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August 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH:       JEB S. MACRUDER

FROM:          HERBERT L. PORTER

SUBJECT:       Ohio Republican Council

With reference to my memorandum, dated August 23, 1972, regarding a request from the Ohio Republican Council for Governor Rockefeller to keynote a fund-raising dinner in Cleveland, Ohio, Mr. Stans has approved that 10% of the gross receipts go to the Committee for the Re-election of the President.
August 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MACREDER

FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER

SUBJECT: Ohio Republican Council

Paul Jones brought to our attention a request from the Ohio Republican Council for Governor Rockefeller to keynote a fund-raising dinner in Cleveland, Ohio. The tentative dates now available are September 30, October 7, and October 14, 1972. These can be changed.

The Ohio Republican Council is a Black organization with a membership of almost 5,000 Blacks. They are very intent on raising the percentage of Black vote for the President. It was reported to us that the polls show less than 10% of the Blacks in the Cleveland area now favor the President. They feel that Governor Rockefeller is the only speaker who would be satisfactory to the Council. They will not have the event if the Governor is not available.

This event has been approved by Mr. Paul Jones and Mr. Don Mosiman. It has also been endorsed by the Ohio Committee for the Re-election of the President.

The plans now call for tickets to sell at $100 for patrons and $25 for dinner guests. They are expecting approximately 600 persons in attendance.

Do you approve of this event for Governor Rockefeller?

Approve ____________ Disapprove ____________ Comment ____________
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: AL ABRAHAMS
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

August 31, 1972

Following up on our conversation earlier today, I think it is essential for us to have a "duty officer" available in the press office regularly and that your key people be reachable anytime during the day. I suggest:

1. Assign Art Amolsch as your "McGovern Man" to coordinate with Ed Failor on any press attack program we are running as well as keeping Ed informed of key McGovern/Shriver positions as they develop.

2. Have a duty officer assigned to be physically present in the press area from 8:00 am until 8:00 pm Monday thru Friday and 9:00 am until 6:00 pm Saturday. The duty officer should either be Shumway, Dore, Powell Moore, or yourself.

3. Each of your key people (Shumway, Dore, Powell Moore) should be available by telephone through the White House switchboard at all times.

cc: Ed Failor
    Bob Marik
    Gorden Strachan
    Fred Malek
September 4, 1972

Dear Republican:

Enclosed you will find the two latest Talking Papers -- Older Americans and Revenue Sharing. In the next ten weeks we plan to provide you and other Republican leaders with three or four Talking Papers each week. We believe these will be helpful background information as well as valuable speech inserts.

Each week we will attempt to deal with some aspect of foreign policy and/or the economy and with one additional issue of particular interest or requiring emphasis during a particular time frame.

Also enclosed is an order form for the issue pamphlets. As you know, we have tried to prepare these in a format which will easily lend itself to reproduction by offset printing. Some offices are simply retyping information on mimeograph stencils and running off their own copies.

We have not been able to confirm the rumor that a State chairman in the Midwest has been miniaturizing the materials and sending them to his county chairman by carrier pigeon. However, as you develop new and/or more effective ways of using this material, please let us know so that we can pass the word to others.

Sincerely,

C. Thomas Wilck

President Nixon has demonstrated in his proposals and programs that the nation's responsibilities to older Americans have been too long neglected. He is aware of the wealth of diversity and talent in this generation, and he is aware, too, of the special problems older Americans encounter in today's fast changing society.

President Nixon last year called the White House Conference on Aging and, in his special message to Congress in March 1972, he pledged a "year of action" on behalf of older Americans.

Fifty-two percent of older Americans must live on Social Security and pensions. The President has increased Social Security benefits 51 percent since 1969. In addition he has:

-- Provided automatic cost of living increases in benefits;
-- Proposed that windows receive 100 percent of their deceased husbands' federal benefits (they now receive 82 percent); and
-- Proposed tax incentives to encourage broader coverage by private pension plans and laws to guarantee sound administration of pension funds.

