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Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

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September 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR
THE HONORABLE FREDERIC V. MALEK

FROM: GORDON GOCH

SUBJECT: Report on National Announcement of Door-to-Door Canvass, New York City, September 7, 1972

On September 5, 1972, at 7:00 P.M., I was notified that the National Announcement might be made in New York on September 7, 1972, and was directed to make the necessary arrangements for a typical storefront, with volunteers and decorations for an indoor announcement, but no band or celebrities or crowd building for an outdoor event, in order to emphasize the "people to people" aspect of the door-to-door canvass. Confirmation of the event was not received until 2:00 P.M. on September 6. There were no storefronts open in the New York City area, but one at 520 Madison Avenue was leased and open only for cleaning. In less than 24 hours, Fred Perrotta and Paul Feist arranged to have the place cleaned and decorated, and volunteers were turned out sufficient to fill the building to capacity and to block all sidewalk traffic on Madison Avenue in front of the storefront, and appropriate letters for your signature will be forwarded. The building was not air conditioned, and uncomfortable heat levels were unavoidable.

As to other arrangements, I met with the Secret Service and White House advance at the storefront the night of the 6th to comply with all of their requirements and to obtain their approval.

As to Governor Rockefeller, I spent the morning of the 7th at his office making the necessary accommodations to his wishes, and he furnished Jerry Danzig to help with Press arrangements and to supervise the sound and camera arrangements. Appropriate letters will be forwarded for your signature.

Senator Dole was not confirmed in until 9:00 A.M. on the 7th, and I met with his advance at the Governor's office. They were very helpful.

As you know, the timing was tight, since all principals (you and Barbara, Senator Dole, Governor Rockefeller, and Mrs. Cox) were scheduled from
separate places, and rendezvous had to be timed within five minutes. The Secret Service very kindly let me use their radio net to accomplish this, and I will thank the agent in charge. Also, the Governor's secretary, Mrs. Whitman, and a volunteer, Lacy Warner, provided an indispensible common link which should be recognized by you, and appropriate letters should be sent by you, and will be forwarded.

Insofar as operations were concerned, it was necessary to adjust Mrs. Cox's travel time en route in order to compensate for your and Senator Dole's arrival, but use of the radio net made this possible. The event transpired exactly in accord with the instructions I received.

As to the primary mission, press coverage of the door-to-door canvass, Ann Dore advises that all networks made the story available and that Mrs. Cox was featured, including the "Don't be surprised if Governor Rockefeller rings your doorbell."
August 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. FREDERIC V. MALEK
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.
SUBJECT: Telephones

Thank you very much for sending me Howard Cohen's memorandum on telephone answering. In the last few weeks, telephone traffic through our switchboard has increased dramatically, and I have taken the following three steps to alleviate it:

1. Ordered C & P Telephone Company to come up with a way in which to operate two telephone consoles simultaneously. Their engineers have found out how to do this, and the second simultaneous console will be installed during the week of the convention. We are looking for another experienced White House operator, like Ruby Youngs, to work with Ruby on the board during the day.

2. Updated the staff directory and outside lines of all staff members. Bruce Kahri has agreed to distribute a copy of the staff directory to every single person on the White House staff, thus allowing them to use the direct lines which they should be using. Our telephone system is not designed to have all calls coming through the board; most calls should come in on a person's own individual direct-dial lines. By providing people at the RNC and the White House with a list of all of these direct lines, we can hope to accomplish this.

3. Made certain that if traffic continues to increase on the board, a third console can be installed to work simultaneously with the other two.

Although we have a very modern and effective telephone system, psychologically we compare it to the White House's system, and it just isn't as good. The White House has the best telephone system in the world, and I guess it is my job to make ours as close a second as possible. We are trying to do this, and it is helpful to have suggestions and comments.

Perhaps you might want to have Judy pass along this memo to Howard Cohen if you think it is appropriate.

cc: Mr. Jeb S. Magruder

cc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan
MEMORANDUM

September 12, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MARL

SUBJECT: Butz vs. McGovern

It occurs to Arthur Finkelstein and me that McGovern may have exposed his flank in attacking Butz in farm country. If we have any polls giving an in-depth analysis of Butz's strength among farmers, they might show that Butz is stronger than McGovern. That being the case, the Secretary could carry out a carefully-planned counter-attack that might take all of McGovern's attention, and cost him lots of stature. (Note: Butz should not take McGovern on in prolonged battle if it looks like McGovern can keep the offensive.)
MEMORANDUM FOR: TOM EVANS
FROM: FRED MALEK
SUBJECT: Canvass Kick-Off

September 18, 1972

I want to take this opportunity to thank you and your staff for the outstanding efforts in making the Canvass Kick-Off a huge success. The work of the RNC Fieldmen in roughly 20 cities was an integral part of the program, and we could not have pulled it off without your help. Moreover, your support and counseling regarding the entire program was extremely helpful to us here.

Please extend my deep appreciation to Ed DeBolt and the others who participated. You and Ed have put together one hell of a fine field team, and their effectiveness was well demonstrated during the past week.

cc: Clark MacGregor
    H. R. Haldeman
MEMORANDUM

September 11, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: BOB MARIK
SUBJECT: Volunteer Recruitment

The telephone centers in the ten battleground states are geared to recruit volunteers not only for their own operation, but for other campaign activities as well.

The attached recruiting conversation (Tab A) will be used to identify volunteers for door-to-door canvass and Election Day activities. The names of the volunteers will then be transmitted to the follow-up cards (Tab B), which will be passed on to the Nixon field organization.

Where telephone centers are now in operation, Nancy Brataas will coordinate recruitment in support of the door-to-door Canvass Kick-off scheduled for September 16th.
SUGGESTED OPENING

"Hello! May I speak with *, please?
This is , and I'm a volunteer for
President Nixon. In the coming election, can the
President count on your vote?"

(* Use Mr./Mrs./Miss according to which voter you
think has answered the phone.)

FOR!

"That's great! In addition
to voting for the President,
could you help with the
door-to-door canvass in
your area?"

NO to Canvass

"Wonderful! I'm marking you
down as able to help. Your
name will be given to the
Volunteer Chairman who will
get back in touch with you.
Thank you again! Good-bye!"

YES to Canvass

AGAINST

"Thank you for talking with me. Good-bye!"

NO to Canvass

"Could you give some time
during Election Day itself
to help turn out the vote
for the President?"

YES to Helping on Election Day

"Fine. The President will
certainly appreciate your
vote November 7th. Thank
your for talking with me.
Good-bye!"

NO to Helping At All

UNDECIDED

(Hesitant, Silent, Won't Say)

"Well, it is an important
decision to make... and we
do hope you will join us
in voting for the
President November 7th.
Thank you for talking
with me. Good-bye!"

COLOR KEY

Red = "No"
Green = "Go" (yes)

SUGGESTED CONVERSATION

for CANVASS AND ELECTION DAY RECRUITMENT CALLS

KEEP THE Faith...!

1. Smile as you talk...a smile can be heard through the telephone!
2. Don't let any "nose heads" dampen your spirits. Simply be cordial, say good-bye
   and go on to your next call.
3. Never get involved in a discussion of issues...never mention another candidate.
4. Remember, every completed call counts toward your Phone Center's Quote.
   ...Every Quote topped means more people contacted for the President!
MAKING YOUR CALLS

1. Take a page or page-set from the box labeled "Ready for Recruitment Calls".

2. The computer pages you call from are "self-carbon"!

   ...Be sure to write on just one set at a time! Press hard.

3. Always use a red ball-point pen. A ruler will help keep your place on a line.

4. Follow the suggested conversation (see reverse side of this page).

   ...It's been carefully written to obtain the best results in the least possible time.

5. CALL REPUBLICANS HOUSEHOLDS ONLY. Republican households are those with an asterisk (*) in the Tally Column (far left). Speak with whichever listed Republican answers the phone.

   ...If the line is busy, no one answers, or a child or baby-sitter is the only person there, don't mark anything; the phone number may be tried again later.

   ...If the voter is deceased, has moved, or if you reach a disconnected, wrong or non-working number, use your ruler to line out the name.

**6. According to the voter's response, circle the "F" (For), "A" (Against), or "U" (Undecided) opposite that name in the Voter ID Columns.

   ...Circle the "C" (Canvass) or "E" (Election Day) in the "Will Help" Columns.

KEEPING TRACK OF YOUR CALLS

1. Tally your calls by putting a check mark (√) over the asterisk in the Tally Column... every time you reach a voter.

2. Total your calls page by page.

   ...Count the number of checks (√) in the Tally Column and enter that total on the Phoner's Tally Pad at your place to show the calls you completed for that page.

   ...Count the number of "F"s you circled and enter that total also.

WHEN YOU FINISH... A PAGE OR A PRECINCT

1. Put the page face down in the box labeled "Recruitment Calls Tried" and take the next page from the box labeled "Ready for Recruitment Calls".

2. When you've called an entire precinct, ask your Supervisor to bring you a new precinct to call.

**See the illustrated sample: "How to Mark the Computer Page for Recruitment Calls"
"WILL HELP" FOLLOW-UP CARD

Door-To-Door Canvass Volunteer

City or Twp_________ Ward or Dist.____ Prec._________

PHONE: Area code ( ) -

NAME:__________________________________________

ADDRESS: _______________________________________

City ___________________________________________

State ___________________ ZIP code ____________

This person has volunteered to help canvass and is expecting to be contacted by the Nixon Canvass Chairman. Please follow up immediately.

☐ Check (✓) when contacted and scheduled. (Form 351)
THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION PICTURE IN PHILADELPHIA

Late August, 1972

E. John Bucci And Associates
Public Opinion Surveys
Shirer Building
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania 19081
215 - Kingswood 4-5775

Associate Director:
Edward D. Gootman
Not since 1932, forty long years ago, has a Republican presidential nominee carried the City of Philadelphia, although Thomas Dewey came within 6,700 votes of doing so in 1948. This year, 1972, the Republican party's hope of breaking the Democratic stranglehold on the city's voters in national elections comes ever closer to reality.

