p. m. and asked MacGregor if he was going to attend the meeting. MacGregor said "No" and said that while he was aware of the suggestion, Malek should listen only to the proposal which MacGregor didn't think was a particularly good idea.

The meeting opened with Morgan describing the new arrangement. According to Morgan, the President was very concerned about the lack of coordination between the RNC, 1701, and the Democrats for Nixon. According to Morgan, the Post article on the disputes between the RNC and 1701 acted as a catalyst for an Ehrlichman, Haldeman discussion and agreement that Whitaker, Morgan, and Dent were to become "the President's men" to resolve differences and determine effectiveness of programs in the field. They were to divide up the key states and travel around to resolve problems between MacGregor and Dole. They would also move within the states and determine whether the plans were "really working".

Malek responded by saying he was inalterably opposed and that the proposal was totally unacceptable. Strong words followed with Whitaker's humor and jokes about who would throw whom off the penthouse roof adding a note of levity.

Morgan said, "There must be some misunderstanding", picked up the Signal line and tried to reach Ehrlichman. He was unavailable.

According to Whitaker, Ehrlichman asked Morgan and Whitaker over to the Key Biscayne yesterday for a description of the new system. Apparently Dent was already aware of the arrangement and so did not attend.

To elaborate on Malek's opposition, he said to establish Whitaker, Morgan, and Dent as "the President's men" would completely undermine his field man and destroy the work of the last 7 weeks.

Dent arrived and explained that the problem was that the political coordinators are unknown and not "the President's men".

Malek responded that he admitted to having limited political judgement and would seek advice from Dent, Whitaker, and Morgan, but that there cannot be a side-by-side field organization.

The meeting broke up with Morgan and Whitaker hoping to locate Ehrlichman to determine the status of the project.

Malek remains opposed and will fight any intrusion into the field operation tooth and nail.

Malek expressed to me afterwards that if there are any complaints about his handling of the field operation, he would appreciate hearing them directly from Bob, you, or me, rather than through the establishment of a new field operation under Ehrlichman's direction.

GS:pm

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President



Date 9/12/72

TO: *H.R. Holdeman*

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR *CM*

Please Handle



FYI

File

Hold

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

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

September 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

FRED MALEK 

SUBJECT:

Nixon-Griffin Organization

When we were in San Clemente last week, Bob Haldeman questioned me on the wisdom of working jointly with Senator Griffin in Michigan. While he did not ask for a response, I had the attached memo prepared which describes the nature of the Nixon-Griffin efforts and why they are advantageous to us. I thought you and Bob might be interested in reading this memo.

Attachment

D

8/30  
RI

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: MR. FRED MALEK

FROM: DON MOSIMAN 

SUBJECT: Nixon-Griffin Organization

The Michigan Re-election Committee and the Griffin for Senator Committee have combined their efforts solely in the area of core programs, i.e., voter registration, identification and turn-out-the vote. At the time of the formation of our Committee in Michigan there was already in place, at least in the nineteen most populated counties, a basic Griffin organization. Discussions between leadership of that organization and our own resulted in formation of a joint core program effort. We were able to instantly expand the number of field people as well as volunteers available to execute the core programs and thus were able to cover a much greater area of Michigan than had initially been thought by either organization.

As you know, the Michigan GOP is not a strong statewide organization but does have some strength in a few of the counties. It was thought that by combining our forces, the Griffin forces and the party forces in what is called in Michigan a "Three for All" program, a maximum execution of our core programs could be accomplished.

The Griffin people were able at an early date to supply an accurate precinct study in each of the 19 most populous counties and we were thus able to concentrate our efforts in these areas at an early date. In addition they have agreed to pay \$21,000 to our Committee to share in the costs of producing computer printouts for Election Day use as well as to allow us to expand our telephone operation.

The Michigan re-election people estimate that fully 1/3rd of our canvassing has been done by the people initially associated with the Griffin effort and now assure me that 75% of the state can be canvassed because of their help as well as the regular party's help. Obviously the fact that we will be able to have additional phones will help us reach this canvassing goal.

What this has cost us is the time it takes to ask the Griffin question in addition to the Nixon question. The first wave of polls showed

10/1/72

Griffin would do considerably better than Nixon in Michigan. That poll, however, preceded the Democratic primary which nominated Kelly as Griffin's opposition. Since that time the President has passed Griffin although Griffin apparently is improving. In any event conversations that I have had with our polling group would tend to establish that neither candidate is particularly helped or hurt by a joint canvassing effort and that again the only real loss is the canvasser's time in asking two questions instead of one. But this is more than offset by the additional areas we are able to cover because of the joint effort.

January 20 - The Out News  
Nixon campaign chief optimistic

# GOP starts drive to win Michigan

By ROBERT L. PISOR  
Newspaper Writer

Can the Republicans carry Michigan for President Nixon?  
The President's campaign manager thinks so. So do Senator Robert P. Griffin and State GOP Chairman William McLaughlin.

In fact, Republicans have only rarely approached a presidential election with the kind of eagerness they now feel. "I feel as good about this one as I did in 1968," McLaughlin said yesterday. He referred to the year the state GOP swept five new congressional seats, won control of the State Legislature and bounced Gov. Romney to his biggest victory.

Part of the Republicans' buoyancy comes from President Nixon's decision to make Michigan a target state for 1972.

**THE PRESIDENT** already has poured considerable campaign money and talent into the state — and there's more to come.

Yesterday, the President's campaign manager, former Congressman Chuck MacGregor, of Minnesota, flew to Detroit to give a pep talk to local election volunteers.

"Michigan is traditionally a battleground state, and it is one of the states the President is giving special emphasis to this year," MacGregor told a news conference in downtown Detroit.

"Michigan is almost at the top of the list of key states," he said.

MacGregor expressed confidence the state would give Mr. Nixon a warm — and winning — reception in November because the GOP controls what he called the four elements of victory: "candidate, issues, finances and volunteers."

There must be a partisan Democrat or two who would refuse MacGregor's claim on elements 1 and 2 but there can be no argument about the money and organization now working in Michigan for Mr. Nixon's reelection.

"Our organization is moving very, very smoothly," State GOP Chairman McLaughlin said.

"Right now, we are 100 times — 100 times — more advanced

than we were on election day in 1968 (when Mr. Nixon lost Michigan by 221,000 votes to Hubert H. Humphrey)."

The Michigan Committee to Reelect the President has taken over the 12th floor of the Industrial Building at Grand River and Washington Boulevards. The committee has been working since April.

**AS A MEASURE** of comparison, McLaughlin recalled that the Nixon campaign did not even have its own office in 1968 until late October.

The Nixon committee has 17 salaried staff members, including 25 part-time field organizers already at work. The goal is 25 paid workers by Labor Day.

As another comparison, the Michigan Republican Party makes do with one chairman, one deputy, two secretaries and a switchboard operator, McLaughlin noted.

The committee has been humming with activity since mid-April under its executive director, Doyle Dodge, who left a job as assistant to the president of Teledyne Continental Motors to work for Mr. Nixon.

It boasts some of its operations on regular, detailed public opinion polls provided by Market Opinion Research, which is Mr. Nixon's official pollster this year.

**COMMITTEES**, other campaigning, special subcommittees to work with ethnic minorities, farm families, businessmen, doctors and veterans), expensive campaign literature and lapel buttons are all part of the committee's activities.

And best of all, so far it hasn't cost Michigan Republicans a dime.

According to Montgomery Shepard, of St. Joseph, chairman of the Nixon committee's finance operations in Michigan, all committee work to date has been funded with "pre-April 7 money."

This "dated" money was donated to the Nixon campaign before a new law went into effect requiring candidates to name their contributors. Estimates of these funds run upward of \$10 million, MacGregor made it clear yesterday he would

not advise the President to reveal the donor of this early money.

Here in Michigan, the funds are being spent on the Republican "most ambitious political project — a complete voter-by-voter canvass of every household in the state."

**THE COMMITTEES'** volunteers, recruited in special drives at shopping centers, already have visited thousands of homes. In a rare refinement, the GOP is using computer sheets which provide volunteer canvassers with lists of voters in order of their house numbers on one side of the street. This way a pair of volunteers can move easily down a street and greet homeowners by name.

One staff worker in the Detroit office yesterday reported that she and 23 volunteers, all of whom she recruited, "did" some 800 homes in Northville's third precinct last Saturday.

"The canvass asks voters whether they like, dislike or are undecided about Mr. Nixon — and then repeat the question to Senator Griffin."

Eighty-two percent of the voters in that precinct were reached Saturday, and most of the doors knocked open was that of Chairman McLaughlin.

"It's the first time in my life I've been canvassed," he said, using the event to illustrate how broad the canvassing project will be.

Dodge, and Committee Chairman John Gibbs are now talking about canvassing the entire state.

"The people are going crazy up in the Upper Peninsula," Dodge said. "We have an awful lot of volunteers signing up there and we expect some of those counties to be completely done next week."

Not since 1968 when the late Dwight David Eisenhower swept the state have Republicans been so optimistic about their chances for a presidential victory.

Even their cautionary words — "It could be dog-eat-dog right down to the wire," says McLaughlin — lack the customary wrinkled brow and tone of concern.

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

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

September 8, 1972

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CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

FRED MALEK *FM*

SUBJECT:

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August 30, 1972

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What this has cost us is the time it takes to ask the Griffin question in addition to the Nixon question. The first wave of polls showed

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

~~GORDON STELICHAN~~ H

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT

SUBJECT:

Update on September 12 Primaries

Arizona

4th District: State Senator John Conlan (R) will be facing Democrat Jack Brown.

Florida

5th District (New): Democrat Bill Gunter will face the winner of the runoff between Charles Rainey and Jack Insco for the Republican nomination.

10th District (New): Representative L. A. Bafalis will challenge the winner of the Democrat runoff between Bruce Scott and John Darlson.

13th District (New): Both the Republicans and Democrats have runoff here. The Republican one is between Paul Bethel and Ralph Malone and the Democrat between Lee Weissenborn and William Leham.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HARRY S. DENT 

SUBJECT: Evaluation of Yesterday's  
Primaries

Tuesday's primaries across the country produced three significant upsets, all of which may prove to be in our favor.

Governor Peterson was defeated by Meldrin Thomson. Our people knew Peterson's position had weakened for the general election because of the tax backlash but they didn't realize it was enough for him to be defeated in our own primary. Thomson is a conservative and ran against Peterson last time on the AIP ticket. It is expected that with the good Presidential pull at the top and no tax backlash we stand a better chance of holding the seat. Wesley Powell won the Senate nomination. Locally they believe he has a better chance to upset McIntyre because of his pull with conservative Democrats and the strong Presidential race.