One part of President Nixon's welfare reform package would provide an income floor for older Americans that would substantially eliminate poverty in this group. Although the proposal has been pending for 3 years, the Democrat-controlled Congress has not acted.

Congress also has not acted upon President Nixon's Revenue Sharing proposal which would relieve fiscal pressures on states and localities, allowing them to provide property tax relief -- a matter of concern to all Americans, but especially
those living on fixed incomes.

President Nixon also has made proposals to Congress to allow a single person 65 or over to receive up to $5,100 in tax free income. A married couple, both 65 or over, would be allowed to receive about $8,000 in tax free income under the President's tax reform plan.

The quality of nursing home care for our nation's elderly also is of concern to the President. One year ago he initiated an eight-point program to upgrade nursing home care and insure enforcement of standards necessary for older Americans to spend their retired years in comfort and health.

President Nixon does not believe that people must or should end their contributions to society just because they are 65 or over. He has proposed legislation to open federal volunteer programs to older Americans and he has doubled the funding for several public service job projects for the elderly.

In the area of private employment President Nixon has proposed broadened coverage of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act to include state and local governments, and has directed the Secretary of Labor to expand employment opportunities for persons 65 or over.

These actions constitute a positive momentum toward a better life for older persons in this country -- a momentum the President intends to sustain.

# # #

(NOTE: Utilize local offset printers, mimeograph machines or xerox machines to reproduce this Talking Paper for further distribution during the campaign.)
For the past 40 years there has been a one-way flow of power to Washington in terms of federal control and tax dollars. The federal budget alone has grown from $4.6 billion in 1933 to almost $250 billion in fiscal 1973.

Revenue sharing is President Nixon's answer to this one-way flow of power away from states and cities. The idea is to put federal resources into more hands and give others more chance to innovate and create new ways to solve problems.

Revenue sharing also is the President's answer to the plea from local authorities for more funds. Our cities and states are facing a fiscal crisis which local tax sources can no longer meet. Between 1948 and 1969, for example, state and local debt rose from $19 billion to $135 billion.

President Nixon would institute revenue sharing in two forms - General and Special Revenue Sharing.

General Revenue Sharing -- now passed by the House and awaiting Senate action-- would distribute $5.3 billion in the first full year of operation and increase as states made greater efforts to utilize their existing tax sources. By 1977 this fund would amount to nearly $30 billion in money returned to states and cities over the five-year period.

General Revenue Sharing meets the two immediate problems facing state and local governments. First, it provides funds virtually immune from complicated and restricted federal requirements that have so long plagued programs offered from Washington.

The money may be used for any purpose states or localities designate -- from public safety and transportation to environmental protection and sewage collection.
Second, General Revenue Sharing will provide immediate tax relief. States and localities will be able to supplement their own revenue sources or reform their tax systems with these added funds.

Through Special Revenue Sharing, President Nixon has proposed a revamping of the government's myriad of grant programs that restrict states and localities in meeting often unique local problems. He proposes that the federal government replace 130 federal categorical grant programs with more than $12 billion in six defined areas. States and local governments could then determine how best to use federal funds to tackle their problems.

The six areas in Special Revenue Sharing are:

- Elementary and secondary education ($3.2 billion);
- Transportation ($2.8 billion);
- Urban development ($2.3 billion);
- Manpower training ($2 billion);
- Rural development ($1.1 billion); and
- Law enforcement ($900 million).

Congress has yet to act on these six Special Revenue Sharing bills.

Taken together, General and Special Revenue Sharing can help right the imbalance that has existed for too long in the federal system. They would help restore power to the people where they need it most -- at the local level. Much of the inefficiency, duplication and delay connected with federal programs would be eliminated. And the $8 billion "revenue gap" at the state and local level that existed in 1971 would be narrowed.

In short, President Nixon's Revenue Sharing plan would revitalize government and strengthen the federal system.