For the third consecutive month, for as long as we have tested the two-man matching of Richard Nixon vs. George McGovern in Philadelphia, the President leads his Democratic challenger! Indeed, were the presidential election actually to be held today, we would project a Nixon win in Philadelphia with approximately 55% to McGovern's 45%.

Whether the President can maintain his lead until November 7 will be seen in our future citywide surveys. Nonetheless, based on our series of polls to date and given the failure of Senator McGovern to improve his posture virtually everywhere we have surveyed, we expect President Nixon to run extremely well in the city, much better than in either 1960 or 1968. An even break or a victory in Philadelphia is no idle dream!

The crux of the Nixon pull in Philadelphia is his ability not only to capture solid support from among his own party's rank and file, currently at 80%, but also to draw a substantial minority
of the registered Democrats, a strong one-third. McGovern, on the
other hand, ekes out only a bare majority of the Democrats, many of
whom, of course, are blacks, and polls just 20% among Republican
identifiers.

Sentiment in the McGovern-Nixon contest has shifted only slightly
over the past three months, and this predominantly within the Repub-
lican camp itself. A movement to McGovern occurred just after the
Democratic Convention -- McGovern gained 7 points, Nixon dipped by
11 points. After the Republican Convention, the previous pattern
re-emerged, and the August break of 80% to 20% among Republicans
may reflect the final crystallization of feeling in the President's
party. Democrats have consistently refused to grant McGovern more
than 50%-52% of their votes and have given Nixon a healthy 34%-37%.

The stability of the trend in vote intent is encouraging, for it is probable that voters, informed about both candidates, will
hold on to their preferences. Also encouraging is the prospect of
Nixon's strength aiding Republican candidates for lower offices,
helping Philadelphia's Republicans to elect more state senators and
legislators than in recent history. (Please see Appendix.)

The story of the vote intent statistics over the past three
months is presented in Table 1.
The blurring of party lines and the weakening of Democratic party loyalties as so many disaffected voters cross to support Nixon reflects in part an underlying racial composition of the presidential vote. Over the course of the three months we have run McGovern and Nixon head-to-head, between June and August, whites have now grouped solidly in Nixon's corner, blacks are overwhelmingly in the McGovern camp. The success of local Republicans like Arlen Specter and Thacher Longstreth in winning support from blacks is not being repeated this year, and the black voters have returned to their traditional Democratic voting habit.

This sharp differentiation by race is very discouraging, given the need for unity among peoples both in the city and the nation. However, the practical impact is clear: Nixon is running well in the white sections of Philadelphia, and it is here that his coat-tails should be helpful in electing some local candidates.

The trend in preference for president by race in June, July, and August is given in Table 2.
**TABLE 2: VOTE INTENT FOR PRESIDENT BY RACE: McGOVERN VS. NIXON — JUNE THROUGH AUGUST, 1972**

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<td><strong>WHITES</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>19%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>71%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't know, neither</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BLACKS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know, neither</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL ELECTORATE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know, neither</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The failure of George McGovern to make strong gains in Philadelphia -- a city which, after all, boasts 63% Democratic registration -- has been due to his inability to establish a positive image among the city's residents. For today, far better known than he was even months ago, McGovern has a personal and positive motivational base of a mere one-tenth of the voters, no larger than the number of voters favoring Nixon out of anti-McGovern sentiment.

Reasons behind McGovern support are almost entirely non-personal. Only 9% of all voters refer to outright positive reactions to McGovern himself in justifying their vote stance. And all of these people talk of McGovern's views -- none of his personal qualities, attributes, or capabilities, which seem to have dropped out of sight in recent surveys. All the rest of the voters who indicate a McGovern ballot intention volunteer motivations extraneous to McGovern which would have been held, no doubt, by any Democratic nominee.

The chief motivation, indeed, cited by one-half of all McGovern voters, is negativism toward the President, dissatisfaction with the Nixon years or the Nixon personality. Others believe that McGovern is better than Nixon, but mostly as the lesser evil rather than as a positive improvement.

The weak party ties in this election are further demonstrated by the meager 3% who cite Democratic party loyalty on McGovern's behalf. McGovern cannot even hold a meaningful bloc of loyal Democrats who might otherwise have stayed within the party.
For President Nixon, as in the past and as for any incumbent, the singular dominant motivation for support is recognition of his record in office, his experience, his know-how. Nixon supporters are generally satisfied with his achievements, although most do not specify in what particular areas they feel the President has done well. Those who do, point to the war and the economy. Some voters wish to continue the incumbent in office, believing that he needs more time to carry out his programs. A group of voters react sympathetically to the burdens carried by the President.

The only other significant reason behind a vote for Nixon is hostility to McGovern, lower than in previous surveys, but still at an important 11%. Apparently, as time goes by, voters' intentions are holding rather firm, but their motivations are undergoing some transformation, moving from a straight negative vote for Nixon against McGovern to a rationalized or newly-felt positive sentiment for Nixon.

Other reasons for favoring the President are minimal, including belief that he is the better candidate or lesser evil, regard for his personal qualities -- never a strong point and still not one -- and lack of knowledge of the Democratic nominee. Not a single voter in the Philadelphia survey in August offers his Republican party identification as a reason for a Nixon ballot, this despite the overwhelming support given to Nixon by his fellow Republicans. This year, at least, Republicans do not need to rely simply on their party leanings: They have found better and more substantive
justifications upon which to base their votes, even though party
must implicitly play a role in that determination.

In summary, the President is currently in good shape in
Philadelphia. The combination of his performance in office and
negative feelings toward McGovern is sufficient to propel him into
the lead in this Democratic city. If the current pattern continues
to hold, the President just may break tradition and win the city
in November.

Table 3 is the composite picture of motivations behind support
of McGovern and Nixon in August. Table 4 offers a sampling of
verbatim comments made about Senator McGovern by our respondents.
Table 5 presents comments made about President Nixon.
TABLE 3: COMPOSITE PICTURE OF MOTIVATIONS FOR FAVORING McGovern OR NIXON FOR PRESIDENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivations</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>McGOVERN</strong></td>
<td>40%**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Nixon sentiment: He's backward and old school, see results of four years of Nixon -- he's for rich man, we need a change -- said he'd end the war and it's still going on, don't think Nixon is doing too good, hasn't done such a good job, against Nixon's war policy, because I have suffered for the past four years, I don't see anything Nixon has done for my people, I'm a government worker and Nixon is not doing that much for us, doing nothing for the poor class of people, Nixon just isn't doing the job, don't like Nixon, never went for him, Nixon is just bad, just don't like the way Nixon is handling things, don't like Nixon at all -- sneaky, don't happen to like Nixon or his policies, he's played everything for politics -- strung war out, hasn't done anything for me, Nixon's a liar, Nixon has done things for the black people but he's ashamed of it, don't want Nixon at all</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree with McGovern's views: McGovern has a program that reaches the majority of the people -- Nixon has never thought much about poor, like his ideas, change of economy, for the workingman, labor, feel that he understands the poor people, the changes he's willing to make, I think he'd help the poor people -- we need help, he'll try and make some kind of budget, the war primarily, I'm very anti-war, I feel he will do something about Vietnam</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGovern is the better man: We need a change and McGovern is the man, just wish that he can make it better -- has to do better than Nixon, he'd run it a little better than Nixon, don't think much of Nixon -- lesser of two evils, will do better job for us folk</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic party identification: Democrats are more for the poor people, I was always a Democrat</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approval with reservations: He'll do a good job but didn't like his change of running mate, I think he will do better than Nixon -- I don't like this $6,500 welfare</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous reasons</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 3: (Continued)

**NIXON**

![Image](image_url)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nixon's performance and experience</th>
<th>33%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General satisfaction with Nixon's record: He knows what he's doing, seems to be doing pretty good, highly approve of him, he has capabilities to do the job and he's proven himself, like his views, doing a wonderful job, doing a good job in most areas, done a good job for the country, doing a good job and you don't fire a good man, I feel Nixon has the experience and has done a good job, I think he has done a good job, is capable and why chance McGovern?, I voted for him last time and he turned out okay, I think he's doing good and nobody can do better, I like what Nixon has to say, his past record, I feel he's doing all right -- my union is against him but I just can't see McGovern</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Specific areas of accomplishment: Foreign policy and improvement in economic situation, has done a lot to help inflation, has done more to help the war -- it wasn't his war, doing a good job with Vietnam situation, better on foreign policy, I think Nixon is doing a pretty good job at home and in this war, bringing boys back from Vietnam, not backing down to Communism, trying to get the men back from Vietnam without disgracing the U.S., I think he's done a good job getting the troops out -- I don't agree with the bombing | 7% |

| Desire to leave the incumbent in: I feel he should go back in -- started a lot -- a chance to finish, don't think four years are enough to do what he wants to do, don't change a horse in the middle of a stream, has the experience | 3% |

| Sympathetic reactions to Nixon's efforts: Trying hard, he's doing a good job considering what he walked into, he was left with all the junk -- doing best he can | 2% |

| Anti-McGovern sentiment: Hate McGovern, McGovern is everything to everybody, against McGovern very much, he's a goof ball and talks through his hat, can't see McGovern in for anything -- has nothing to back him up, don't like his views on Vietnam, too radical to suit me, | 33% |
TABLE 3: (Continued)

NIXON (Continued)

- don't care for him -- have no faith in him -- he lies, don't think he can do the job, does not represent me at all, I'm against his amnesty policies and legalization of drugs and his watered-down women's bloc, you don't know how McGovern will do, don't like the way he acts, he just doesn't know what he's doing, don't like some of the groups McGovern has affiliated with 11%