Congressman Wayne Aspinall proved to be weaker than expected, so now our campaign people believe we have a better shot at this seat with a good candidate in James Johnson. Thus the race has been upgraded.

In South Carolina we hope to have Ed Young, a first-rate candidate and South Carolina Farmer of the Year, to replace a ghost candidate for the McMillan congressional seat. This would give us an excellent chance for a pickup in view of McMillan's unexpected defeat. McMillan

made a deal which backfired, and finally all of the blacks ganged up on him after supporting him previously.

In Utah two moderate-type Republicans beat back challenges from two Birchers for the two congressional nominations. Congressman Lloyd had been very worried.

In Wisconsin, the victory of State Senator Myron Lotto should enable us to hold onto Johnny Byrnes' seat.

With Governor Davis' friend Luther Hackett as the nominee, we believe we should hold the Vermont governorship.

Our Nevada people are encouraged that we may pick up the one Nevada congressional seat since a very liberal Democrat upset Baring last week.

Lowenstein has won a ruling for a re-run against Rooney in New York. He might be able to worm his way back into the House.

Overall, incumbents continue to have more difficulties than expected.

September 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHARLES W. COLSON  
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

In regard to points which should be covered at the Joint Leadership/Cabinet meeting Tuesday concerning the surrogate planning attack operation, I offer the following suggestions:

PLANNING

1. We have expanded our program as a result of the polls and are now concentrating on some of the smaller states -- Rocky Mountain States, Southern States, et cetera -- rather than just hitting our top ten key States. This is not a change in priority because the major emphasis will still stay on the ten key States. However, surrogates may be asked from time to time to hit smaller States.
2. Most surrogates have indicated days which they are available for strict campaigning. If possible, we could use even more days from each of the surrogates and they should alert Bart Porter at 1701 if they have extra days to be available.
3. We find weaknesses in the fact that the surrogates are not scheduling enough media-oriented type events when they are traveling on "official business". In other words, if a Cabinet Officer or Sub Cabinet Officer goes into a region which is of importance to us -- and yet it is not a campaign stop -- they still should be scheduling television, radio, newspaper-type events.
4. As part of our sandwich plan and overall strategy vis-a-vis McGovern and Shriver, we may be asking the key surrogates to make last minute changes in their itineraries. This would obviously be done so as to cause the minimum amount of disruption among the local people where the surrogate had been previously programmed.

However, if we look at the overall national impact, it may be best to make last minute schedule changes. Obviously, these will be kept to a minimum but when they do happen we expect compliance.

5. We are going to great lengths to coordinate all schedules, including the President's, the Vice President's, Members of the First Family, the Cabinet, and all other surrogates so as to avoid duplication and to get maximum impact. Any surrogate who is setting up independent schedules or events should continue to program closely with 1701 so that we get the maximum impact every day from all of our surrogates. We must avoid duplication.

### ATTACK

1. Surrogates can expect to receive phone calls from one of three people - Al Abrams, Des Barker or Ken Clawson - which will provide the most updated attack information. These calls would come when you are out on the road. For example, let's say that Secretary Butz is in Chicago and the attack group meets and comes up with a line which is to be hit that particular day regarding McGovern's attack on our grain deal with Russia. Butz will receive a phone call and that line should be worked into any press conferences or speeches which he gives that day.
2. We find that the surrogates are not receiving the information supplied by 1701. We should see that all information is delivered by messenger and that it is given to a person on the surrogate's staff who will insure that it gets into the hands of the surrogate either personally or by phone.
3. Surrogates will be told when they are sandwiching around a McGovern or Shriver stop. When this is the case, special instructions will be issued so as to either ask questions prior to one of our opposition candidates hitting town or perhaps follow-up questions. We want to be rough on them and the idea of sandwiching them is to leave put questions into the press a day ahead of their visit or to make some charges as soon as they leave. It is not a pussy-footing type operation. It takes guts.

- 3.
4. 1701 is preparing issue information by regions of the various States. This will tell us what particular issues are important in what portion of the State. These issues should be stressed in your remarks.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1972  
5:00 p. m.



MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN DAMGARD

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

John Mitchell called today to ask whether or not the Vice President was going to be doing the Conservative Party Convention on October 13. I told him that you had mentioned it this morning and that the Vice President was thinking seriously about it, but that to my knowledge no final decision had been made.

Mr. Mitchell pointed out that the New York Liberal Party is going to hold their convention on October 4 and that he feels the Conservative convention would be a good thing for the Vice President to attend on the 13th.

He asked that we get this cleared with Bixby and Rockefeller prior to committing.

Mr. Mitchell went on to state that if there is any problem with Bixby or Rockefeller or with the event, that he would like to be informed and that I should keep him posted.

Will you please check Rockefeller and Bixby to see if they are favorably disposed to the Vice President's making this appearance and keep me posted.

Thank you.

cc: David Parker  
Art Sohmer  
~~H. R. Haldeman~~

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: ~~GORDON STRACHAN~~ H  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT HSD  
SUBJECT: Primary Update

Wisconsin

In the initial primary report this morning I stated that Harold Froehlich would be the Republican running against Reverend Robert J. Cornell of the Eighth District. The Republican will be State Senator Myron Lotto, rather than Froehlich. This is the district of retiring Representative John W. Byrnes (R).

Utah

Representative Sherman P. Lloyd and Robert Wolthuis, both described as "moderate" Republicans, defeated John Birchers in the two Utah Congressional districts. The Birchers had campaigned against the President's record. Wolthuis, in the First District, will face incumbent Gunn McKay (D). Lloyd will be opposed by former Teddy Kennedy aide Wayne Owens, in the Second District.

The Republican Gubernatorial candidate in Utah, already selected, will be Nicholas Strike, a Salt Lake City businessman of Greek extraction, and a non-Mormon.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: ~~GORDON S. GILBERT~~ H  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT  
SUBJECT: Update on September 12 Primaries

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

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SUBJECT:

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Primaries

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Overall, incumbents continue to have more difficulties than expected.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/13

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

In light of the comment and criticism of the campaign materials distribution system, Fred Malek and Peter Dailey, who are primarily responsible for the success of the project, submitted this report by Lewis Dale.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK  
 FROM: LEWIS DALE   
 SUBJECT: Campaign Promotional Materials

Attachment (1) includes the recommended supplements to the states' promotional materials budgets. The supplements do not include funds for the "The Record" \* canvassing brochures, 5,000,000 of which are now being shipped to the states. An additional 10,000,000 of the new attack brochures \* are being printed for shipment later this month. The overall materials budget breaks down as follows;

*\* attached*

298,883 - Materials shipped 4/7-7/31  
 150,000 - Freight: 8/1-11/7  
 100,000 - Donnelly Distribution System  
 950,000 - States' allocations 8/1-11/7  
 275,000 - Recommended State supplements  
 225,000 - 15 million canvassing brochures (includes shipping and overhead)

Total: 1,998,883

As of August 31, the states had ordered \$422,986 in materials from the distribution centers and through the CRP Political Division. Attachment (2) shows the materials ordered verbally by this Headquarters and received by the states between July 31 and August 28. The attachment does not reflect the materials ordered by state materials chairmen from the four distribution centers and shipped from those points. For example, the twenty orders for Missouri shipped on August 31 from the Oak Brook, Illinois, distribution center are not reflected in these totals. Virtually all orders are now being processed through the distribution system.

Back orders represent a portion of the funds considered expended. In some orders, backorders have run as high as 50%. However, this is not true in the majority of cases, and those items now backordered should be shipped within ten days. In addition, several states have submitted orders for almost all of their present budgets. Because of the numerous complaints reaching this Headquarters directly from these states rather than through the state materials chairmen, I am calling these situations to the attention of the appropriate Regional Directors.

Attachments (3) and (4) provide recommended allocations of budget supplements for the National Headquarters and the CRP Headquarters. In the case of the National Headquarters, I recommend approval of this allocation because of the flood of materials requests inundating me and others from these groups. The three CRP divisions recommended for fixed allotments are capable of distribution to already well-organized groups around the country. We should remove their dependence on state materials chairmen as much as possible within budget limitations. This decentralization of ordering authority and budget provisions for these selected groups should alleviate some of the pressures long evident in the system.

As you know, an inordinate level of criticism has been directed at the campaign materials situation. Some of the complaints have been justified. But given the parameters of the system, particularly the budget, it is now operating well.

Much of the criticism flows from persons who are unaware that each state has a materials chairman who has sole authority for ordering and distributing materials in his state. The chairman, in turn, distributes catalogues and order forms only to those persons whom he wants ordering materials in his state through him. I offered 500 additional catalogues and order forms to the Pennsylvania Chairman recently. He turned them down and said his state was in good shape materially; yet I get numerous phone calls from county level officials lamenting the lack of materials in Pennsylvania. I refer them to the state materials chairman and inform them that he sets priorities in his state.

Several Ohio CRP officials claimed recently that a large verbal order submitted by us in early August had not been received. I personally checked with seven of the receivers, selected at random from among the thirty different shipping destinations in the state. All had received their shipments, but no one in Ohio had bothered to check.

I cite these examples only to emphasize that, from my experience in the past three weeks, at least 75% of the criticism is based on misinformation, a lack of knowledge of the system, and a failure to appreciate its necessity and limitations. We are working on the remaining 25%.