# # #

(NOTE: Utilize local offset printers, mimeograph machines or xerox machines to reproduce this Talking Paper for further distribution during the campaign.)
ORDER FORM FOR RNC ISSUE PAMPHLETS

The 1972 presidential campaign will be waged on the issues and the voters demand to know where the candidates stand.

A series of issue pamphlets, prepared by the Republican National Committee, is available that gives President Nixon’s record on the vital foreign and domestic concerns before the country in the '70s. These two-color, one-page, legal-size publications are designed for easy, inexpensive reproduction by any local, offset printer.

You can also order copies in bulk from the Republican National Committee's printer in Washington, D.C. Check the pamphlet and quantity desired below and mail your order to:

Fontana Lithographers
1937 47th Avenue, NE
Washington, D.C. 20027

Cost includes postage and handling, and checks must accompany order. Expect delivery within two weeks of the time orders are received.

PLEASE SEND COPIES OF THE FOLLOWING ISSUE PAMPHLETS TO:_____________________________________

ADDRESS: ___________________________________________________________ STATE __________________ ZIP ______

A check or money order made out to Fontana Lithograph for $_________ is enclosed. I understand price includes postage and handling and that delivery can be expected within two weeks of receipt of this order.

COST: 100 - 499 copies @ 0.05; 500 - 999 copies @ 0.034; 1000 & over @ 0.028

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MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

We have three pending requests for interviews this month, although I am certain the requests will increase when 1) The President returns and 2) the newsmen come back from vacation.

The requests:

Jim Deaken of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Jim has run into you a couple of times in the elevator (his office is in this building) and indicates you have agreed.

Richard Zimmerman of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. He wants about 15 minutes sometime in the next two weeks.

RECOMMEND: Accept for 30 minutes, both at the same time. They have no circulation overlap.

_____ Accept  _____ Reject

_______________________________ Date

The Americans for Constitutional Action Off-the-Record Club. I am enclosing my memorandum of August 1 on this subject.

_____ Accept  _____ Reject

_______________________________ Date

Enclosure

DEVAN L. SHUMWAY

CC: Mr. Abrahams
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: ACA Off-the Record Club

August 1, 1972

I am returning for your consideration the invitation of the Americans for Constitutional Action for you to attend an off-the-record discussion sometime before the National Convention -- with a preference for a Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday.

Generally, I would not recommend off-the-record formats because they don't get us stories. But Timmons feels strongly that we should accept this one.

I am attaching a list of proposed press who would attend. (Incidentally, we could make it on-the-record if we wanted to do so, as I understand it.)

_____ Accept  _____ Reject

Date or comments: __________________________

DEVAN L. SHUMWAY

Enclosure
The Trustees of ACA except for the President receive no compensation for their services and no reimbursement for out-of-pocket expenses which they incur on behalf of ACA.
If you choose, rather than the off the record deep background, nothing you say at this meeting will be attributed to you in any way. Reporters, however, are free to use the substance of the material as they choose, but only on their own authority as part of their own story without attribution. As far as anyone outside of the room is concerned, the meeting never took place; you were not there; or nothing was said. The guest may agree, if he wishes, to certain journalist forms of attribution, such as Senatorial sources, Democrat officials, conservatives in Congress, etc.

Your format will be decided between you and the gentleman who introduces you before you start speaking. Of course, you may make the entire or portions of the evening for the record.

The group is composed of 28 of the top political writers in Washington, 15 of which are Bureau Chiefs, and one Managing Editor. A list is enclosed. The purpose of the "Off-The-Record Club" is to establish a better rapport between conservatives and the National News Media.

Looking forward to being your host at the Off-The-Record Club, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charles A. McManus
President

CAM:dd
August 18, 1972

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

More than 8,000 California Republicans — all volunteers — will turn out to welcome President Nixon back to California Thursday, August 24, 1972, with a massive registration drive.

Timed to coincide with the end of the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach and President Nixon's return to California Thursday evening, the WELCOME WALK is expected to be one of the largest single registration drives in the history of the state, according to registration chairman Gordon C. Luce.