Nixon is the better man, lesser of two evils 5%

Nixon's personal qualities: Good man, I just like him as a person 2%

Don't know McGovern 2%

Miscellaneous and no special reason 5%

DON'T KNOW, NEITHER 9%

TOTAL ELECTORATE 100%

** Individual reasons total greater than indicated vote percentage because some respondents gave more than one reason.
TABLE 4: ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM COMMENTS ABOUT SENATOR McGOVERN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAVORABLE</th>
<th>UNFAVORABLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I think he'd help the poor people. We need help.</td>
<td>I don't like McGovern. He doesn't know what he's doing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel that he understands the poor people. He plans to do something about the way things are, particularly for the poor.</td>
<td>McGovern does not represent me at all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGovern has a program that reaches the majority of the people -- lower income.</td>
<td>Don't like the way McGovern acts. Will not vote for him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seems to be for working person and no big business.</td>
<td>McGovern is a goof ball and talks through his hat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He's for the workingman, labor.</td>
<td>Can't see McGovern in for anything. Has nothing to back him up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He wants to try to straighten out the Vietnam war. He'll try and make some kind of budget.</td>
<td>Don't care for McGovern. Have no faith in the man. He lies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like him. I feel he will do something about Vietnam.</td>
<td>McGovern is too radical to suit me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The changes he's willing to make.</td>
<td>Don't like some of the groups McGovern has affiliated with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think he would be a good leader.</td>
<td>McGovern is no good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| | McGovern not a chance. |
| | I'm against McGovern's amnesty policies and the legalization of drugs and his watered-down women's bloc. |
TABLE 5: ILLUSTRATIVE VERBATIM COMMENTS ABOUT PRESIDENT NIXON

FAVORABLE
I think he has done a damn good job.
Doing a good job and you don't fire a good man.
Don't change a horse in the middle of a stream.
I think Nixon is doing a pretty good job at home and in the war.
I think he's doing a good job considering what he walked into.
Mostly from the experience the man has had. He's done a lot to help inflation.
He has the capabilities to do the job and he's proven himself.
He's doing a very good job, and he's trying to get the men back from Vietnam without disgracing the U.S.
Doing a good job bringing back boys from Vietnam. Not backing down to Communism.
I just like him as a person, and what he's been doing.
Keep him. Problems are overseas. Let's keep them there. Hoping that Nixon will keep problems out of U.S.
Of course. He's doing an all right job. He was left with all the junk. Doing best he can.
I voted for him last time and he turned out okay.
Nixon has done more to help the war. It wasn't his war.
I like what Nixon has to say.
I don't think four years are enough to do what he wants to do.

UNFAVORABLE
Don't like Nixon at all. Sneaky.
I'm very anti-war. Nixon's a liar.
Nixon ain't shown me nothing.
Nixon hasn't done anything for me.
TABLE 5: (Continued)

UNFAVORABLE (Continued)

Nixon is more for corporations than the little man.
Nixon's not doing such a good job.
I don't see anything Nixon has done for my people.
I'm a government worker and Nixon is not doing that much for us.
Because Nixon ain't doing nothing for the poor class of people.
Seen results of four years of Nixon. He's for rich man.
Nixon has never thought much about the poor.
Nixon played everything for politics -- strung war out.
Just don't like the way Nixon is handling things.
Nixon has done things for the black people but he's ashamed of it.
Historically, the pull of the winning presidential nominee in the City of Philadelphia and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has tended to aid the candidates of his party for lower offices. With respect to Philadelphia this year, the crucial question is whether what has occurred in the past with a winning Democratic presidential nominee can take place with a Republican winner. In other words, will Nixon be able to assist his running mates as Kennedy, Johnson, and, to some extent, Humphrey were able to assist theirs?

All efforts must be made to turn that same tactic of straight-party voting to Republican advantage. It is certainly a goal toward which the President himself, when he visits the city and the state, and all Republican forces must strive.

Given below in Tables A and B is a review of the election results of 1968 and 1960, for the city and the state, as examples of the similarity of voting patterns for the presidential and other candidates. Both years saw Richard Nixon as his party's nominee. Nineteen-sixty was a "normal" two-man contest and demonstrated at both city and state levels an ideal pattern of party voting. Nineteen-sixty-eight, which was a three-way race, nonetheless provides some insight as to voting behavior.


TABLE A: PHILADELPHIA AND PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION RESULTS -- 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th></th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vote</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Vote</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PHILADELPHIA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>525,768</td>
<td>62.4%</td>
<td>254,153</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Note: Wallace vote -- 63,506; 7.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Senator</td>
<td>499,800</td>
<td>62.1%</td>
<td>305,597</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Treasurer</td>
<td>509,656</td>
<td>64.7%</td>
<td>278,002</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auditor General</td>
<td>531,730</td>
<td>67.4%</td>
<td>257,001</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judge</td>
<td>513,651</td>
<td>65.3%</td>
<td>273,161</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress (All districts)</td>
<td>532,346</td>
<td>66.6%</td>
<td>266,970</td>
<td>33.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PENNSYLVANIA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>2,259,403</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>2,090,017</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Note: Wallace vote -- 378,582; 8.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Senator</td>
<td>2,117,662</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
<td>2,399,762</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Treasurer</td>
<td>2,329,335</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>2,129,339</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auditor General</td>
<td>2,451,785</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
<td>2,007,645</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judge</td>
<td>2,309,716</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
<td>2,161,951</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress (All districts)</td>
<td>2,286,363</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
<td>2,230,052</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE B: PHILADELPHIA AND PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION RESULTS -- 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vote</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Vote</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PHILADELPHIA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>622,544</td>
<td>68.1%</td>
<td>291,000</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Treasurer</td>
<td>606,997</td>
<td>67.5%</td>
<td>292,507</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auditor General</td>
<td>608,089</td>
<td>67.7%</td>
<td>290,094</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judge</td>
<td>611,940</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
<td>289,559</td>
<td>32.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress (All districts)</td>
<td>612,501</td>
<td>67.8%</td>
<td>290,941</td>
<td>32.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PENNSYLVANIA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>2,556,282</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
<td>2,439,956</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Treasurer</td>
<td>2,511,941</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
<td>2,395,770</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auditor General</td>
<td>2,528,740</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>2,383,178</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judge</td>
<td>2,516,730</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>2,412,525</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress (All districts)</td>
<td>2,554,885</td>
<td>51.6%</td>
<td>2,396,322</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SCHEDULE: CLARK MacGREGOR TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1972

9:15 a.m. - Staff Meeting

10:00 a.m. - Hold for CM

11:00 a.m. - Anna Chennault

12:15 p.m. - Charlotte Ford w/Magruder (here)

12:30 p.m. - Conference Dining Room, White House - Luncheon w/General George Olmsted and retired military personnel

2:00 p.m. - Press Conference, 3rd Floor Conf Rm, Women's Surrogate Program

4:00 p.m. - RN, et al - EOB Office
September 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAT BUCHANAN
FROM: L. HIGBY

Bob asked that you work up a memo for his review today that covers the following points:

1. A study of the President's thesis that you should look at elections in this century and you will see that no Presidential candidate has ever won by a 2 to 1 ratio. The optimum, or maximum ever attained was Roosevelt over Landsen which was 63-37, or whatever it was. Get the facts on that.

2. The optimum for a Republican is the Eisenhower landslide of 1956 where he got 57.9% of the vote versus his opponents 42.5%. In other words, a 15 point margin is optimum for a Republican in these times, and that should be our stated goal -- to equal the Eisenhower reelection majority of 57.9%.

You should also develop a line for columnists making this point. We should talk in this fashion -- not in the terms that we expect our polls to go down, but rather that our goal in the ultimate poll on election day, will be the 15 point spread that Eisenhower achieved.

LH:kb
MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

Mrs. Nixon, Tricia, Julie, Ed Nixon and Ed Cox should be scheduled into all of the smaller states including the southern states between now and the election. Of course Hawaii and Alaska should be excluded unless it appears that a trip to Alaska might be essential for the purpose of shoring up Stevens.

It is also important that the family be heavily scheduled into Massachusetts, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

With regard to southern states, none of the southern states should feel that they are being taken for granted. For example, some member of the family must be scheduled into Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, as well as in the states where we have Senate contests we expect we have a good chance to win.

Whenever a member of the family goes into South Dakota, there must be a particularly good advance job done to be sure that we get a good reception in that area.

Don't overlook Senate contests in places like Montana, New Mexico and Louisiana where we might have a chance to win. Also, it is very important that at least one or two members of the family go to Alabama and be seen with Blount. Of course, the other reason for going to Alabama is to make sure that the Alabamians do not consider that we are taking them for granted.
As far as the southern states are concerned, the President will cover Atlanta and has already covered Florida. The others should all -- except for Texas -- be covered by members of the family, and the same is true of mountain states and farm states, and the New England states -- Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island -- which are not on our target list.

Both Tricia and Julia would like very much to work in tours to southern border states and also to the mountain states at this time. We have been throwing them into the heavy media areas long enough and while, of course, we should not rule out such areas totally and particularly not rule them out for the last two weeks, it might be well to give them a respite from having to face the sharpies in the press corps in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, et al, and schedule them into states like Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas, Oklahoma and others, as well as in the smaller towns in larger states like Texas where they will be particularly well received. The same can be said of Montana, New Mexico, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Kansas and Nebraska, as well as of other states of that type. Also, there should be particular emphasis on their schedules to be in towns that no national celebrity may have visited before.

HRH/KB
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: JEB MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Los Angeles Victory '72 Dinner

The Victory '72 Dinner in Los Angeles will be held in the Ball Room of the Century Plaza Hotel on September 27. In a recent conversation with the Dinner Chairman, Ed Carter, he suggested the following program:

6:15 p.m. - Reception for approximately 100 Vice Chairmen who were primarily responsible for selling tickets. Mr. Carter requested that the President attend this event.

7:00 p.m. - General reception for invitees

8:00 p.m. - The Dinner Program

Bob Hope is the proposed M.C. He will make the welcoming remarks, etc.

Hope will be followed by another prominent entertainer

Bob Hope will then make remarks and introduce the President

The President speaks (the program will close immediately).

Ed Carter will be responsible for getting Bob Hope and the prominent entertainer mentioned in the program proposal. The question we must answer for him is whether or not the President will participate in the reception at 6:15 for the Dinner Vice Chairmen.