State	Budget Expended By July 31	Quota: August 1/ Elect.	Budget Expended By Aug. 31	Recmd, Supplem, Sept. 21	Total	Electoral Vote	\$/Elect. Vote
Alabama	147	4,000	2,871	3,000	7,147	9	794
Alaska	588	4,500	1,308		5,088	3	1696
Arizona	2,866	3,000	1,067	1,000	6,866	6	1144
Arkansas	301	3,500	3,199	2,000	5,801	6	967
California	33,040	120,000	32,341	25,000	178,040	45	3956
Colorado	3,586	5,500	2,904	1,000	10,086	7	1441
Connecticut	14,907	20,000	8,355	1,000	35,907	8	4488
Delaware	2,428	4,000	1,670		6,428	3	2143
Florida	2,435	20,000	16,247	10,000	32,435	17	1908
Georgia	167	10,000	5,511	3,000	13,167	12	1097
Hawaii	294	4,000	2,188	1,000	5,294	4	1324
Idaho	2,113	3,500	1,860	1,000	6,613	4	1653
Illinois	29,741	60,000	39,791	25,000	114,741	13	2562
Indiana	11,310	17,000	11,778	5,000	33,310	26	4413
Iowa	7,425	8,000	2,353	2,000	17,425	8	2178
Kansas	673	15,000	1,689	2,500	18,173	7	2596
Kentucky	366	14,000	12,065	5,000	19,366	9	2152
Louisiana	953	3,500	2,430	1,000	5,453	10	545
Maine	1,338	4,000	1,979	1,000	6,338	4	1585
Maryland	17,282	20,000	10,478	3,000	40,282	10	4028
Massachusetts	757	10,000	8,348	6,000	16,757	14	1483
Michigan	6,229	65,000	12,528	20,000	91,229	21	4344
Minnesota	2,588	9,000	9,000	5,000	16,588	10	1659
Mississippi	127	4,000	2,845	1,000	5,127	7	732
Missouri	4,505	15,000	8,538	3,000	22,505	12	1875
Montana	5,692	2,500	652	500	8,692	4	2173
Nebraska	1,870	11,000	4,356		12,870	5	2574
Nevada	2,991	4,000	1,907	500	7,491	3	2497
New Hampshire	1,324	3,000	2,183	1,000	5,324	4	1331
New Jersey	5,554	50,000	10,505	5,000	60,554	17	3562
New Mexico	1,047	6,000	3,544	1,000	8,047	4	2012
New York	8,019	130,000	48,321	37,000	175,019	41	4269
North Carolina	2,345	15,000	954	2,500	19,845	13	1527
North Dakota	2,408	5,000	4,489	1,000	8,408	3	2803
Ohio	43,042	40,000	36,128	20,000	103,042	25	4122

Oklahoma	3,098	7,000	3,419	1,500	11,598	8	1450
Oregon	5,136	6,000	5,284	3,000	14,136	6	2356
Pennsylvania	22,567	55,000	55,000	30,000	107,567	27	3984
Rhode Island	576	3,000	1,215	2,000	5,576	4	1394
South Carolina	2,850	3,000	2,821	1,000	6,850	8	856
South Dakota	3,986	1,500	1,124	1,500	6,986	4	1747
Tennessee	3,471	11,500	4,094	1,000	15,971	10	1597
Texas	2,580	60,000	5,956	10,000	72,580	26	2792
Utah	1,437	5,000	1,955	1,000	7,437	4	1859
Vermont	1,164	5,000	2,200	1,000	7,164	3	2388
Virginia	1,917	13,000	10,740	4,000	18,917	12	1576
Washington	1,025	18,000	3,476		19,025	9	2114
West Virginia	127	10,000	318		10,127	6	1688
Wisconsin	8,054	12,000	6,325	2,000	22,054	11	2005
Wyoming	242	4,000	2,472	1,000	5,242	3	1747
District of Columbia	195	5,000	205	10,000	15,195		
Washington HDq.	20,000	18,000		12,000	50,000		
Totals	298,883	950,000	422,986	275,000	1,525,883		

\* Does not include amounts expended prior to August 1.

AMOUNT CAMPAIGN MATERIALS  
DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, 7/31/72 - 8/28/72

<u>STATE</u>	<u>*VERBAL ORDERS ONLY</u>					<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>
	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>			
Alabama	10,000	10,000	0				
Alaska	2,000	5,000	2,000				
Arizona	10,000	10,000	2,000				
Arkansas	15,000	20,000	5,000		(5,000-3P, 250-3T)	5,250	
California	210,000	196,000	0	1250		5100	
Colorado	5,000	5,000	5,000				
Connecticut	50,000	50,000	50,000				
Delaware	1,000	1,000	1,000				
D.C.	0	0	0				
Florida	36,500	36,500	24,000				
Georgia	10,000	10,000	5,000				
Hawaii	10,000	10,000	1,000				
Idaho	5,000	10,000	3,000				
Illinois	242,000	192,000	154,500				
Indiana	20,000	20,000	20,000				
Iowa	25,000	15,000	15,000				
Kansas	25,000	25,000	12,000				

THESE FIGURES DO NOT INCLUDE ANY MATERIALS ORDERED BY THE STATES' MATERIALS CHAIRMEN  
THROUGH THE FOUR DISTRIBUTION CENTERS.

AMOUNT CAMPAIGN MATERIALS  
DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, 7/31/72 - 8/28/72

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>
Kentucky	20,000	20,000	10,000			
Louisiana	10,000	10,000	5,000			
Maine	15,000	15,000	15,000			
Maryland	90,000	90,000	40,000			7,500-7F
Massachusetts	21,000	35,000	0	1,900	50-4A	
Michigan	70,000	70,000	45,000			
Minnesota	166,000	25,000	15,000	750	5,000-4F	
Mississippi	10,000	10,000	5,000			
Missouri	21,000	21,500	15,000			
Montana	2,000	5,000	2,000			
Nebraska	100,000	50,000	22,000			
Nevada	4,000	6,000	7,400			
New Hampshire	8,000	8,000	8,000			
New Jersey	30,000	30,000	10,000			
New Mexico	15,000	30,000	12,000			
New York	260,000	210,000	230,000	1,104	10,000-4E	
North Carolina	12,000	12,000	6,000			

AMOUNT CAMPAIGN MATERIALS  
DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, 7/31/72 - 8/28/72

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>
North Dakota	0	0	0			
Ohio	201,900	201,900	90,000		250-4D	
Oklahoma	41,000	20,000	0	100	(1,000-3R, 3,000-4E) 4,000	
Oregon	52,500	50,000	6,500	800		
Pennsylvania	375,000	175,000	130,000	50,000	(50,000-3P, 30,000-4E) 80,000	
Rhode Island	10,000	9,500	5,000	24	(250-7F) 2,506	
South Carolina	10,000	10,000	5,000			
South Dakota	15,000	15,000	17,000			
Tennessee	5,000	0	2,000			
Texas	21,000	21,500	14,000			
Utah	10,000	5,000	0			
Vermont	10,000	10,000	5,000			
Virginia	20,000	20,000	0			
Washington	30,000	30,000	15,000			
West Virginia	4,000	4,000	4,000			
Wisconsin	25,000	35,000	15,000	300	25,000-4E	
Wyoming	10,000	5,000	2,000			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,349,900</b>	<b>1,866,900</b>	<b>1,057,400</b>	<b>54,978</b>	<b>109,556</b>	<b>7500</b>

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS CAMPAIGN MATERIALS BUDGET

Supplementary allocation of \$10,000 to be obligated as follows:

1. White House	1000
2. GOP House	1500
3. GOP Senate	1000
4.* CRP	2000
5. RNC	1000
6. Advance Operation	2500
7. Vice President's Office	500
8. Other Requests	500
	<hr/>
	10000

Andy Lawrence will be the sole authorized signee for the above groups and is responsible for the distribution of catalogues and order forms to selected individuals from these groups who apply to him for materials and for the transmittal of order forms to the proper distribution center.

\* Does not include Young Voters, Volunteers and Women's Activities or Finance.

CRP HEADQUARTERS CAMPAIGN MATERIALS BUDGET

Present Allocation	18,000
Recommended Supplement	<u>12,000</u>
	30,000

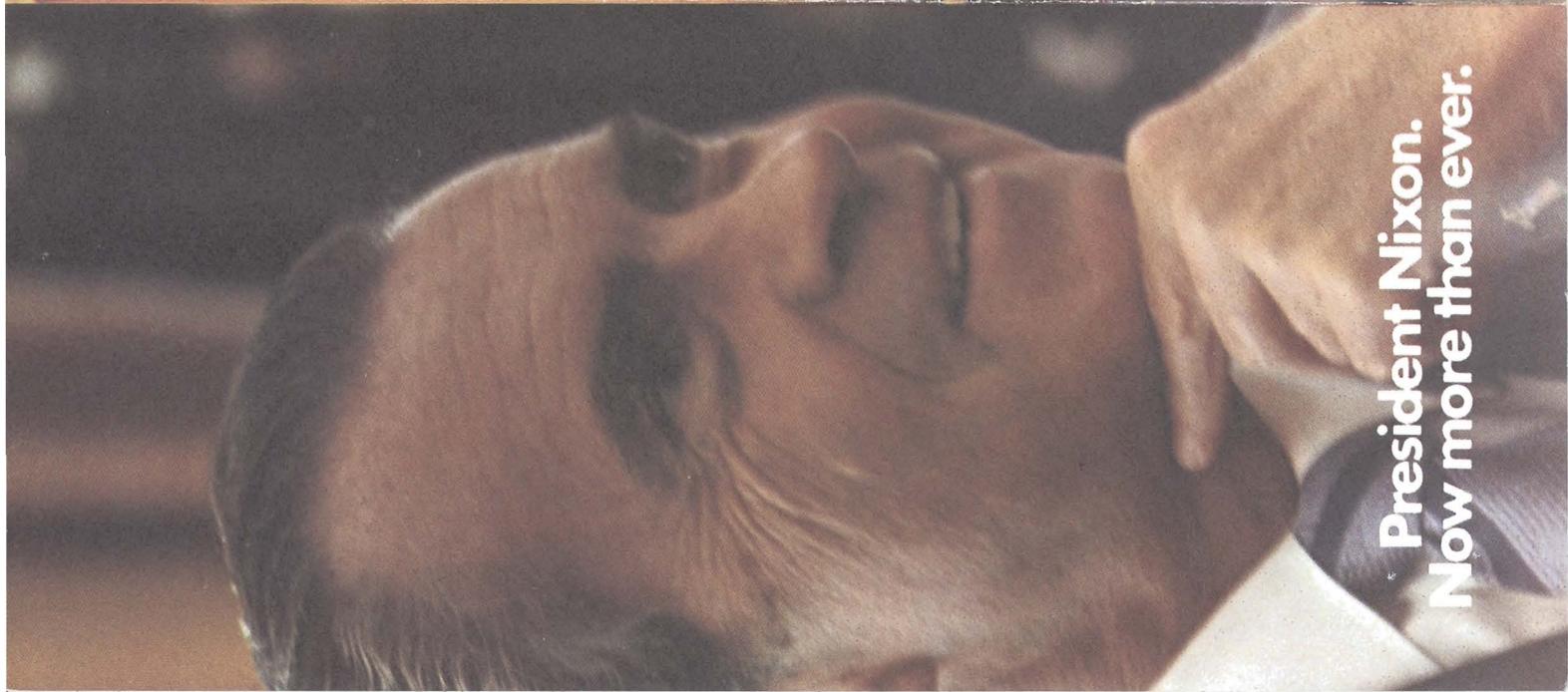
Recommended Distribution:

1. Finance	5000
2. Volunteers and Women's Activities	4000
3. Young Voters	<u>18000</u>
	27000

Each of the above three divisions will select one person to serve as its materials chairman. Only his signature on official order forms will be honored by the appropriate distribution center.