"We want to welcome a President who has a solid record of achievements," Luce explained, "and the most tangible way we can do this is to help register more persons who will vote for him in November."

The Registration Blitz will operate from more than 70 headquarters of the Committee for the Re-election of the President in almost all the counties of California, according to Luce. Registration teams will canvass homes from about 5:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M. Almost half the volunteers are expected to be young voters under 30 years of age.

"We're very optimistic that this registration drive will be one of the most successful in the history of California," Luce said. "Many thousands of persons who watched both conventions will vote for the President, and we think many of them are also ready to register Republican. Our Welcome Walk will give them the chance to show their support for a President who has done a responsible job for the country," Luce emphasized.

Luce urged people who are not contacted on the Welcome Walk and wish to register to call their local headquarters of the Committee for the Re-election of the President.

# # # # # #
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

LOS ANGELES: Formation of a statewide Committee of Jewish Voters for the Re-election of the President was announced this week by the head of Senator Humphrey's campaign for Jewish votes. David Luchins, 25, former National Coordinator of the Jewish Community for the Humphrey campaign, announced formation of "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President" in Los Angeles. Joining him in support of President Nixon was Harvey Tannenbaum, 19. Luchins plans to organize other "Concerned Citizens" groups throughout California and urged Jewish voters who are worried about McGovern's failure to support Israel to contact their local headquarters of the Committee for the Re-election of the President.

Tannenbaum expressed concern over McGovern's stands on Jews both in the U.S. and abroad, saying, "We are particularly alarmed by his advocacy of ethnic and racial quotas, by his weak public record concerning American support for Israel, by his suggestion that Jerusalem be internationalized, and by the presence of Arab apologist Rick Stearns on his national campaign staff."

Luchins pointed up McGovern's inconsistency, charging him with "continually voting against meaningful gun-control legislation, voting for Vietnam appropriations while supporting the Tonkin resolution," and added, "In 1971, on the college campuses of America, McGovern supported the array of liberal positions on drugs, abortion, amnesty and rights of homosexuals, then suddenly in 1972, he began to reverse himself on all his positions."

Conversely, Luchins lauded President Nixon for the courage and consistency of his record. He cited the President's major accomplishments in "ending the isolation of China, introducing the first presidentially sponsored family assistance plan in our history, appointing more minority group members and women to meaningful Federal posts than any President, and negotiating the historic SALT agreements with the Russians."

Luchins added, "President Nixon does not ask us to accept promises based on fantasy. He has performed with expertise in foreign and domestic affairs."

# # # #

* (Al Donner has joined GOP NEWS SERVICE in Los Angeles. Formerly he was communications director at Republican State Central Committee in Sacramento.)
August 17, 1972

WEEKLY MEDIA REPORT

State CALIFORNIA
Week Ending August 11, 1972
From: Jack Easton, Communications, LOS ANGELES

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF CAMPAIGN:
See attached clips. Activity Summary - totals.

TELEVISION & RADIO COVERAGE:
1. RADIO FEEDS: Agnew cuts to 75 stations & Radio News West (30 stations.)
2. KNBC feature on Steve McIague, delegate camping along drive to Miami, exclusive.
5. Jane Fonda Picketing: Fed cuts with counter demonstrators chanting "traitor" to KABC, KBBC, KALX, KROL, KHJ.
6. Jews for Nixon: Rabbi Luchins & Tannenbaum: 5 TV interviews, RNW, UPI, AP, 10 radio exclusives, etc. (See attached breakdown).

CAMPAIGN'S KEY ACTIVITIES & COVERAGE:
1. Created counter demonstration for Jane Fonda visit to Nixon headquarters picketing.
2. Sanchez coverage in San Francisco.
4. Oriental Youth Fund raising dinner (300 in attendance).
5. Youth Registration Whittier - Coverage 3 networks, Time Mag, RNW, fed 70 stations.
7. Rabbi Luchins & H. Tannenbaum, former Jewish Community Directors, opened Nixon headquarters in heart of Los Angeles Jewish community.