Approve

Disapprove

Comment
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Victory '72 Dinner Telecast

The Victory '72 Dinner telecast will be held on September 26, starting at 9:00 p.m.; the President's entrance will be at approximately 9:40 p.m. The telecast will originate out of New York City and Chicago. The telecast will be carried over closed circuit television in 25 to 28 cities around the country. In each of the cities, surrogates and celebrities will have primed the dinner audiences for the telecast. We must be sure that the dinner program dovetails with the TV program. The telecast must be simple, move fast and look good. As indicated in the attached script, the control will be kept in New York, switched to Chicago during the program and returned to New York for the President's address and close.

Our basic objectives, aside from raising money, will be: (1) to motivate and inspire the campaign apparatus throughout the country; (2) to acknowledge the contributions of all the people who are participating in the campaign; (3) to blur the image of a group of Republican "fat cats" coming together to buy the government for another four years. We can expect a blast from the McGovern camp on this very issue and it is suggested that we seek to diffuse the charge in advance. The attached script therefore indicates no participation by celebrities and suggests that you, Senator Dole and Anne Armstrong, along with the President and Mrs. Nixon and the Vice President, serve as the major participants in the telecast. You would introduce Senator Dole and Mrs. Nixon and act as Master of Ceremonies for the telecast. It is suggested that Senator Dole comment on and narrate a brief film clip of the Convention. Mrs. Nixon would briefly comment on volunteerism and introduce the President.

Both audibly and visually, it should be stressed that the President is physically at the New York Dinner and that the Vice President is at the Chicago Dinner. In addition, it should be indicated that the President has representatives at the New York Dinner from surrounding key states such as New Jersey and Connecticut, etc. It is also suggested in the attached script that the President and Mrs. Nixon enter at different times.

The telecast format can be built around the four items which you have repeatedly pointed out as being necessary to any successful campaign: CANDIDATE, MONEY, PEOPLE and ISSUES.
CANDIDATE - Re-elect the President!

MONEY - Each guest at the dinner will have paid $1,000 for his plate.

PEOPLE - We might consider inviting a guest volunteer to each dinner. The guest volunteer would be a carefully selected "Little Guy" who would not otherwise receive recognition from the top. Local politicians and celebrities would have to be tactfully eliminated from the selection process. The selections could be based on volunteers who had worked 1,000 hours or more -- "The 1,000 Hour People" -- which would also tie in nicely with the $1,000 a plate dinner. The guest volunteer portion of the program would demonstrate Presidential appreciation for the foot soldier of the campaign and would be strongly reinforced if Mrs. Nixon were to recognize by name the guest volunteer present in each city. Guests could be made available to the media after the dinner, giving maximum impact in the hometowns in these key states.

ISSUES - The President and Vice President should make remarks in concert. The nature of their comments and the issues to be addressed will be decided by the White House.

Tony McDonald has been acting as Project Manager for our participation in this event and has discussed this plan with Bill Carruthers and Mark Goode.

Attached is a copy of the contract we have signed with TNT.

Approve __________________________ Disapprove __________________________

Comment ____________________________________________________________
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Audio</th>
<th>Video</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FANFARE AND SEQUE INTO APPROPRIATE</td>
<td>OPEN WITH LARGE COLOR MAP OF THE UNITED STATES, WITHOUT PRINT COPY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER IDENTIFYING NEW YORK &quot;GIVE MY REGARDS TO BROADWAY&quot;</td>
<td>HOLD MAP FULL AND TIGHTEN TO THE N.Y. AREA, FILLING SCREEN WITH LOGO AND COMING IN WITH SUPER-IMPOSED PICTURE OF PRESIDENT WAVING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSIC UNDER FOR</td>
<td>MAT IN TITLE LOGO &quot;VICTORY '72&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.O. ANNOUNCER</td>
<td>DISSOLVE TO WIDE SHOT AND PAN NEW YORK AUDIENCE, SPOTLIGHTS MOVING OVER THEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IDENTIFIES HOTEL, ROOM AND CITY, IDENTIFIES FUNCTION IN FULL AND ACKNOWLEDGES ALL DINNERS)</td>
<td>KEEPING MAT TITLE OVER SHOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCES DINNER CHAIRMAN, BUNNY LASKER</td>
<td>CUT TO LASKER AT LECTERN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MUSIC ENDS WITH BUILD TO APPLAUSE)</td>
<td>LASKER</td>
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<tr>
<td>LASKER WELCOMES GUEST AND INTRODUCES CLARK MacGREGOR</td>
<td>(FOLLOW SPOT ON MacGREGOR S/L)</td>
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<tr>
<td>WALK ON MUSIC AND APPLAUSE</td>
<td>WIDEN TO 2 SHOT AS MacGREGOR ENTERS S/L</td>
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<tr>
<td>MacGREGOR WELCOMING REMARKS TO NATION AND CHICAGO</td>
<td>MacGREGOR</td>
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<td>AUDIO</td>
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<tr>
<td>MacGREGOR INTRODUCES SENATOR DOLE</td>
<td>(FOLLOW SPOT ON DOLE S/L)</td>
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<tr>
<td>WALK ON MUSIC AND APPLAUSE</td>
<td>WIDEN TO 2 SHOT AS DOLE ENTERS S/L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SENATOR DOLE SPEAKS (6-7 MINUTES ON THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION)</td>
<td>DOLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOLE TURNS PROGRAM BACK TO MacGREGOR</td>
<td>(LAST 4-5 MINUTES OF DOLE REMARKS WITH V.O. - FILM HIGHLIGHTS OF CONVENTION)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacGREGOR TURNS PROGRAM OVER TO CHICAGO DIN.</td>
<td>MacGREGOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FANFARE AND SEGUE INTO APPROPRIATE NUMBER IDENTIFYING CHICAGO &quot;CHICAGO&quot;</td>
<td>SWITCH LIVE COVERAGE FROM NEW YORK TO CHICAGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSIC UNDER FOR V.O. ANNOUNCER (IDENTIFIES HOTEL, ROOM AND CITY, IDENTIFIES BRIEFLY FUNCTION) INTRODUCES DINNER CHAIRMAN, ARTHUR WOOD</td>
<td>OPEN WITH LARGE COLOR MAP OF THE UNITED STATES, WITHOUT PRINT COPY. HOLD MAP FULL AND TIGHTEN TO THE CHICAGO AREA, FILLING SCREEN WITH &quot;VICTORY '72&quot; LOGO AND COMING IN WITH SUPER-IMPOSED PICTURE OF VICE PRESIDENT WAVING DISSOLVE TO SIDE SHOT AND PAN CHICAGO AUDIENCE, SPOTLIGHTS MOVING OVER THEM KEEPING MAT TITLE OVER SHOT</td>
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<td>CUT TO WOOD AT LECTERN</td>
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<td>AUDIO</td>
<td>VIDEO</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARTHUR WOOD INTRODUCES SURROGATE M.C., ANNE ARMSTRONG</td>
<td>(FOLLOW SPOT ON ANNE ARMSTRONG) CARRY TO LECTERN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNE ARMSTRONG INTRODUCES VICE PRESIDENT TO MUSIC AND APPLAUSE</td>
<td>(HOUSE LIGHTS UP—FOLLOW SPOT ON VICE PRESIDENT) CARRY V.P. TO STAGE INTER-CUTTNG AUDIENCE AS DESIRED.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VICE PRESIDENT SPEAKS (APPROX. 10 MINUTES)</td>
<td>(HOUSE LIGHTS OUT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSICAL PLAY OFF AND APPLAUSE</td>
<td>VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.O. ANNOUNCER TURNS PROGRAM BACK TO MacGREGOR IN NEW YORK</td>
<td>AT CONCLUSION, HOUSE LIGHTS UP AND SPOT CARRY VICE PRESIDENT BACK TO HIS TABLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacGREGOR THANKS VICE PRESIDENT</td>
<td>MacGREGOR IN NEW YORK /SPLIT SCREEN/ VICE PRESIDENT IN CHICAGO WAVING AND WALKING TO TABLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacGREGOR INTRODUCES MRS. NIXON</td>
<td>FULL SCREEN TO MacGREGOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRS. NIXON SPEAKS ON VOLUNTEERISM</td>
<td>FOLLOW SPOT ON MRS. NIXON S/L AND CARRY TO LECTERN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRS. NIXON INTRODUCES THE PRESIDENT WALK ON MUSIC &quot;HAIL TO THE CHIEF&quot; AND APPLAUSE</td>
<td>MRS. NIXON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSIC AND APPLAUSE</td>
<td>FOLLOW SPOT ON PRESIDENT S/L AND CARRY TO LECTERN</td>
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<td>PRESIDENT AND MRS. NIXON</td>
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<td>AUDIO</td>
<td>VIDEO</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRESIDENT NIXON SPEAKS (APPROX. 15 MINUTES)</td>
<td>(OFF CAMERA - ESCORT TAKES MRS. NIXON OFF STAGE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSIC AND APPLAUSE</td>
<td>PRESIDENT NIXON AT CONCLUSION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DROWN OUT APPLAUSE WITH YOUTH SHOUTING</td>
<td>SPLIT SCREEN - NEW YORK AND CHICAGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;FOUR MORE YEARS&quot; AT YOUTH RALLY IN MIAMI</td>
<td>SHOWING PRESIDENT WAVING FROM LECTERN AND VICE PRESIDENT WAVING FROM TABLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MAT IN &quot;VICTORY '72&quot; LOGO</td>
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</table>

Five minute pad to allow for applause, remarks over extending limit and/or other minor delay.
March 21, 1972

Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President
Suite 272
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Gentlemen:

This will confirm that the following is the agreement between us:

1) We agree to provide to you all necessary facilities and services for a color closed-circuit telecast on the evening of September 26, 1972 for up to one (1) hour's duration to twenty-five (25) cities on the attached list marked Exhibit A, the origination and exhibition to be "live" television.