The remaining 3000 will be a budget reserve for unanticipated needs and emergency requests.

**THE  
RECORD.**



**President Nixon.  
Now more than ever.**



# The Record.



## Foreign Policy:

President Nixon went to Moscow in May of this year where he negotiated agreements with the Soviet Union to limit development of antiballistic missile systems, jointly explore space, and combat the diseases plaguing mankind. In March, he visited Peking where he made a start toward improving relations between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China. The President has called a halt to crisis diplomacy, seeking to reduce tension in such troubled areas as the Middle East.

## Revenue Sharing:

In order to relieve the burden of taxes at the State and local level—property, sales, income and other taxes—the President has proposed a program to make more monies available to local governments by sharing a portion of Federal revenues with them. Offered with no strings attached, this program promises to encourage problem-solving at the local level where many of the problems are.



## 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.

Published and paid for by the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President.  
M. H. Stans, Chairman. C. L. Washburn, Deputy Chairman, P. E. Barrick, Treasurer, 1701 Pennsylvania Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.

## The Economy:

President Nixon has taken strong action to flatten 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 are up 42% over last year.

## The 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.



## Young Americans:

President Nixon has signed into law the bill giving 18-year-olds the right to vote . . . overhauled the selective service system with the goal of establishing an all-volunteer army . . . and has proposed an education program that would guarantee a college education to all who qualify, and vocational education training for those who do not wish to attend college.

## Crime:

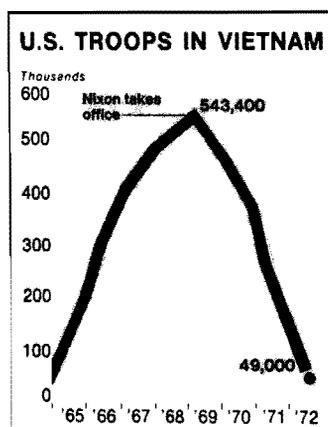
The President's vigorous law-enforcement policies have cut the increase in the nation's serious crime rate to 1% in the first quarter of this year. Eighty (over half) of our major cities have actual decreases in crime, and Washington, D.C. has achieved a 30% decrease over last year alone. This has been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

## Older Americans:

President Nixon has submitted proposals to Congress which have increased Social Security benefits to the nation's elderly by more than one-third from 1969 to this year—a greater increase than in any period in history of similar length. The President has also advanced programs to enable more of the elderly to live in their own homes, and to improve nursing care and increase jobs for these same citizens.

## 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% . . . and cut spending by two-thirds. As this is written, strong steps are being taken to get the enemy to cease its aggression and make peace.



## Drugs:

The President has won agreement from 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 6 times more for rehabilitation and 5 times more for drug education than ever before. Combined, these actions are finally turning the tide against the drug scourge.



*President Nixon has called the 1972 Presidential Election the "clearest choice" offered to America's voters in this century. Consider . . .*

### **The Choice on America's Defense.**

President Nixon believes in cutting only the fat from the defense budget, while maintaining the military forces he needs to guarantee America's security.

Senator McGovern proposes to cut the defense budget by \$32 billion—which is cutting into the very muscle of our military. In the words of Hubert Humphrey: "Senator McGovern is proposing a 40% cut in our defense forces—cutting the Navy in half, and the Air Force by more than half—without any similar disarmament agreement from the Russians. It shocks me. No responsible President would think of cutting our defenses back to the level of a second class power in the face of the expanding Russian Navy and Air Force."

### **The Choice on Vietnam.**

President Nixon has ended America's ground combat role in Vietnam, and he'll bring all of our forces home as soon as the enemy agrees to a cease fire and the return of our POW's. And the President will consider amnesty for those who wouldn't serve after the POW's are home.

Senator McGovern wants to withdraw from Vietnam immediately and hopes the POW's will then be released. And he's willing to offer pardons now, without penalty or alternate service, for all who illegally dodged military service.



### **The Choice on Taxes and Welfare.**

President Nixon has cut federal income taxes by \$22 billion and is pushing Congress for a program to return more tax money to the states so that property tax increases will stop. And he favors "workfare," which means that those on welfare who can work will be asked to do so.

Senator McGovern would hand a \$1,000 check to every American, whether he needs it or not. His total program would put nearly one out of every two people on some form of welfare, and would mean higher taxes for working Americans at almost every income level.

Democratic Congressman Wilbur Mills said, "I am a little surprised that Senator McGovern has announced this (welfare and tax reform) as his program. I don't know where we'd get (that) money..."

### **The Choice on Other Important Issues.**

President Nixon strongly opposes the busing of school children, while Senator McGovern has clearly stated that he's for it.

President Nixon has named qualified judges to the Supreme Court, while George McGovern talks about selecting judges on a quota system to represent different minority groups.

President Nixon is in favor of finding ways to aid parochial and private schools. George McGovern has shown no support during his Senate career for non-public education.

Consider this statement by Senator Henry Jackson (Democrat, Washington): "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."

President Nixon.  
Now more than ever.

### McGovern's Changing Positions.

In 1967, Senator George McGovern said he was *not* an advocate of unilateral withdrawal of our troops from Vietnam. *Now, of course, he says he is.*

Last January, Senator George McGovern suggested a welfare plan that would give a \$1,000 bill to every man, woman and child in America. *Now he has a new plan—without the \$1,000.*

Last year, Senator McGovern said he would remove all American forces from Southeast Asia. *Now he wants to leave troops in Thailand and on ships in the area.*

In Florida, Senator McGovern said he was pro-busing. *In Oregon, he said he would support the anti-busing bill now in Congress.*

In 1971, Senator McGovern said Jerusalem should be an international city. *This year he wants to recognize Jerusalem as the Israeli capital and move the United States embassy there from Tel Aviv.*



THE  
CLEAREST  
CHOICE  
OF  
THE CENTURY.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date 9/12/72

TO: H. R. Haldeman  
FROM: GEORGE COLLINS

Invitation to Evans-Novak political  
forum October 31 at the Madison  
Hotel.

Accept  Regret

FYI ---Gordon will contact Harry Dent  
to have him attend in your place.

*Tell Macbrugh  
he's been had!  
S → Reiner 9/14*

# EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT

WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. • Room 1312 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202-298-7850

September 11, 1972

Dear Subscriber:

The reaction to the First EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL FORUM, held on June 22, was so enthusiastic that, at the request of several who attended, we are scheduling a Second Forum in Washington on Tuesday, October 31, at the Madison Hotel.

With the election just one week away, our panel of experts will examine the surprising political events of this past year, discuss the outlook for the Presidential and Congressional elections and project the political future.

Based on our own extensive travels and political polling, we and our expert panel will discuss with you -- completely off-the-record -- our conclusions and observations.

Our panel in this Second Forum will include:

Hon. Clark MacGregor, Campaign Director of the Committee to Reelect the President.

Hon. Lawrence F. O'Brien, Chairman of the McGovern Campaign.

Mr. Richard Scammon, author, pollster and expert political analyzer for NBC.

Mr. Patrick Caddell, pollster and political adviser for Sen. McGovern.

The fee of \$200 covers luncheon and, following the session, cocktails. To maintain the unique intimacy of the Forum, we are accepting only the first 65 reservations. If you wish to participate, please fill in the enclosed form and send it with your check in the postpaid envelope provided herein.

Sincerely,

*Rowland Evans*  
*Robert D. Novak*

Rowland Evans, Jr. and  
Robert D. Novak

# EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT

WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. • Room 1312 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202-298-7850

## Tentative Schedule

### SECOND EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL FORUM

MADISON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 31, 1972

- 10:00 am Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. The 1972 Campaign.  
Discussion and Questions.
- 11:30 am Hon. Clark MacGregor, Campaign Director of the Com-  
mittee to Reelect the President. The Nixon Campaign.  
Discussion and Questions.
- 12:30 pm Luncheon.
- 1:30 pm Mr. Richard Scammon, The Election Research Center and  
Mr. Patrick Caddell, Cambridge Survey Research. The  
1972 Voter. Discussion and Questions.
- 3:30 pm Hon. Lawrence F. O'Brien, National Campaign Chairman of  
McGovern-Shriver '72. The McGovern Campaign. Dis-  
cussion and Questions.
- 4:30 pm Evans and Novak. Summing Up.
- 5:00 pm Reception.

EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT

1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20006

I will attend the EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL FORUM on Tuesday, October 31:

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

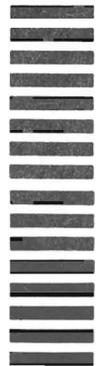
Fee: \$200. Please make checks payable to: EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL FORUM.

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Washington, D. C.

**EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT**

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.  
Room 1312  
Washington, D.C. 20006



ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGNUDER

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.

GS/jb  
FU - 9/15

12  
**ACTION MEMO**

We need to find a way to get David Rockefeller to talk to Winthrop Rockefeller to persuade him to get Babbit out of the race in Arkansas. Babbit has no chance and he should get out. It would help the state and so forth, but apparently Winthrop is hell bent to keep him in and he'll only listen to David.

Attempts have already been made directly to Winthrop, and through Nelson.

HRH:pm

9/11/72

92  
September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PAT BUCHANAN

FROM:

LARRY HIGBY

Bob asked that I pass on to you the fact that we should now probably change tactics on Shriver. Instead of ignoring him we should move actively to make him a liability to the ticket. He should be cracked hard by lower level people.

✓ cc: Chuck Colson

10  
HIGH PRIORITY

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: American Flag Lapel Pins

We should be moving now hard and quickly to push the idea of the American Flag Lapel Pin. As a first step, all of our people should be wearing American Flags. Also they should be on all our speakers. Each speaker should have a supply of them to give to the people who ask for them.

On our Bumper Sticker program, it would be a good idea to offer to give each Bumper Sticker person an American Flag for his lapel at the same time.

I am sure there are several other ideas that you'll have on this, but we should get a complete program going on this immediately both at 1701 and out in the country.

Please let me know what you are doing on this by Friday, September 15.

GS/jb  
FU - 9/15

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

DWIGHT CHAFIN

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

It is absolutely imperative regardless of what the planners of the dinners say, that we get a good crowd of young voters for the President admitted to the New York and Los Angeles dinners and to the San Francisco luncheon. They should stand around the sides and possibly sit on the floor in front and cheer for the President. Don't let them tell us this can't be done. Have them set up a separate room where the kids can eat dinner or work out something and then let them in for the President's speech. There has to be a way to do this so let's figure it out.