OPPOSITION'S KEY ACTIVITIES & COVERAGE:
2. McGovern's tour of shoe factory was great appeal to blue collar workers. He stopped to talk to workers and asked them questions, shook hands, appeared sincere, warm and receptive as a candidate of the people. Our surrogates do the same.
3. Press conference held with celebrities at VIP home for registration lesson. Where are our celebrities? Why aren't we permitted to use them?
4. McGovern literature is beginning to flow; however, many of our headquarters are entirely out of bumper stickers, literature, brochures and photos, waiting for 1701 to provide shipments of same.

PROBLEMS, NEEDS AND PLANS:
1. Telegram from Ed Cowling RE Hodgson schedule, which arrived 2-days after he left California.
3. Trouble getting Spanish speaking VIP for special KHJ-TV programs of 1/2 hour.
4. Hodgson & Kilendienst scheduled to press interviews & talk shows without our knowledge of these appearances.
5. Romney is popular out here, his comments hurt.
6. We need graphs illustrating withdrawal from Vietnam, more press attention to the dramatic decrease in U.S. role in Vietnam. Many believe Nixon has not reduced forces significantly.
7. Need minority with President wire photos.
8. Need advance notice on Calif. appointed posts. 9. 1701 radio feeds often worthless
9. We received no actualities for Laird, Rogers, Jewish director, Jesse Jackson.
10. Confusion among press due to lack of communications from Agnew staff during visit.

JE:ss
CONFIRMED CELEBRITIES
FOR THE PRESIDENT - 1972

HOLLYWOOD

MISS JUNE ALLYSON  ACTRESS
* MR. JIM AMECEHE  ANNOUNCER
MR. LEON AMES  ACTOR

MR. MOREY AMSTERDAM  COMEDIAN

MR. EDDIE ANDERSON  ACTOR
(Rochester)

MR. WARNER ANDERSON  ACTOR

MR. RICHARD ARLEN  ACTOR

MR. DESI ARNAZ, SR.  ACTOR
MR. ROBERT ARTHUR  PRODUCER
MR. FRED ASTAIRE  DANCER/ACTOR (will lend name only)

MR. FRANKIE AVALON  SINGER/ACTOR

MISS LITA BARON  ACTRESS

MISS ELIZABETH BAUR  ACTRESS

MR. EDGAR BERGEN  ENTERTAINER
MISS AMANDA BLAKE  ACTRESS
MISS JOAN BLONDELL  ACTRESS

MR. RAY BOLGER  ACTOR/DANCER

MR. PAT BOONE  SINGER/ACTOR
MR. PERRY BOTKIN

INSTRUMENTALIST

MISS ROSEMARIE BOWE
(Mrs. Robert Stack)

ACTRESS

MR. LEE BOWMAN

ACTOR

MRS. SYBIL BRAND

CIVIC LEADER

* MR. FOSTER BROOKS

ENTERTAINER/COMEDIAN

MR. LES BROWN

CONDUCTOR/MUSICIAN

MR. SONNY BURKE

COMPOSER/MUSICIAN

MR. PAT BUTTRAM

COMEDIAN/ACTOR

MR. ROD CAMERON

ACTOR

MISS JUDY CANOVA

ACTRESS/COMEDIENNE

MR. HOAGY CARMICHAEL

COMPOSER/MUSICIAN

MR. A. J. CAROTHERS

WRITER

MRS. JOANNE CARSON

PERSONALITY (will appear—do not publish name)

MR. GEORGE CHANDLER

ACTOR (former Pres. Screen Actors Guild)

MISS CYD CHARISSE
(Mrs. Tony Martin)

DANCER

MR. BARRY COE

ACTOR

MR. DENNIS COLE

ACTOR

MISS TINA COLE

ACTRESS/SINGER

MR. GARY COLLINS

ACTOR

MR. CHRIS CONNELLY

ACTOR

MR. CHUCK CONNORS

ACTOR
MR. ROBERT CONRAD
* MISS MARY COSTA
MR. & MRS. BING CROSBY
(Kathryn Grant)

MR. BOB CROSBY
MR. PHIL CROSBY

MR. BENJAMIN CROITHERS
(Scat Man)

* MR. ROBERT CUMMINGS
MR. MIKE CURB

MR. KEN CURTIS
MISS ARLENE DAHL
MISS JAN DALEY

* MR. CESARE DANOVA
MR. SAXXY DAVIS, JR.