2) We agree to provide, install and operate, or to arrange at our expense for the operation, provision and installation of all facilities necessary for the origination, transmission and exhibition of the color closed-circuit telecast to the meeting locations selected in the twenty-five (25) cities listed in Exhibit A. The facilities shall include, but not be limited to, appropriate large-screen color television projection systems at the meeting locations, television audio facilities including coordination with local meeting locations public address systems; screens; complete field engineering services for advance client contacts and supervision of the telecast at each location; television long lines and local loops and connections from the cities of network origination into each of the meeting locations in the cities listed in Exhibit A; and supervision and coordination of the entire closed-circuit telecast by our network staff.

3) We have begun to and will complete reservations on your behalf to appropriate meeting locations in the aforementioned twenty-five (25) cities, for exhibition of the telecast in accordance with our standard color television operating procedures for advance equipment arrival, installation, testing and rehearsals. These reservations are subject to booking by you and/or your affiliated organizations within the coming two months; if an alternative meeting location is desired by you, it will be submitted to us for our technical and cost approval. The firm bookings made by you and/or your affiliated organizations will include provision for our standard color television operating procedures, a copy
of which is attached herewith as Exhibit B. The meeting location rentals and local arrangements, including public address systems and their operation, catering services, decorations, local entertainment, local hall stagehands, etc., shall be borne by you and/or your affiliated organization at each location.

4) (a) 1. We agree to provide and operate the necessary facilities and to perform the services to direct and originate your program live to the network. The program shall consist, in general, of principal speeches by political leaders before the audiences at the New York and Los Angeles meeting locations.

2. You shall provide the speakers and program for the telecast, but we will consult with and aid in developing an appropriate program format, subject to your final approval.

3. We agree to provide the producing and directing, as required, and the following production facilities and services: standard color television origination unit consisting of three television cameras, color television lighting and direction, cameramen and other personnel together with audio microphones for move into and setup, equipment tests and rehearsals in the New York and Los Angeles origination locations, beginning early in the morning of September 26th. The television move in, setup, rehearsals and telecast will take place free of advance work completed by you on decorations, scaffolds, platforming, seating arrangements, public address system work, etc., so that the television production is uninterrupted.

4. You agree to provide as part of your responsibility in the rental of the origination locations and their facilities and services, the decoration of the area of origination, including backdrop, drapes, floor covering, any stage construction, props, seating, platforms, or scaffolds. You agree to be responsible for the costs of all "house" facilities, including but not limited to stagehands and lighting facilities, the "house" power for lighting and television facilities, the "house" drayage, and the "house" public address system and its operation. The above shall not include the manpower and equipment provided for this telecast by us, as described above in subparagraph 4) (a) 3.
5) In consideration of the performance of the services and the furnishings of the facilities and services by us under Paragraph (1), (2), (3) and (4) (a) 1, 2, and 3 of the agreement, you agree to pay us the total net sum of One Hundred Eighty Seven Thousand, Five Hundred Dollars ($187,500) payable as follows: $10,000 on or before April 10, 1972; fifty percent (50%) on or before August 15, 1972; the balance on or before the close of business September 15, 1972. It is understood that the payment dates are of the essence and that failure to pay on time will constitute adequate cause for cancellation of the telecast by us. In the event of such cancellation, it is further understood that such payment already received by us can and will be retained, and there will be no return of same to you.

(a) When a city and meeting location is added to or subtracted from those included in Exhibit A, we shall inform you of the amount due in addition to or in subtraction from the above, and this shall become due and payable or deductible pursuant to the above schedule of payment dates. The same procedure shall apply to addition or subtraction of television originations to the network.

(b) If the telephone companies after surveys of each meeting location should have to make any special construction charges for facilities to accomplish this closed-circuit telecast, these charges are not to be considered included in the payment made to us under Paragraph 5) above, but shall be an additional charge subject to your advance approval.

(c) If you require a videotape or kinescope recording and prints of the program, or videotape playbacks of regions or local exhibition of the telecast, you shall order them through us. The charge for such recordings, playbacks and prints shall not be considered included in the price under Paragraph 5) above, but shall be an additional charge subject to your advance approval.

6) If, for any reason occasioned by a fire, explosion, earthquake, accident, flood, drought, embargo, riot, war or Act of God or the public enemy, the telecast cannot be accomplished, either party shall notify the other promptly and either party shall have the right to cancel this agreement.
without liability of either to the other, except that those costs which we have already incurred for the telecast and are not cancellable or recoverable will be reimbursed to us by you. If any individual cities on the attached list cannot be made available for the telecast for any reason occasioned by an Act of God, lack of telephone line clearance, or unavailability of proper meeting locations, either party shall have the right to cancel the agreement as to that location, and you shall not be liable for any payment therefor, except to the extent that costs have been incurred in arrangements therefor.

7) We shall be responsible for necessary licenses and pay all taxes, license fees, social security taxes, unemployment compensation contributions and other expenses and charges, except as indicated otherwise in this agreement, with respect to the furnishing by us of the facilities, services and personnel which we are obligated to furnish hereunder.

8) In the event of failure in total or in part of any television projection facilities provided by us, we agree to credit you on an equitable basis related to the projection costs for such failure. When and if any mobile unit providing the television origination facilities, or any telephone company providing the television lines and loops, in the event of failure in total or in part of any if its facilities utilized for the program, makes reimbursement to us for such failures, we agree to credit you fully with such reimbursement. There is no guarantee by us of non-failure or quality of the television and it is understood that we are not expected to make any reimbursement to you except as already stated, as long as best efforts have been used by us to accomplish the program.

9) We agree, at our own expense, to defend any litigation instituted by others against you as a result of any acts or failure to act of our company, its agents, servants, or employees in connection with the telecast referred to herein; and further, we agree to indemnify and hold you harmless against expenses, losses, or damages therefrom.
10) This agreement shall be binding on any successor or assignees of either party.

11) Each party to this agreement represents that the individual signing the agreement on its behalf is empowered to bind his organization to the terms of the contract.

Your signature together with our signature below shall make this a binding and enforceable agreement between us.

Very truly yours,

FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

By Maurice H. Stains

TNT COMMUNICATIONS INC.

By R. E. Lehman
EXHIBIT "A"

CITY

Atlanta, Georgia
Baltimore, Maryland
Boston, Massachusetts
Carson City, Nevada
Charlotte, North Carolina
Chicago, Illinois
Cleveland, Ohio
Dallas, Texas
Denver, Colorado
Detroit, Michigan
Houston, Texas
Los Angeles, California
Miami Beach/Miami
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota
Nashville, Tennessee
New York City, New York
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
St. Louis, Missouri
San Francisco, California
Tampa/St. Petersburg
CITY
Tulsa, Oklahoma
Washington, D.C.
Wilmington, Delaware
EXHIBIT "B"

OPERATING PROCEDURES FOR
COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT
LARGE SCREEN COLOR CLOSED-CIRCUIT TELEVISION

The basic division of responsibility is that the Committee and its local organization are responsible for the hotel or auditorium meeting places and costs, and that TNT Communications Inc. is responsible for all television facilities and services and their costs. In order to coordinate the respective responsibilities effectively, TNT Communications Inc. has adopted the following standard operating procedure.

TNT will make initially a tentative reservation for the meeting place room. This reservation will be forwarded to the Committee in Washington, D.C. The confirmation and firm booking of the meeting place and negotiation of the food and rental costs will be the responsibility of the Committee and its local organization. If the Committee or its local organization wish to change the location, their choice should be forwarded to and reviewed by the TNT Operations Department for technical suitability. When approved by TNT, the Committee or its local organization can proceed to firm up the reservation. If there are technical or cost problems, TNT will inform the Committee thereof, and the local organization may wish to reserve another place subject to the same procedure.

In making a booking, following is a list of points to be covered by the Committee or its local organization with the hotel or auditorium. Our experience is that most hotels or auditoriums will not make an extra charge for these items. However, the availability of the meeting room the day before the telecast is usually subject to some additional rental charge to the customer. The Committee or its local organization should exert every effort to keep any additional hotel or auditorium charge to a very minimum, since these costs will be theirs.

In providing the meeting space, the hotel or auditorium must provide the following facilities as part of the booking, without cost to TNT:

1) Accept delivery of the TNT equipment at least one week to ten days in advance of the telecast date, September 26, 1972, and allow the equipment to remain at the meeting place (but not necessarily in the meeting room itself) once it has been delivered. The meeting place will take reasonable care that TNT equipment is not damaged while at the hotel and/or auditorium.
2) Provide space with A. C. power outlet, not necessarily in the meeting room, for the TNT field engineer to test the television projection unit following the arrival of the equipment and also several days prior to the telecast. This will be arranged by the hotel and/or auditorium and the TNT field engineer at a mutually convenient time.

3) Allow the telephone company television personnel retained by TNT reasonable time and space to install the necessary television and audio lines into the meeting room for the closed-circuit telecast, usually one or two days before the telecast date.

4) Provide the meeting room on September 25, 1972, one complete day prior to the telecast date, for installation of the TNT equipment.

5) Provide the meeting room the entire day of the telecast, September 26, 1972, and up to two hours following the conclusion of the meeting, so that adequate advance tests and rehearsals can be conducted on the TNT television equipment, and after the show, it can be removed.

6) Provide the normal meeting place public address system and its operation.

7) Cooperate with the TNT field engineer to coordinate local speeches, room lights and sound system with the telecast.
As our television and newspaper advertising begins in earnest, I would like to make sure all states are fully aware of our plans on a week-to-week basis. Therefore, we should plan to put together a weekly schedule of buys for distribution to State Chairmen. This weekly report, obviously, should be sent only after all buys have been approved.