HRH:pm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **S**

SUBJECT:

Pat Hutar and Barbara Franklin's  
Campaign Roles

According to Fred Malek, the campaign roles of Barbara Franklin and Pat Hutar are separate with each having the responsibilities outlined below.

Barbara Franklin has overall responsibility to get women, as a constituent group, to vote for the President. She is in charge of the Women's Surrogate Program, and coordinates all materials, mailings, special advertising, and press relations. She is ultimately responsible for Barbara MacGregor's Flying Squad program using Administration and top White House Staff wives.

Pat Hutar does not report to Barbara Franklin. Pat Hutar is responsible for the Pledge to the President program, which recruits volunteers. Hutar is responsible for all volunteer programs except YVP. Even though most volunteers are women, Hutar's focus is volunteers. Hutar is also in charge of the Hostess Telephone program which relies on women to make telephone calls from their own home. This program is to be distinguished from the telephone centers program, under the direction of Bob Marik and usually staffed by volunteers. In addition, Pat Hutar is also involved in some of the scheduling of Cabinet wives.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ED FAILOR  
FROM: ART AMOLSCH  
SUBJECT: McGovern's Duluth Appearance

According to our observer in Duluth, Senator McGovern arrived late for his appearance at the grain elevator. He was not met at the airport by either the press or supporters.

McGovern went immediately to the grain elevator where he read the attached statement for the television cameras. He then spoke very briefly to a few workers and left.

Our observer estimates that if secret service men, workers, news-men and the campaign entourage were subtracted from the group at the grain elevator, only about 35 people were present. No PA system was set up and anyone standing more than 20 feet or so away from Senator McGovern could not have heard what he said.

Attachment:

Statement.

McGovern Statement in Duluth on Grain Trade Agreement with Russia  
September 8, 1972

The Duluth...Superior Port represents one of the great shipping areas of this country and all of us are grateful for the opportunity to sell more American grain overseas but the recent deal on wheat and grain with the Soviet Union has a bad smell to it as one looks into the implications of what happened. Because the facts are that grain speculators were allowed to make a killing on this deal at the expense of the American farmer and the American taxpayer. The truth is that tens of millions of dollars have been made by grain speculators that should have gone into the pocket of the people who produce that grain - the American farmer. At the same time, a 47-cent a bushel shipping subsidy was provided to these grain exporters, to these big grain companies at the expense of the American taxpayer.

I think what is needed now is a full investigation of the conditions under which this grain deal was negotiated. There's something wrong when high officials of the Department of Agriculture move in and out of the employ of the U. S. Government into the employ of the private grain companies in such a way as to do damage to most of the interests of the American farmer and the American taxpayer.

# Committee for the Re-election of the President

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

August 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK  
FROM: KEN RIETZ  
SUBJECT: Final Report on August 12  
Registration Drive

The results of the August 12 YVP registration drive can be considered successful in terms of publicity received and unsuccessful in terms of people canvassed and new voters registered. This effort, however, was put together on a two week notice and primary emphasis was placed on media attention, not registration.

From this August 12 effort we found:

- 1) While media coverage can be maximized by canvassing in shopping centers, results in actually reaching and registering new voters are nowhere near as good as going door-to-door.
- 2) Most state YVP organizations can turn out volunteers on a short notice.
- 3) The YVP organizations are ready to perform if the state Nixon organizations allow them to operate -- there are a lot of problems with this in Michigan, Texas and Pennsylvania.
- 4) YVP organizations in Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Michigan are struggling and need extra help. (We have since replaced the YVP leadership in Illinois and New York.)
- 5) There is a drastic shortage of handout materials available. Most of our volunteers had very little to work with other than the canvass kits we sent out from Washington.

August 31, 1972

The reports turned in by the states indicate we had over 20,000 volunteers involved in 23 states. The states we have actual breakdowns from are:

	<u>YVP's</u>	<u>Canvassed</u>
California	3,000	20,000 (rain)
Indiana	500	4,000
Wisconsin	700	15,000
Maryland	500	9,000
Delaware	200	4,000
Pennsylvania	400	5,000
Texas	1,000	15,000
Missouri	150	3,000
Oklahoma	200	4,000
Nevada	100	3,000
Oregon	200	3,000
Washington	150	4,000
Arizona	150	3,000
New Mexico	100	2,000
Colorado	100	1,500
Utah	100	2,000
Alabama	100	3,000
Florida	3,000	20,000
Georgia	150	2,000 (rain)
South Carolina	400	3,000
New Jersey	100	3,000
Maine	100	1,500
Michigan	- continuing program with the CRP	
Illinois	- continuing program with the CRP	
Ohio	- delayed until September 2	
Nebraska	- continuing program	
Minnesota	- continuing program (Nixonettes canvassed in St. Paul)	

There were about 15,000 unregistered Nixon supporters located and efforts are being made now to follow up and register these voters. In addition, 5,000 additional volunteers were recruited.

The most positive aspect of the effort was the publicity received which is where the major emphasis was. Following is a report on the coverage we are aware of:

- Network coverage of Ed and Tricia Cox registering voters in Montgomery Mall shopping center.
- Photo coverage of Ed and Tricia in the Washington Post and Star.

## Coverage continued

<u>State</u>	<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Radio &amp; Television</u>
Alabama	<u>Tuscaloosa News</u> <u>Birmingham News</u>	WBRC-TV - 15 minute talk show in Birmingham "Tom York Morning Show"
California		NBC & ABC News Coverage (Whittier)
Colorado	<u>Denver Post</u> <u>Rocky Mountain News</u>	
Florida	<u>Orlando Sentinel</u>	WKIS Radio - Orlando WLOF Radio - Orlando WPPO Radio - Orlando  WTVJ (NBC) TV Local News - Miami
Georgia		WSB (NBC) TV Coverage with Ed and Tricia Cox  WGST (ABC) Radio - interview and newscast
Maine	2 newspapers	WQXI Rock Station WEMT-TV - Bangor
Maryland	County newspapers: Frederick County Montgomery County Anne Arundel County	Radio coverage - 2 stations - Charles County  TV Network coverage on Ed and Tricia Cox
Nevada		KCRL (NBC) TV local news KOLO Radio - 25 second announcement every hour on the hour - 4 hours
New Mexico	<u>Albuquerque Journal</u>	KOA TV KQEO Radio - few minute crowd interview KGGM (CBS) Radio - local news

## Coverage continued

<u>State</u>	<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Radio &amp; Television</u>
Oklahoma	<u>Daily Oklahoman</u> <u>Oklahoma City Times</u> <u>Oklahoma Journal</u>	Radio Oklahoma News Network Several youth radio stations ABC-TV Aff. - 3 minutes on the 10:00 P.M. news NBC-TV Aff. - 1-1/2 minutes on the 6:00 & 10:00 P.M. news
Oregon	<u>Oregon Journal</u> <u>Oregonian</u>	CBS-TV affiliate - 10 minute interview on the Ed Sardello Show with YVP State Chairman  CBS-TV evening news coverage 6:00 & 10:00 P.M. news
Pennsylvania	<u>Pittsburgh Press</u>	
South Carolina		
Greenville- Spartanburg Columbia	<u>Greenville News</u> <u>Spartanburg Herald</u>	WSPA Radio & TV WFBC Radio WIS-TV News WIS Radio Additional soul station - call letters unknown
Charleston	<u>Charleston Evening</u> <u>Post</u>	WTMA Radio
Other	<u>Star, North Augusta</u> <u>Advertiser, Laurens</u> <u>Florence Morning News</u>	
Texas	<u>Houston Chronicle</u> <u>Houston Post</u>  <u>Dallas Morning News</u> <u>Dallas Times Herald</u> <u>Austin Statesman</u>	KHOU (CBS) Channel 11 TV 3 minutes - 6 & 10 news KTRK (CBS) Channel 13 TV 3 minutes - 6 & 10 news
Washington	<u>Columbian</u>	NBC TV evening news KGW TV-Portland NBC Affiliate 1-1/2 minutes coverage on Washington activities (Vancouver)

## Coverage continued

<u>State</u>	<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Radio &amp; Television</u>
Wisconsin	<u>Minnesota Star</u> <u>Milwaukee Journal</u>	Eau Claire TV - crowd interviews WISH-TV 12 - Milwaukee
Minnesota	<u>St. Paul Pioneer</u> <u>Press</u>	
Utah	<u>Salt Lake Tribune</u>	
Missouri	<u>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</u>	
New Jersey	<u>Atlantic City Press</u> <u>Camden Carrier Post</u> <u>Willingboro Times</u> <u>Newark Star Ledger</u> <u>Newark News</u>	

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL**

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

FRANK HERRINGER *Frank*

SUBJECT:

Evans and Novak Column

As you requested, I have attempted to discover the source for the Evans and Novak column entitled "The Connally Syndrome." In view of Chuck Colson's comments in his August 25 memoranda to you and to Clark MacGregor, I have given particular attention to assessing the probability that the leak emanated from 1701.

My overall conclusion is that this particular Evans and Novak column cannot be conclusively traced to 1701. Some of the information in the column was so widely held that definitive tracing is not possible, while in other instances good guesses can be made as to how Evans and Novak received their information.

Before going into specifics, it is important to realize that the Connally Democrats for Nixon organization was one of the major controversial topics of discussion between the Republican Party leaders and the 1701 people in Miami Beach. A good reporter wandering around the Convention floor trying to find differences between the RNC and CREP would have had little trouble discovering that Democrats for Nixon was a sore point with many Republicans, particularly in the South. Consequently, it is reasonable to surmise that Evans or Novak picked up the overall story, and did some digging from several sources to develop the column.

There are four distinct items in the column that could have been leaks. Each of them is discussed below.

1. Mario Procaccino. The column states that Connally named Procaccino as head of Democrats for Nixon in New York, but then backed off when he was told by "New York political operatives" that Procaccino was a "laughing stock."

As Chuck Colson pointed out, he -- not Connally -- was actually responsible for the Procaccino recommendation. However, the person who leaked the story did not know this -- he implied to Evans and Novak that Procaccino was Connally's mistake; and evidence of Connally's lack of political knowledge.