I think this is an important step in ensuring that our Chairmen have knowledge of what we are doing here as well as making them feel that they are part of the team.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

Occ: Mr. H. R. Haldeman
ADVANCE

Tour Office advancemen were assigned to work with Department of Agriculture advancemen on Secretary Butz's three day, five state speaking tour. On August 15, Secretary Butz addressed the American Soybean Association in Columbus, Ohio; made an appearance at the Illinois State Fair in Springfield; and spoke at a fundraiser for former Governor Dewey Bartlett in Enid, Oklahoma. On August 16, he attended the Oklahoma Committee for the Re-election of the President's leadership breakfast and then made an appearance at the Sooner State Dairy Show. Secretary Butz also addressed the Alpha Gamma Rho Convention in Salt Lake City, Utah, on the 16. On the final day of the trip, the Secretary appeared at a Young Voters for the President rally in Boise, Idaho. A Tour Office advanceman was assigned to each one of these stops.

CITIZENS

Out of a possible total of 455 potential state chairmen for our ten groups (one only operates in five states) we have now appointed 340 chairmen and 235 have been cleared. (See attached list)

Kits became available this week and we are in business for the first time.

Meetings were held in Maine and Massachusetts with Al Kaupinen and his staff, presenting the volunteer program to these state organizations. Meetings were well attended, but you certainly don't get the feeling that either state has a strong organization yet.

Our pilot/aviation situation continues to look better, but we are losing some time due to printing delays. Our first six 45¢ pins sold for $100 a piece. We have a 19 member blue ribbon committee including names such as Colonel Frank Borman, Jimmie Mattern, Professor Paul Cherington, etc. Our mailings will go out the week after Labor Day and can be a big factor in the campaign if we do it right. Much frustration in getting a statement from the President for this area. McGovern issued a strong one and will dominate the trade press, which seems a shame, as we have the good story.

Cooperation from the White House on the motorcyclist group has won us good trade press.

The third layer of the citizens committees is now rapidly forming in those committees that have filled their state chairmanships. These state chairmen are now submitting the names of their five vice-chairmen and these men are, in turn, submitting five additional names each.
The committee of Hairdressers for the Re-election of the President met at 1701 on August 28. This highly organized group has submitted its list of state chairmen and should prove most effective as a vehicle for reaching millions of women before the election. We are currently studying the feasibility of a mailing to the beauty salons in 13 key states and its impact on the clientele. Mr. Joseph Weir, National Chairman of this group, estimates that as many as 20 million potential voters can be reached during the month of October.

Another group, the Funeral Directors for the Re-election of the President is rapidly forming and will have state chairs filled within the next week.

Also to be noted is the coming meeting of the clergy group which is scheduled for September 6. The responses to our inquiries have been enthusiastic and we look forward to a successful meeting with the clergy leaders.

On August 18, ten of the thirteen designated national committee-men for the state legislators citizens committee met in Washington. The goals outlined by the state legislators reflect those of the Mayors and Municipal Officials citizens committee and the County Officials, two groups previously formed on August 7. The three groups of elected officials have the following goals:

1. Creation of a nation-wide structure of elected officials for communication purposes.

2. Publicizing of the President's domestic programs and their impact on states, counties and municipalities.

3. Obtaining a public endorsement of the Administration's policies from as many elected officials as possible.

Each of the thirteen-man committees of elected officials is organized as follows: 1 national chairman, 2 vice-chairmen, and 10 regional chairmen, whose initial responsibility is to select a state chairman for five assigned states in cooperation with the overall state campaign chairman for the re-election of the President.

All state chairman names for the three elected officials committees should be submitted by September 1.

To capitalize the potential of elected officials Clark MacGregor should send a letter to all state chairmen requesting state staff and financial support.
Various trade press publications have expressed interest in citizens groups. For example Travel Trade (est. circulation 12-15,000) was solicited in regard to the Travel Agents citizens committee.

The mailing list containing 13,000 names from the National Oil Jobbers Council was placed at our disposal. Discussions with the Petroleum Marketers citizens committee convinces us that such a mailing provides a logical vehicle to attract the non-college, under thirty group working for small petroleum marketers as well as the marketers themselves who are representative of middle income groups and want to volunteer their efforts.

A new activity has been established, Construction Industry for the Re-election of the President.

**LAWYERS**

**Telephone Campaign - Development of Volunteers:** As of August 11, the results of the Lawyers' Committee pilot telephone campaign which was conducted in Kansas City, Missouri, are now available. Using materials developed by the Lawyers Committee, including nine separate booklets setting forth instructions for the various different categories of volunteers, the Lawyers' Telephone Campaign Committee in Kansas City called 1,318 lawyers. These telephone calls were placed by the lawyers' wives. Because the pilot was conducted on July 25, 26, 27 and 28, many lawyers were on vacation. Only 676 lawyers were actually reached. We have received copies of the Call Forms actually completed by the lawyers' spouses who made the calls. The results are as follows: 334 lawyers support the re-election of the President, or 50 per cent of those actually reached; 140 are against the re-election of the President, or 20 per cent of those actually reached; 202 lawyers indicated that they were undecided. The comments which were received from the telephone callers indicate that some Democratic lawyers in Democratic Kansas City may have hesitated to publicly indicate their support for the President. Perhaps the most significant result of the telephone campaign was that it has been proven to be a most effective method of securing volunteers. Ninety-three lawyers indicated that they would be willing to volunteer their assistance during the campaign, or 28 per cent of those who support the President.

For every 8 calls made, we developed one volunteer; i.e., 14 per cent of those called agreed to volunteer. If one considers that in all probability, members of the lawyers' household will agree to volunteer their assistance with him, we have in fact generated an even higher percentage of volunteers.

We intend to conduct this telephone campaign in every state on September 13, 14, 15, 19, 20 and 21. Mrs. David Lindgren, a
volunteer, has done an outstanding job in developing materials and in orienting the Kansas City calls. She will continue on a volunteer basis to lend such assistance as is necessary, primarily in the 10 key states. Our Young Lawyers National Advisory Committee, consisting of one young lawyer in each state, will also attempt to supervise and assist in the organization of the Lawyers Committee Telephone Campaign in 50 states.

The population of lawyers in the United States today is approximately 350,000. If we were to reach by telephone 250,000 lawyers in September, we would develop approximately 40,000 lawyer volunteers, according to the results of the pilot. If the lawyer volunteer brings with him one additional household member as a volunteer, we would be approaching 100,000 volunteers volunteers from the legal community and their families. This is our goal.

As of August 31, we will devote the major part of our efforts in the next three weeks towards stimulating and supervising the conduct of Lawyers Committee telephone campaigns in each of the fifty states, but particularly in the target states. Our Lawyers Chairmen will be asked to name and supervise Telephone Chairmen in each of these states. Mr. Piliero will be traveling to the target states in this connection.

National Advisory Committee: As of August 11, we have developed a prominent National Advisory Committee, including nine past presidents of the American Bar Association and other notable members of the Bar from various areas, including women lawyers, black lawyers, young lawyers, law professors and law school deans.

Lawyers Committee Chairmen's Handbook: The Lawyers Committee Chairmen's Handbook was distributed in advance of our August 3 meeting and the program outlined therein was the subject of the briefings and workshop sessions. The handbook will be completed in final form in the next several weeks and distributed to our Lawyers Committee Chairmen and their Area Chairmen before September 1.

Local Spokesmen Activities: We are researching, with the use of second wave and third wave information, and presently preparing to implement, on a city-by-city basis, local spokesmen programs which will identify in cities certain issues which require attention. We will attempt to describe to the public, through the media and through local appearances, the accurate record which the Nixon Administration has achieved in specific areas which lawyers are particularly suited to describe.

Selection of State Chairmen: The present status of our Lawyers Committee is that we have Chairmen and Lawyers Committees organized in 42 states.
Republican National Convention: The Attorney General addressed a seminar of in excess of 100 lawyers on Wednesday, August 23rd at 2:00 p.m. The seminar was covered by a number of representatives of the media, including two networks. At the conclusion of the seminar, we were able to develop some 80 lawyers who expressed an interest in playing an active role in the Lawyers Committees in their various states. We are presently taking steps to convey this information to the Lawyers State Chairmen in the various states in order that these lawyers may begin to work on our program.

Black Lawyers Committee: On August 3 at Miami at the National Bar Association meeting, a reception was held in honor of Judge Sam Pierce, General Counsel, Department of the Treasury. Mr. Willie Leftwich and a number of other individuals organized and conducted the reception on behalf of the Lawyers Committee and the Black Vote Division. The meeting generated support among Black Lawyers for the President and we are presently reviewing the names of those volunteering to serve in order that we may form a Black Lawyers Committee and include in our State Lawyers Committees those black lawyers who have agreed to serve.

Spanish Speaking Lawyers - We have coordinated with the Spanish Speaking Voter Division and they have at our request provided the names of seven prominent Spanish Speaking Lawyers whom we have invited to join the Lawyers National Advisory Committee. It is our hope that these leading Spanish Speaking Lawyers will generate a number of other Spanish Speaking Lawyers who will wish to serve in our various State Lawyers Committees.

The Administration's Minority Rights Record: As of August 11, we are coordinating with Mr. Garment's office at the White House in order to develop an article suitable for publication which will reveal the progress which has been made in the area of minority rights during this Administration. Mr. Marvin Rosenberg and Mr. Edward Hummers, both practicing lawyers in the District, have agreed to devote a great amount of time to the assembly and organization of materials and it is expected that an article suitable for publication will be available on or before September 15.

The Administration's Minority Rights Record: As of August 31, a second draft of an article prepared by Mr. Rosenberg and Mr. Hummers has been completed, describing the civil rights record of the Nixon Administration. We believe that the article is suitable for printing and will take appropriate steps to assist the author in having it published and distributed. Liaison is being maintained with Mr. Garment's office in this connection.
American Bar Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, August 10 – 16: We conducted a hospitality suite in San Francisco, as planned, and were able to enlist the active support of a significant number of lawyers and their spouses. These lawyers and spouses have been recommended to the various Lawyers Chairmen in the states. A great deal of support was generated among Democrats and Republicans.

SPANISH-SPEAKING

Our Spanish-speaking caucus was a disappointment to Spanish-speaking participants because of the White House agenda. Speakers Elliott Richardson and Len Garment held only minor interest for Spanish-speaking. Drop-in by Julie was enthusiastically received. There were minor confrontations with Cuban and Puerto Rican groups.