Charles Lanigan, the New York State Republican Chairman, made this very point in a small meeting at the Fountainbleu attended by three 1701 representatives -- MacGregor, Malek, and Jerry Jones (Malek's deputy at the campaign). Lanigan was critical of Connally's apparent ignorance of New York, and used the very words "laughing stock" to describe Procaccino. Governor Rockefeller's amicable settlement with Connally (cited in Colson's memo as evidence that New York people could not have been the source of this leak) did not inhibit Lanigan at this meeting, which was probably taking place at about the same time that Evans or Novak was getting his information. Also, Lanigan's tendency to ridicule CREP was evidenced by his widely quoted absurd allegation that a responsible CREP employee asked him whether the Governor of New York were elected or appointed.

I am not suggesting that Lanigan was necessarily the source of the Procaccino information, but I think it is as reasonable to assume this as it is to assume that the leak was at 1701.

2. Virginia. "We don't want to let the Andy Millers (a Democratic candidate for state office in Virginia) off the hook, and that's what Connally would do." Evans and Novak attributed this statement to "one Virginia Republican leader" in Miami Beach.

I have found no reason to assume that this statement came from 1701 rather than the attributed "Virginia Republican leader." The circumstances surrounding the fact that "Connally will avoid the Old Dominion" are widely known in Virginia Party circles as well as at 1701, and thus it is not possible to pin down the source of this particular leak.

3. Tennessee. Evans and Novak claim that the Tennessee Republicans have also "locked the door" on Connally, and that they sent an "ultimatum" to MacGregor on the subject.

The statement is at least partially untrue, as MacGregor received no such ultimatum. He has no written communications from Tennessee on the matter, nor does he remember any conversations which resembled this, although many other Southern leaders have complained to him about Democrats for Nixon.

There are several conceivable sources for this incorrect "leak": (a) The "Virginia leader" quoted earlier might have continued talking to Evans or Novak about other situations in the South; (b) A boastful Tennessean could have exaggerated their situation in a separate interview; or (c) A misinformed 1701 official could have leaked it. It seems to me that all of the above -- and several variations on each -- are equally probable (or improbable).

4. Charles Snider. The most interesting item in the column was the information that Connally offered a campaign job to Charles Snider, Governor Wallace's campaign manager. Snider was willing, but Wallace said no.

This is evidently quite true, but known to only a few people at Democrats for Nixon, and to Chuck Colson, who was apparently involved in the overture to Snider. No one at 1701 appears to have known about this -- Malek, Magruder, Jones, and Ray Brown (the 1701 Regional Director for the deep South) all stated emphatically that the first they knew of the Snider situation was when they read it in Evans and Novak. Moreover, when I talked with Brown he had just returned from a two-day visit to Alabama, where the Snider affair was not mentioned by anyone. Harry Dent and Wally Henley, who were in constant touch with Southern party leaders, also did not know of the Snider offer.

The Snider information was therefore very closely held -- and held by individuals extremely unlikely to leak it to Evans and Novak for an anti-Connally column. A possible solution to this leak emerged when I found that the article on the campaign in the September 2 National Journal contained the Snider story -- in direct quotes from Snider himself. It is very possible that Snider also talked to Evans and Novak, or that Evans and Novak talked to the people who wrote the story for National Journal.

\* \* \* \* \*

In summary, I would conclude that Evans and Novak had several sources for this column. Lanigan or an associate of his in New York was probably responsible for the Procaccino item, local Republican Party officials were probably the source of the Virginia and Tennessee stories, and Charles Snider probably told his own story to Evans and Novak. The leakers are probably all beyond our control, and almost impossible to trace without cooperation from Evans and Novak, which we are not likely to get. In this particular instance, I find it difficult to agree with Chuck Colson's conclusion that "all signs point to 1701."

August 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRANK HERRINGER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Evans and Novak Column

Bob read Chuck Colson's August 25 memorandum regarding the Evans and Novak column entitled "The Connally Syndrome". Recalling the excellent job you did on the NEW leak two weeks ago, Bob asked that you take on the assignment of tracking down this leak to Evans and Novak.

In addition to the backup materials attached to this memorandum, you should know that Jeb Magruder talked with George Christian in an attempt to discover the source of the leak. In any event, the matter should be pursued vigorously and a report submitted to Bob on September 6.

Thank you.

GS/jb  
FU - 9/6

cc: Charles Colson  
Fred Malek

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 8/29

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Frank Herringer on Malek's staff did an excellent job on that HEW leak two weeks ago. He should receive the assignment of tracking down this leak to Evans and Novak.

OK

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON  
SUBJECT: Evans and Novak Column

Attached is a copy of a memo I sent to Clark MacGregor, with the attachment. This is the third story of this kind that I know about. All signs very much point to 1701 on this one.

You will recall earlier when ABC named me as the man responsible for the media bias campaign, I found out through my own sources that that was a 1701 story.

Evans and Novak have a piece coming out on Sunday which details the whole 9:15 attack meeting and attack strategy here. Novak told me today that Evans had gotten the story, although Evans never called me. Novak implied that they had gotten their information from 1701. I have no idea what is in the story, but we are calling everyone who is at our 9:15 meeting today to ask whether they have been contacted by Evans and Novak this week.

What all of this adds up to in my mind is that we have a serious leak somewhere and we damn well better find it or roll a few heads and at least shake people up.

August 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR

FROM: CHARLES COLSON

SUBJECT: Attached Evans and Novak Column

I don't know whether you've noticed the Evans and Novak column attached, but it really very viciously and unfairly zings Connally -- unfairly because I was the man responsible for Procaccino, not Connally. It is also vicious because it makes Connally appear inept and unwanted.

Some of Connally's people have the very strong suspicion that this could have only come from 1701. It couldn't have come from Rockefeller's people alone because it refers to the Tennessee and Virginia situations which were known only to Connally and to people at 1701. It also would not have come from the Rockefeller people since Rockefeller and Connally met in New York and came off with a very satisfactory resolution of their differences on the Procaccino situation. Simply by process of elimination, one would have to suspect at least that someone at 1701 was involved in this story. .

This is the kind of thing that as you know goes on in a campaign. There is probably no way to stop it, but we damn well ought to try because it is very counter-productive and creates animosities that can be damaging as hell in the campaign. I think it is well worth having someone look into.



Rowland Evans and Robert Novak



# The Connally Syndrome

MIAMI BEACH—The bizarre choice of the politically discredited Mario Procaccino to head John B. Connally's Democrats for Nixon in New York explains why party leaders attending the Republican national convention are so much less enthusiastic than President Nixon over the burgeoning Connally operation.

Connally's campaign to mobilize anti-McGovern Democrats behind Mr. Nixon's re-election campaign has run into so much Republican opposition that Clark MacGregor, the President's campaign manager, has issued confidential orders barring the Connally operation from states where Republican leaders do not want him.

Thus, in endless political discussions filling time here, there is disenchantment especially strong in the South—about conservative Democrat Connally. With Mr. Nixon holding a staggering lead, these party leaders say, Connally is damaging the Republican Party in their states.

The Procaccino case is symbolic. With Texas Connally backing even in Executive Order 11724, the New York

politics, he knew nothing about Procaccino, who ran an inept campaign for mayor of New York in 1969. So Connally accepted without question a recommendation to make Procaccino vice chairman of his New York operation (with Connally himself as chairman). When they learned this, Mr. Nixon's New York political operatives bluntly informed Connally that Procaccino was a "laughing stock" without influence or organization. The solution: Connally quickly named half a dozen other "vice chairmen," diminishing Procaccino's visibility.

CONNALLY'S worst problems are in the South, where some Republican leaders bitterly complain his Democrats for Nixon undermine their party-building efforts.

With Connally remaining a Democrat, and backing the Texas Democratic ticket except for Mr. Nixon, Southern party leaders make no secret here that they see his Democrats for Nixon as an easy out for prominent Southerners to avoid the hard political choice of turning Republican.

A case in point is Virginia, where Democratic Sen. William Spong, fearful that Sen. George McGovern may defeat his re-election bid, has disassociated himself from McGovern's presidential campaign. With a full-blown Connally operation in Virginia, other moderate Democrats such as Attorney General Andrew Miller might hang their hats on the Democrat for Nixon pole and ride out a Nixon landslide.

"We don't want to let the Andy Millers off the hook," one Virginia Republican leader here told us, "and that's what Connally would do." The upshot: An announcement that Sidney Kellam, long-time conservative Democratic leader in Virginia Beach, would be Democrats for Nixon vice chairman was quietly reversed. Connally will avoid the Old Dominion.

REPUBLICAN leaders in Tennessee also have locked the door on Connally, sending his ultimatum to MacGregor: If John Connally sets foot in Tennessee, the result will be a psychological disaster for the Republican organization, undented statewide since 1954.

Connally has suffered other reverses. He quietly offered a campaign job to Charles Snider, Gov. George Wallace's aborted 1972 presidential campaign manager. Snider was willing but asked Wallace's permission. Wallace said no.

For Connally, these setbacks could damage what White House aides are convinced is his long-range course: A change in party registration, a high post in a second Nixon administration (probably secretary of state) and a run for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination.

Connally confronts not only organizational obstacles in his pro-Nixon campaign but also growing hostility from ambitious Republicans beginning to regard him as a threat to their own ascent. In Texas, Sen. John Tower has fought partisan battles against Connally for a decade and would scarcely welcome him as Mr. Republican in Texas. Even worse, with Connally backing Tower's Democratic opponent for the Senate (Barclay Sanders), Tower's intimates fear Connally's ticket-splitting campaign in Texas.

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

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

September 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

~~HARRY TRUMAN~~

FROM:

FRED MALEK *FM*

SUBJECT:

The Attached

Although we are trying to be responsive to the attached, I thought you would be interested in the type of requests we receive from time to time.

Attachment

7/6  
A

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED MALEK

FROM:

ED HARPER 

SUBJECT:

Information on Possible Political Events  
for Campaign Trips

In order for John Ehrlichman to give the President maximum support during campaign trips over the next several weeks, the following information is required for each of the states listed at Tab A.

Analysis of political events that would be good for John Ehrlichman to consider doing (he would prefer Q and A appearances, not speech opportunities).

Possibilities:

1. Meet with RNC/1701 people together or separately
2. Meet with some elected officials
3. Meet with Young Voters for the President people
4. Meet with precinct workers for RNC/1701
5. Other political events you think especially appropriate

Note: The Domestic Council staff will be making other contacts concerning possible substantive events.

Each suggested event should include the purpose, the nature of the group or institution involved, the content of the event, and the time required.

This analysis should include all trade-off factors involved in favoring one proposal over all others for a given state: whether one would have a greater impact upon worker morale than others, and dangers implicit in meeting with some officials but not with others.