The California caucus was characterized by factionalism and internal leadership disputes which resulted in a lack of unanimous support for the proposed delegation statement.

In our Cuban press conference we discussed the President's position on priority issues for Cubans.

In our meeting with New York Puerto Ricans we discussed New York's Puerto Rican players and hierarchy; disparities in employment and funding; effect of changing National priorities in New York. The spokesman was Angel F. Rivera, OEO Regional Director for New York. We were able to reach agreements on several key issues thus furthering our campaign activities.

In a meeting with Ben Fernandez we discussed the poor image and recent negative publicity of recent NHFC functions. We then encouraged smaller and less extravagant affairs.

We met with Sally Willis, Mike Lesser and Bill Novelli, of the November Group to review copy for Spanish-speaking direct mail brochure and preliminary scripts for radio and television commercials.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

We initiated the scheduling of caucuses for all the state delegations during the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach. In addition, we scheduled speakers at the caucuses for Black, Spanish and Youth delegates to the Convention. The caucus teams were made up of four to five high-level Administration spokesmen from the Cabinet, Sub-Cabinet, White House staff, and Independent Agency Heads. The purpose of the caucuses was to give the delegates close contact with members of the Administration and to provide the regional press with material for release in their home states.
We also scheduled high-level Administration spokesmen into press conferences held each day during the Convention at 10:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. at the Doral Hotel, Miami Beach, Florida.

We scheduled a reception on behalf of Clark MacGregor for the Chairmen of the State Committees for the Re-election of the President who were in Miami for the Convention. The reception was held at the Doral Hotel, Miami Beach, Florida.

We scheduled celebrities into the Clement Stone Reception, the Caucus teams participating in the State delegation caucuses, the Volunteer Reception, the Heritage Groups party, the Nomination Rally at Marine Stadium, the Victory Party at the Americana Hotel, the Women's Achievement Brunch, the Worship Service, the Nixon Navy Flagship, and the Convention Platform for each session.

ADDENDUM -- AGRICULTURE

The agricultural platform was finalized at the Convention, and reads very well. It provides the contrasts with the Democratic farm platform that we had sought. Hyde Murray and others did a fine job on the wording.

Our basic campaign pamphlet is on its way to our State Farm Families for the President chairmen. So far the only criticism of the pamphlet has come from Indiana, and we do not consider that criticism to be valid. In general the pamphlet has been very well received, though it will arrive too late for distribution at many of the county fairs.

USDA announced that it will reduce export subsidies on wheat within the next few days. This action will not be greeted with enthusiasm by wheat farmers, and will undoubtedly be used by McGovern in his campaign as evidence that the Nixon Administration really does not care about the nation's farmers.

Roy Battles of our staff has begun to work with farm organizations in planning a major "Get out the Vote" appeal for late October and early November. This will be done through newsletters, magazines, letters, invoices, and any other available means of written communications. The appeal will be made on a non-partisan basis, of course, but the strategy is that it will be of primary benefit to us since we should receive the support of well over 50% of the recipients.
### APPOINTMENTS & CLEARANCES

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* - completed

Pilots - 19*

0 - (Mail campaign - we are not doing state clearances on these)
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

During our budget meetings it has become apparent that Maurice Stans is having difficulty collecting on early pledges; in particular, the ones that Herb Kalmbach has not been able to follow-up on.

In talking to a number of people about how we might be able to alleviate this problem and possibly increase our contributions, an idea was brought to my attention that I think has some merit.

We would schedule a dinner meeting in the near future for all of those people that have pledged to contribute but have not completed their contribution.

You and Stans could host the meeting which should attract most of these people and possibly if the Vice President were available, he could make a drop by, but the main purpose of the meeting would be to show a series of our television commercials. I think we all agree that these are outstanding and should attract tremendous interest. At the end of the showing we should make a pitch that we will be unable to show these commercials unless all of the pledges are completed and even with all pledges completed, we may need additional funding.

I feel that by doing this we would probably receive most of the pledges and possibly raise an extra million dollars or more in funds.
August 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN
FROM LYN NOFZIGER
RE: Robert Moore

Here's a guy who ought to hear from the President.

Enclosure
BUS ATTACKED

Hippie Type Rescues Delegates

MIAMI BEACH (AP) — A member of the South Carolina delegation to the Republican National Convention recounted last night how a heavy-set hippie type came to the delegates' rescue after protesters blocked their buses.

The bus was stalled in traffic about six blocks from Convention Hall when demonstrators swarmed around it, cutting the radiator hose and slashing the tires with knives.

The delegates and alternates abandoned the bus after the overheated engine died, delegate Gay Suber of Columbia, S.C., said later.

Between the delegates and the hall was a jeering crowd of protesters, he said.

"One of our men was hit in the jaw, another had his coat ripped off his back, eggs were hitting everybody and things looked real bad until a big black man who was dressed the same as the hippies stepped out in front of us and told us to follow him," Suber said.

"He picked up one fellow by the neck and shook him and threw him down and kept others from getting at us. He was big enough to manhandle any of them," Suber said, adding that the man identified himself as Robert Moore of Columbus, Ga., a Vietnam war veteran.

"He stayed with us all the way until we got to the police perimeter, and then he disappeared."
"Last year the average American worked through April to pay all the taxes his government forces him to pay," according to Arch Monson of San Francisco, Northern California chairman of the Business and Industry Committee for the Re-election of the President.

"If George McGovern gets into office the American working man can expect to work an additional month for Uncle Sam. The programs McGovern is promising in his campaign speeches will cost the average American family of four (based on the average wage of $12,500) more than $1,000 in increased taxes.

"That means that the working American can expect to work the first half of the year just to pay his taxes. And that does not take into account all the wild ideas McGovern has in mind that he doesn't dare talk about on the campaign trail.

"What it all adds up to is a whopping tax increase under a McGovern administration. George McGovern's election truly means that the American would no longer be the master of his own destiny—at least for the nearly half a year that the tax collector would be waiting for his paycheck.

"McGovern's goldmine may sound like a great idea to his campaign advisors, but it certainly is false hope for the person who is working to pay those tax bills."

-- 30 --
MEMORANDUM

September 8, 1972

TO: Nixon Chairman

FROM: Al Donner for Jack Kasten, Communications Director

RE: Tax Increases Under McGovern

Enclosed are several news releases on the above subject. Please try to place them in your local papers with local persons as the speakers. Also enclosed is a package of materials detailing some of the tax increases that would be necessary if George McGovern implements some of his programs.

The background material will help you and your speakers criticize McGovern accurately for his many programs that create a demand for huge tax increases. Let's make this feature of candidate McGovern well-known!
"The average American family of four making $12,500 a year faces a tax bill twice as big as it now pays if George McGovern becomes President," charged today.

"Just a partial tally of McGovern's proposals for new spending shows that the American working man faces huge tax increases if McGovern gets his fancy programs enacted," said.

"McGovern says there will be no new taxes if he becomes President, but the fact is that everything he proposes is going to cost more -- money that only is available in sufficient quantities in the paychecks of America's working people.

"For example, he has endorsed a medical program that will cost an additional $7.7 billion in higher payroll taxes -- and that is just a small part of the $60 billion price tag for that one program," continued.

"McGovern's total package is difficult to determine, because he is constantly revising his programs. But the effect of virtually all his proposals is to raise taxes to intolerable levels," said.

"McGovern is clearly trying to pull the wool over the eyes of America's working people. I don't think he will be successful at it. I think that his double-talk will result in a landslide victory for President Nixon in November."

-- 30 --
"George McGovern thinks he has discovered gold. The trouble is, he found it in the pay envelopes of America's working people."

That assessment was made today by ____________________.

"McGovern is telling the American people what he thinks they want to hear—big new programs—that are supposed to solve everything from poverty to tooth decay!

"What he doesn't tell the American people is that virtually everything he is proposing will cost billions of dollars more than the present federal revenues.

"George McGovern has an answer to that, too. His answer is to tell the American public before the election that he will close tax loopholes and find enough money to pay for his programs, then discover after the election that there really is not enough money to do the job.

"So he comes back to the old stand-by, the American working man next January and taps the perennial source of money for big government programs.

"There is no doubt about it," ____________________ emphasized.

"If McGovern enacts just half the programs he is proposing the American working man will pay a much bigger piece of his income to the tax collector. I predict that if just half of McGovern's big programs are enacted that the average American working man will pay twice as much to the federal collector as he is now."

-- 30 --
"George McGovern is trying to cover up the fact that his programs would result in massive tax increases at all levels," Dr. William (9-8) Banowsky charged today. The president of Pepperdine University and the Los Angeles chairman of the Committee for the Re-election of the President said that "candidate McGovern has promised so much to so many that the American people face massive tax increases if he becomes President.

"Just a partial total of the McGovern proposals reaches over the $100 billion mark in new money needed. Excluding welfare, he has made miscellaneous proposals that will cost in excess of $90 billion—give or take a few. He has endorsed a medical care program that will run another $60 billion and his constantly changing welfare programs will add many billions more," Banowsky noted.

"McGovern's much-touted defense slashes and tax law revisions will only raise about $50 billion.

"There is no way Mr. McGovern can deliver half what he promises without saddling the American people with massive tax increases. He owes the American public an honest tally of just what his programs will cost, and just how much the average American working man is going to pay in higher taxes," Banowsky said.

"By my estimates the average family of four making about $12,000 a year will pay about $1,000 more in federal taxes under a McGovern administration," Banowsky concluded.
THE McGOVERN WELFARE/TAX SCHEME

--- AS REVISED FOR AUGUST

$1000 PER PERSON

-- There is no substantive change in Senator McGovern's $1000 per person no-work, giveaway, welfare scheme. A guarantee of $4000 per family of four still comes out to $1000 per person.

-- The Senator reiterated and reaffirmed his support for every high-spending scheme he committed himself to in the McGovernite platform of last month. The health insurance plan he has endorsed would by itself cost $60 billion -- for which he makes no provision in today's new tax program.

DANGEROUS DEFENSE CUTS

-- The American citizen loses from every standpoint from his $32 billion proposed defense cut. First, gaining this new revenue would be done at the sacrifice of America's security, making our nation second to the Soviets, unable to maintain our essential defense and unable to negotiate further arms agreements with the Soviets. Second, the supposed added revenue would come from Senator McGovern's wiping out of $32 billion worth of defense-related industries -- millions of jobs and billions of dollars in lost wages.
HIGHER TAXES

-- The McGovern proposals have overstated the facts and cannot yield the amount of revenue he claims. For example, his proposal on raising tax rates for capital gains would have to exempt property now owned and purchased under the present tax laws. His phased program of higher taxes would mean less revenues. Second, if full taxation was to be made on capital gains, full tax losses would have to be allowed on capital losses from such income -- reducing McGovern's projected revenue gain much further. Third, a panic would be created in the securities markets the likes of which we have not seen since 1929. Investors would dispose of securities indiscriminately; the incentive to invest would be taken away; and the effects would be felt throughout the country in a pervading lack of confidence in the growth of our economy.

Finally, Mr. McGovern forgets that nearly 10% of all stocks are held by pension funds plus that which is held by mutual funds and the insurance industry. By removing capital gains treatment, he would threaten the income of the entire pension fund system upon which the American working man depends for his retirement -- not to mention the insurance policies upon which his future may be staked. In short, the income-producing ability of pension funds and other retirement vehicles would be stripped away, driving into old-age poverty millions of workers.
HALTING ECONOMIC GROWTH

Nearly $6 billion of the estimated revenue McGovern says he will create would come from repealing provisions of the law enacted by his colleagues in the Congress upon the recommendation of the President to speed the growth of our economy. McGovern's plan would halt economic growth.

McGovern says he will do away with the percentage depletion allowance but then recognizes the national energy crisis and is prepared to offer a subsidy for domestic oil production -- so the net-revenue gain McGovern foresees comes very possibly to zero. He can't have it both ways.

***

WHAT IT MEANS:

More generally, what will McGovern's proposals mean to the average American in a language that he can understand instead of in the language of McGovern's Philadelphia lawyers and Washington economists?

The welfare rolls will swell. Millions of more Americans would go directly on welfare -- paid for by the guy who always pays the welfare tab: the middle-income American worker.

There is still no work requirement under McGovern's $1000 per person program. To millions of Americans he is saying: don't worry, you don't have to work; we'll give you $1000 per person and some other American will work to pay you your welfare.
Taxes. The too-high taxes at every level of Government would, under George McGovern proposals, go sky-high. There is no other way to pay for his comprehensive program of social engineering -- his public works programs, his guaranteed jobs, guaranteed welfare and new subsidies.

Inflation. If Americans think they have inflation now, they need only look forward to George McGovern's new soak-the-middle-class scheme. Basic to the McGovern proposal is having the Government do everything for everybody. More Government spending means more inflation. More inflation is going to mean: higher food prices, transportation costs, education costs, housing costs -- a general rise in the price of everything Americans purchase. Everything for everybody means more inflation for everybody.

IN SHORT:

What can be made of George McGovern's pilgrimage to Wall Street to unveil his latest insult to the American public's intelligence?

-- McGovern's latest scheme means a permanent WPA program with a permanent ever-expanding federal payroll; a program which would dwarf the make-work programs of the dark Depression days. The old CCC might become under McGovern, the WWW: The Workless Welfare Wonders.
-- McGovern's plan is a clear benefit to his running-mate Sarge Shriver who, under present law, pays 73% of his income in federal taxes. Under George McGovern's proposal, Mr. Shriver gets a tax reduction of 25% -- which no doubt means more yachts, tennis courts and Cardin suits.

-- At the very time the galloping inflation which began in the mid-1960s is coming under control, George McGovern announces that he, in effect, with his high government spending schemes, puts increased inflation at the top of his priority list. Too bad for Sarge Shriver; his 25% tax cut would get wiped out by McGovern's guaranteed inflation.

-- In pure and simple terms, on August 29, 1972, George McGovern announced his proposed wipe-out of the average American working man. With his high tax and high welfare scheme, George McGovern would seal the coffin on the guy who works hard, supports his family, pays his taxes and is trying to get ahead. The McGovern policy is a stay-behind policy not a get-ahead policy.

-- In the end it comes down to this: George McGovern has now introduced three welfare plans within the last few months. Each one guarantees millions of more Americans on welfare and billions of more dollars in high taxes. Just once, it is hoped that Senator McGovern will climb the platform somewhere and announce his plan for the American working man instead of new welfare plans to soak the working man.
Committee for the Re-election of the President

FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: Jeb Magruder

REMARKS:

FYI

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

DATE:

REMARKS:

Rec'd 6/25
To: Clark MacGregor
From: Gordon Luce

I talked to Jeb Magruder today about a problem that further confirms the need for coordination between Washington and our campaign leadership in California.

Last week I received the attached memo from Jeb canceling the President's planned visit to San Diego after the convention. I was very disappointed in light of Fred Malek's information about the President's polls in Orange and San Diego County. The coming and going of the National Convention along with the Arnholt Smith publicity this year in San Diego have left scars which I'm sure affect the polls.

This week Bob Finch held a press conference (please note attached clippings) and announced in San Diego that the President would probably kick off his campaign here. This has triggered new comment and anticipation in the community and probably has caused the demonstrators to start plotting all over again.

We are now in an awkward position - to cancel would hurt San Diego. If we proceed, the "cat is out of the bag". The announcement also received wide coverage in Los Angeles on radio and TV.

The Governor and I are both concerned that we are not given the opportunity to handle these critical events. I personally feel embarrassed in my own community since I kept this story confidential for several months, made certain arrangements, and now find Finch's assistants are making the plans. I suggest the following:

1) That the Committee schedule an event for the President in San Diego in the near future.

2) That the Governor and I be the first to know and make the announcement.

3) That Bob Finch understand that such intrusions into our campaign work run the risk of hurting the President's chances in these areas as well as run the risk of disrupting future California campaigns.
To: Clark MacGregor           11 August 1972

4) That the Vice President consider September 16th, the nationwide kick off date, as a time for his appearance in this community.

We will still reelect the President in spite of.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Best regards,

Gordon C. Luce

GCL/glw

cc: Governor Ronald Reagan
    Fred Malek
    Jeb Magruder
    Lyn Nofziger
    Marvin Collins
MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON LUCE
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Special Event in California

Mr. MacGregor has asked me to respond to your memorandum to him of July 21, regarding the kick off of the President's campaign in San Diego in mid-September.

After a great deal of consideration and discussion, it has been decided that there will no special event in San Diego during the month of September.

cc: Governor Reagan
    Mr. Robert Mardian
    Mr. Frederic Malek
    Mr. Lyn Nofziger
Nixon indicates kickoff here

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

San Diego officials including Mayor Wilson.

A nationally televised campaign kickoff program is being considered for San Diego, Finch said.

He said the President probably will stay about a week in Southern California after the convention before making a planned trip to Japan for conferences with the new Japanese prime minister.

Finch said the planning for the Japanese trip will shape the proposed San Diego program.

Finch said the planning for the Japanese trip will shape the proposed San Diego program.

Finch said there is some concern that some summer visitors to San Diego might be displaced from hotel rooms by the large media group and administration officials who would accompany the President here.

In 1964, Nixon spent a week here right after the convention accompanied by several hundred newspaper and staff people, most of whom stayed at the Bahia Motor Hotel on Mission Bay.

This year, the President would probably stay at his home in San Clemente, but the newsman and staff would again be housed in the San Diego area, Finch said.

"The President started out here successfully in 1968 and he would be missing a bet if he doesn't do it again," said Albert Harutunian, San Diego businessman who is a strong Nixon supporter and friend of Finch.

The city could score a point by having newsman come here directly from sweltering Miami Beach to "our gorgeous country," he said.

By GEORGE DISSINGER

EVENING TRIBUNE Politics Writer

President Nixon may come to San Diego after this month's Republican National Convention as he did after the 1968 convention to launch his campaign for re-election.

If he does, there would be some elements of sentiment and poise-making with San Diego which suffered some disappointment when the national convention was switched to Miami Beach.

Nixon has called San Diego his "lucky city" and some of his close supporters said they believe he would like to start out here again on the campaign trail.

Presidential counsel Robert H. Finch, in San Diego for several speaking engagements, said today Nixon has indicated he wants to come here after the convention closes Aug. 23.

Finch said the decision probably will be made next week after conferences involving the White House staff and

(Continued on page A-4, Col. 1)

AFTER CONVENTION

Nixon May Open Bid Here

President Nixon may make his first "political" appearance of the campaign in San Diego, presidential aide Robert Finch said yesterday.

The President is expected to fly to the Western White House in San Clemente immediately after the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach ends Aug. 23. He will visit early in September in Hawaii with the new Japanese prime minister, Kakuei Tanaka.

The campaign kickoff could come between these times.

NOT DECISION

"He's indicated his desire to come here," Finch said. "But nothing has been decided yet."

Mr. Nixon came to San Diego for a rest and planning session after his nomination in 1968. He has called San Diego "my lucky city" and is believed to have influenced the decision last time he came.

If his appearance here were properly planned and conducted it could help make amends for the later decision to move the convention to Miami Beach, Finch said.

The President's visit here could take the form either of a public appearance before a large audience or a major political news conference.

"Of course, since it would be a presidential appearance it would be nationally televised," Finch said.

POLITICAL QUERY

The President has declined to answer purely political questions until after the convention.

Finch said the decision on the appearance here probably will be made next week in Washington. Preparations for the meeting with Tanaka will influence the decision, he said.

A former California lieutenant governor and Nixon cabinet member, Finch now is a domestic affairs adviser to the President. He answered newsmen's questions before addressing the Phi Alpha Delta law fraternity Convention at Towson and Country.