For all suggested events (even those which seem after a trade-off analysis to be less efficacious than others) please include the name, title, address, and telephone number of the person to contact for setting up the proposal.

Would you please provide me with the information indicated above (beginning the material for each state on a separate sheet of paper) by close of business Friday, September 8th.

Thank you.

Attachment

ELH:PAM:arl

cc: Harry Dent

California (San Francisco and Los Angeles)

Connecticut

Florida

Georgia (Atlanta)

Illinois (Chicago)

Massachusetts

Michigan

Missouri (Kansas City)

New Jersey

New York City

Ohio

Pennsylvania (Philadelphia and Pittsburgh)

South Dakota

Tennessee

Texas (San Antonio)

September 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON

The following is a brief outline of the major points which I intend to discuss on Tuesday morning.

1. The wisdom of keeping McGovern on the defensive; and the importance of doing this through Administration spokesmen and surrogates rather than the President doing it.
2. A chart illustration of poll data which demonstrates: (a) McGovern weaknesses (b) the adverse impact on his campaign when he is kept on the defensive (c) the impact of the strongest issues, i. e., his weak points and our strong points (d) how and why May and the Soviet Summit were a significant turning point. (All of this is quite vividly illustrated by some Harris and Sindlinger polls. The conclusions of the poll data are (1) the war is our strongest issue, his weakest; (2) he is unable to gain when he is on the defensive whether it is the Eagleton affair or our counter attacks on taxes and welfare; profile data from Harris which shows his vulnerable points and our strong points. This supports the case for continuing to attack him on the points on which he is vulnerable. ¶
3. An explanation of the apparatus which has been established to provide us with an attack and counter attack capability; I will talk about our morning meetings; how you and I coordinate the lines to be taken and how our staffs work together; how we prepare material and schedule its use; Buchanan's role as the principal attack "editor"; Faylor's role in developing the overall attack strategy and Chapin's role in providing surrogates, forums and key state appearances that give us the vehicles through which to counter attack.
4. The conclusion of the presentation will be to sum up major points that need to be made, i. e., we must keep McGovern on the defensive; we must keep him responding to our attack; we must prevent him from mounting a sustained attack on us; we must keep him defending his issues rather than attacking ours. If we do this, he cannot gain and close the gap.

pgge two.

This presentation, I would hope, will take less than 15 minutes (although the charts take a little time to explain). The purpose is to energize the Cabinet and leadership and get them to be responsive to our attack requests and, of course, get them in tune with the basic strategy of keeping McGovern down.

I have talked to Mel Laird with respect to his illustrating these basic points. Laird will give examples of how to use an attack as an opportunity for counter attack and also how one fields hostile questions to turn them against the opposition.

Laird is in total accord with the strategy and told me that he has some excellent illustrations to use. He also told me that he thought he could handle this in five minutes. I assume you will want to introduce him at the end of my pitch so he can follow up my points with specific illustrations. As I write out my own outline in detail over the weekend, I will try to tighten it up and do it in less than 15 minutes if humanly possible.

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

10  
H  
9/12

FOR: H. R. Haldeman  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Take necessary action	<input type="checkbox"/>
Approval or signature	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prepare reply	<input type="checkbox"/>
Discuss with me	<input type="checkbox"/>
For your information	<input type="checkbox"/>
See remarks below	<input type="checkbox"/>

FROM: Fred Malek *FMM* DATE: Sept. 11, 1972

REMARKS:

I thought you would be interested in the attached report on the Voter Bloc Progress and Plans. I would, of course, appreciate any comments you may want to make.

Attachment

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

FRED MALEK 

SUBJECT:

Voter Bloc Progress and Plans

With the Convention behind us and the operational portion of the campaign well underway, I thought it would be an appropriate time to bring you up to date on what the Voter Blocs have accomplished in the past month, and what major efforts are planned for the remainder of the campaign.

Since each of the Voter Blocs is somewhat different, we have divided this report into two main sections: (a) A description of recent activities that are common to all (or at least several) of the Voter Blocs; and (b) A discussion of specific activities and plans of each individual Voter Bloc.

OVERALL EFFORTS

During the past month, the Voter Bloc Directors have concentrated their efforts in three areas: (a) The Convention; (b) Finalizing budgets for field activities; and (c) Developing persuasive materials for use in the campaign. Each of these areas is discussed below.

Convention

With the exception of Special Ballots, each of the Voter Blocs was active with its constituent group representatives during the Republican National Convention. Their activities included staging events, holding caucuses and seminars, ironing out problems with state leadership, and meeting individually with delegates to clarify roles in the fall campaign.

Media coverage of Voter Bloc activities at the Convention was good, especially when the competition for the attention of the media is considered. As you know, the Young Voters Division received extensive national press coverage of their efforts. In addition, special interest and regional coverage was excellent for Older Americans, Veterans, Urban Citizens, and Blacks, among others. Highlights of individual Convention activities will be covered later in this memorandum.

### State Budgets

As you know, until recently the field budget situation has been chaotic, particularly in the case of Voter Bloc field activities. In general, there was no relationship between the amount of money that was scheduled to be spent in the field for a Voter Bloc and the strategic importance of that Voter Bloc either within an individual state or in total.

At this late date, it was not feasible to shift resources around from state to state to achieve rational allocation. Therefore, we decided to make the best of the situation by appropriating \$200,000 out of our general field budget to be allocated to those states where Voter Bloc activity was not yet funded, and considered worthwhile.

Working individually with the Voter Bloc Directors we reduced their needs to the allocated \$200,000 and had the Voter Bloc Directors gain agreement on proposed expenditures from the appropriate Regional Director and state executive director. In the weeks ahead, the Voter Bloc field representatives will be working with the states to turn these budgets into action -- hiring staff, planning events, etc.

### Persuasive Efforts

The Voter Bloc Directors spent a good deal of time during the past month working with the November Group and with the direct mail people to finalize the major national persuasive efforts that will be launched in September and October.

The final developmental work for many of the brochures, buttons, bumper stickers, and other promotional items that will be distributed by the Voter Blocs through their field organizations was completed during the month. To finance these promotional efforts, we conducted a major review of the Voter Bloc headquarters budgets, resulting in a savings of approximately \$200,000. This will cover about half of the planned Voter Bloc promotional budgets.

In addition, four of the Voter Blocs -- Jewish, Urban Citizens, Spanish-Speaking, and Older Americans -- will have direct mail efforts targeted at their constituency. During the past month, the Directors of these groups worked with Bob Morgan and others to develop copy for the direct mail letters, a format and strategy for the brochure that would be enclosed in the letters, and an approach to targeting the mail at his constituency. After some initial communications difficulties, the direct mail program appears to be ready to go, with the first mailing scheduled for later this month.

## INDIVIDUAL DESCRIPTIONS

The progress and plans of the individual Voter Bloc groups are described briefly in the sections which follow.

### Youth

More than any other Voter Bloc, the efforts of the Young Voters Division during the month of August were oriented toward the Convention. Since you saw and heard personally the results of their year-long efforts, we will not take up space recounting the many successful rallies, caucuses, and other events that were held by and for the 3000 young people. The press that this effort received also speaks for itself.

Prior to the Convention, the youth effort was directed toward organizing in the states and developing a cadre of young volunteers for use by the state Nixon organization. They are continuing efforts to recruit volunteers, and are being particularly successful on the college campuses. For example, 2000 persons signed up at the University of South Carolina last week. The youth division is making a major effort to turn out volunteers for the September 16th Canvass and are assigning quotas of volunteers to appear at every storefront that will participate in the Canvass Kick-Off Day. In addition, the Young Voters Division will distribute handbills urging people to vote for the President at the 168 largest domestic military installations during September and October.

To attract additional public attention to the Young Voters effort, the youth division is planning two major series of events for October. First, there will be a rock and roll revival show similar to the one at the Convention, in six medium-sized cities beginning October 1. The major media-oriented events will be three large shows featuring big name talent, similar to the Marine stadium show in Miami Beach. These will be held in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles; each hosted by a big name, such as Sammy Davis, Jr; and each built around a possible drop-by by the President or Vice President. Ten thousand young people are expected to appear at each of these events.

The Young Voters Division has already scored a major triumph with the Convention, but from the above it is obvious that they are not resting on their laurels, but rather are planning to continue pushing on through November.

### Agriculture

The Agriculture Division, under Clayton Yeutter, has shown considerable progress in building a grass roots organization at the state and county level.

Forty-one out of the fifty states have state Farm Chairmen, and in most cases co-chairmen (a Farm Family for the President). Perhaps more impressive, the Farm Families organization is established with at least a County Chairman in 1500 to 2000 counties across the country. These county organizations will be the backbone of the farm-related activity, and to date have been mobilized for letters to the editor efforts and coverage of county fairs. In the weeks ahead, the principal function of the county organizations will be to assist the regular Nixon organization in registration, voter identification, and get out the vote.

On a national basis, the Agriculture Division and the November Group have developed two brochures that will be distributed at major state fairs this month, as well as through the county organization. Also, Yeutter has concentrated on getting the most mileage out of the number one Farm surrogate -- Secretary Butz. Yeutter strongly believes that Butz is the biggest asset we have with farmers, and he is working closely with Butz's staff to ensure that the maximum mileage is received from each of Secretary Butz's many appearances.

### Blacks

During much of August, the Black Vote Division, under Paul Jones, was occupied with preparing for the Convention. The Blacks held a caucus, a reception, and a seminar -- each of which were well attended and extremely well covered by the press.

Black field efforts are still lagging but beginning to move. During August we finally completed the staffing of the Black field organization, which is headed by Ed Sexton of the Republican National Committee. Two fieldmen were hired and are now working full time to organize the key cities. Given the time we have remaining, we have developed an extremely simple, direct guide for use in organizing the cities, and this went out to all Black State and City Chairmen last week.

On the national level, Blacks have been successful in attracting some key endorsements, such as Floyd McKissick, Jim Brown, and the head of the NAACP in Boston. We will keep the pressure on to get more endorsements during September. Also, we have paid particular attention to the Black surrogate program, which has been lagging. Finally, a steering committee of key Black supporters has been formed, which will meet with me (and you, if possible) on a biweekly basis to review our progress with Black voters, and advise on strategy. In addition to providing insights on strategy, the publicizing of this effort should alleviate the criticism of the absence of Black input at top levels of the campaign.

Our goals in the next two months in the Black Vote Division are few -- a working surrogate program, a continuing string of endorsements, and a simple, city-oriented field organization. We now believe we can achieve these goals.

### Jewish

In the last month, the Jewish Division has been concerned primarily with working with the November Group and others at 1701 to ensure that the issue-oriented message of our Jewish campaign will be properly communicated in the fall. A brochure aimed at Jewish voters has been developed with the November Group, and will be ready for distribution shortly. In addition, copy for a direct mail letter to Jewish voters in key states, and for a brochure to accompany this letter, has been agreed on with Bob Morgan.

In the field, the Jewish Division has helped key states to recruit staff and has placed particular emphasis on the establishment of storefronts in Jewish neighborhoods. The success of this effort has been demonstrated by the national media coverage given to the Fairfax Avenue storefront in Los Angeles.

One of the principal activities of the field organization is to gain the endorsements of prominent Jewish people who are willing to lend their names to advertising on a regional or local basis in support of the President. Goldberg estimates that over 1000 of these endorsements have been collected and expects this effort to accelerate in the next few weeks.

### Labor

To this point, the Labor Division, under Bernie De Lury, has concentrated on winning endorsements or pledges of neutrality from individual labor leaders across the country. An indication of their success to date is the reception held by Governor Rockefeller and Donald Rodgers, the White House consultant on labor, at the Doral during the Convention. Over 50 prominent labor leaders present indicated their general support of the President and their willingness to be identified with the Re-Elect the President effort.

The Labor Division has recently submitted a request for a major budget increase, which would have the effect of shifting their emphasis to more of a grass roots organizational effort. We are in the process of assessing this proposal, and determining the course that the labor effort should take between now and the election.

## Older Americans

The Older Americans Division put a lot of effort into the Convention, with good results. Their Sunday reception received reasonably good press coverage, and we expect in depth treatment in the various older American publications later this month.

During August, the Older Americans Division successfully concluded most of its programmatic activities in Washington, and began to concentrate its efforts in the field. They have active and competent state chairmen in each of the key states, and the field representatives are now working with these state chairmen to finalize and implement programs. The principal goal is the political organization of every "focal point" of older Americans in the state, including nursing homes, retirement communities, Senior Citizens Centers, and the like. For those concentrations of Senior Citizens where there are no focal points, the field organization will be expected to create one by holding meetings of Senior Citizens (Older Americans Forums) for the purpose of attracting and generating volunteers. In addition, these forums (which have been held in several states) are expected to receive local media coverage.

To bring national attention to the fact that we consider older Americans a very important part of our campaign, the Older Americans Division will hold ten media-oriented forums in key media centers between September 18 and October 1. Each of these forums will feature a major surrogate, including Secretary Hodgson, Phil Sanchez, Secretary Richardson, Joe Blatchford, and others. The first five of these forums have been set for Detroit, New York City, Baltimore, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Los Angeles for the 18th through the 23rd of September. Arthur Flemming and John Martin will be present at each of these, to run the meeting. We are hopeful for good regional coverage of each of these "super forums" and a network coverage of the program as a whole.

## Special Ballots

The Special Ballots Division, under Dick McAdoo, appears to be ready for an unprecedented effort to encourage transients favorable to the President to cast their absentee ballot. During the past month, they prepared and distributed to all states a very well done Special Ballots Handbook, which comprehensively describes the approach to be used in identification and assistance of absentee voters.

In addition to the effort in the field, the Special Ballots Division is contacting large corporations to persuade them to encourage transient executives to vote and provide a program for doing same. To date, McAdoo and his fieldmen have visited 150 of the 250 largest industrial companies, and in all but a very few cases have been assured cooperation.

As described in an earlier memo, a special effort is being directed at the military absentee voter, with canvassing and handbill distribution at the largest 168 domestic military installations. In addition, direct mail will go to identified Republican servicemen overseas, and advertising has been placed in the Army, Navy, and Air Force Times. All indications are that this will be a very successful effort and result in a substantial net plus for the President in November.

#### Spanish-Speaking

Throughout the past month, the efforts of the Spanish-Speaking Division were principally oriented toward the Convention, where several events were held, and in several national activities. At the national level, Armendariz has been working closely with the November Group to develop commercials that will be used on Spanish-speaking television stations in California and Texas. These were completed and approved last week and are now ready for use. In addition, the Spanish-Speaking Division has been organizing a national committee of Spanish-speaking Americans in support of the President.

In the field, Spanish-Speaking State Chairmen are in place in all key states with the exception of Texas, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Immediate attention is being given to naming Chairmen in these states, and shoring up weak leadership of the Spanish-speaking campaign in Illinois and California. In addition to providing volunteers, the field organization will attempt to generate one million signatures on a petition in support of the President. Quotas have been assigned to each state organization, the project will be initiated immediately after the canvass kick-off, and it should be completed by October 16th, in time to generate considerable publicity before the election.

#### Urban Citizens

As you know, the Urban Citizens effort was slow in getting started, due to the difficulty we had in finding the right person for the position of Director. With the selection of Taras Szmagala for this position in July and the addition of two fieldmen, we finally began to move. We are only concerned with six or seven key states and about fifteen key cities in this effort. However, we will still have to run hard to have an effective organization of ethnics by November.

Szmagala spent most of August concentrating on the programmatic activities that the other Voter Blocs had completed in the spring. He worked with the November Group on development of promotional materials, including a set of buttons (e. g. , Hungarians for the President) that were one of the major hits of the Convention. In addition, he has reached agreement with the

November Group on a brochure that should be coming out sometime in the middle of September. Also, a considerable portion of his time was consumed by the direct mail program, a large segment of which will focus on ethnics who live near urban areas in key states.

The RNC has been helpful with a number of Heritage Groups. Laszlo Pasztor has enlisted the support of existing Republican Heritage Clubs and had them working for the President as early as June. At this stage, they are fully geared up and ready for the fall campaign. A major effort was launched last week to generate volunteers for the Committee through the various Heritage Groups utilizing an incentive program that has proved successful in earlier efforts with the nationalities groups.

During the next month, Szmagala and his fieldmen will give top priority to establishing Italian, Polish, and Irish-oriented organizations in each of the key cities. In addition, Szmagala will be developing a national telephone operation that was utilized in Taft's 1970 campaign, and also working with the November Group to finalize plans for advertising in the ethnic and Catholic press.

#### Veterans

The month of August was a Convention month for the Veterans -- not only the Republican Convention but also all the major Veterans organizations conventions were held in August. Frank Naylor, the head of the Veterans Division, and his field staff spent almost the entire month preparing for and attending these conventions. They made good use of their time by arranging with the convention leadership to be permitted to caucus with all key state delegations. Names and addresses of interested Veterans were collected and forwarded to the Nixon State Chairman in their state for use as Veterans campaign leaders. In the next week, Naylor and his people will be following up in each of the states to ensure that these key Veterans are being utilized.

In the coming weeks, the Veterans Division will orient its activity toward the field. The Veterans Division is one of the most prolific of the Voter Blocs in terms of generating volunteers. Thus, the Veterans Division is working towards the goal of having Veterans representation at all of the canvass kick-off locations, and they are informing their state chairmen to plan something on their own for September 16th in those areas where a formal kick-off is not contemplated.

In general, the Veterans groups are with the President, and our goal here is to motivate them to get out and vote on November 7, and to work in the

interim for the regular Nixon organization to generate support for the President.

\* \* \* \* \*

In summary, the Voter Blocs are at different stages of development, but are generally well positioned to contribute to the campaign effort in the final two months. However, there are problem areas, and questions to be resolved, and Frank Herringer and I will continue to keep the pressure on.

mag

LOBE  
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Flan

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: August 28, 1972

TO: LARRY HIGBY  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You mentioned in Florida that Bob would make this call to Ellsworth. Jeb will meet with him Wednesday morning before Ellsworth leaves the country for a few days.

Jeb urges that Bob make the call today or tomorrow to establish the project with Ellsworth before Jeb meets with him.

G → L 9/6 - meet  
Ellsworth in Europe  
9/11 - out of country

L

H  
FU  
~~8/29~~  
8/30

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

New York Financial Community  
for President Nixon

Magruder reviewed your suggestions on Bob Ellsworth's New York Financial Community memorandum with Peter Flanigan and then Bob Ellsworth - pursuant to your request. Flanigan concurred with your views. In discussion with Ellsworth, Magruder learned that Bob Ellsworth is most anxious to have you call him personally to ask him to undertake this project. Apparently, there is some 1968 background explaining the request that you talk with Ellsworth personally. A Talking Paper based on the Ellsworth revisions of the memorandum is attached.

GS/jb

TALKING PAPER FOR BOB ELLSWORTH

SUBJECT: New York Financial Community

I have read your original memoranda describing your plans to organize the New York Financial Community for the Re-Election of the President. I understand Jeb Magruder has reviewed my comments as well as Peter Flanigan's with you.

This project offers us an outstanding opportunity to put New York State in the Nixon column. The President joins me in thanking you for taking on this project.

GS  
8/28/72

SUGGESTIONS FOR ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW YORK FINANCIAL  
COMMUNITY COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

- I. Purpose (No change from previous memo.)
- II. Clearances (No change from previous memo.)
- III. Personnel

A. The Chairman of the Committee should be a senior figure on Wall Street. He should be man who is well and favorably known in the New York financial community and respected for his integrity.

From the standpoint of power in the community, I believe the best choice would be the head of one of the large commercial banks, either:

- ~~1)~~ ELLMORE C. PATTERSON, head of Morgan Guaranty Trust, well liked, active and highly esteemed; or
- A 2) WALTER B. WRISTON, head of ENCB, young man (under 50), and definitely pro-Nixon.

Alternatively, the Chairman could be one of the following:

- A 3) DON REGAN, head of Merrill Lynch, believed to be close to the White House;
- ~~4)~~ RALPH SAUL, the highly respected Chairman of the Executive Committee at First Boston, slated to emerge within a year as head of that powerful house; or
- B 5) WILLIAM MORTON, head of American Express.

B. If and when authorized to do so, I will sound out the men on this list (in the order in which they appear) to explain the program, and to insure availability and willingness to serve as Chairman.

NB: At the appropriate point in the "sounding out" process, I should be authorized to indicate that the ultimate request to the individual to serve as Chairman comes from the President, and will be confirmed -- assuming I can report back that the individual is prepared to serve -- by a personal phone call from the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *S*

SUBJECT:

McGovern's TV Ads

Last night on the New York Independent TV station carrying the New York Jets game, McGovern ran a 60-second spot. The style was very similar to those used during the primaries. The theme was credibility with McGovern using the line "no one has a hook on me". The tag was not "Come Home America". It was -- "George McGovern - For the People".