MR. DENNIS DAY
MISS YVONNE DeCARLO

MR. FRED DeCORDOVA
MR. DON DeFORE

MR. LARRY DELANEY
MR. WILLIAM DEMAREST

MR. ANDY DEVINE

ACTOR
OPERA STAR
SINGER
SINGER/ORCHESTRA LEADER
SINGER/ENTERTAINER
ENTERTAINER
ACTOR
SINGING GROUP (MIKE CURB CONGREGATION)
ACTOR
ACTRESS
SINGER (will appear- do not use name in
ENTERTAINER/ACTOR/SINGER
SINGER
ACTRESS
PRODUCER (Johnny Carson Show)
ACTOR
ACTOR
ACTOR
ACTOR
MR. & MRS. ROY E. DISNEY  VICE PRESIDENT WALT DISNEY PRODUCTIONS
MISS JOANNE DRU  ACTRESS
MR. JAMES DRAKE  ACTOR
MR. DON DUBBINS  ACTOR
MISS IRENE DUNNE  ACTRESS
MR. CLINT EASTWOOD  ACTOR
MR. BUDDY EBSEN  ACTOR
MR. RALPH EDWARDS  TELEVISION HOST/PERSONALITY
MR. VINCE EDWARDS  ACTOR
MR. ANTHONY EISLEY  ACTOR
MR. RON ELY  ACTOR
MR. CHAD EVERETT  ACTOR
MR. EDDIE FISHER  SINGER
MISS RHONDA FLEMING  ACTRESS
MR. GLENN FORD  ACTOR
MR. JOHN FORD  MOTION PICTURE DIRECTOR
THE FRONTIERSMEN  SINGING GROUP
MR. ROBERT FULLER  ACTOR
Confirmed Celebrities for the President
Page five

MRS. CLARK GABLE  PERSONALITY
MISS EVA GABOR  ACTRESS
MISS ZSA ZSA GABOR  ACTRESS
MISS KATHY GARVER  ACTRESS
MR. CHRISTOPHER GEORGE  ACTOR
MRS. LYNDAY DAY GEORGE  ACTRESS
MR. JACK GING  ACTOR
MISS ARLENE COLONSA  ACTRESS
(Mrs. Larry Delaney)
MR. CARY GRANT  ACTOR
MR. JOHNNY GRANT  TV MASTER OF CEREMONIES
MISS SHELBY GRANT  ACTRESS
(Mrs. Chad Everett)
MISS ANGELA GREENE  ACTRESS
MISS VIRGINIA GREY  ACTRESS
MR. GEORGE HAMILTON  ACTOR
MR. MANNY HARMON  ORCHESTRA LEADER
MISS LINDA HARRISON  ACTRESS
(Mrs. Richard Zanuck)
MISS JUNE HAVEN  ACTRESS
(Mrs. Fred MacMurray)
Committed Celebrities for the President
Page six

MISS SUSAN HAYWARD  ACTRESS
MR. CHARLTON HESTON  ACTOR
MISS MARTHA HYER  ACTRESS
(Mrs. Hal Wallis)
MRS. GAIL PATRICK JACKSON  TV PRODUCER
MISS ANNE JEFFREYS  ACTRESS
(Mrs. Robert Sterling)
MR. GEORGE JESSEL  TOASTMASTER GENERAL
MR. VICTOR JORY  ACTOR
MISS LAINIE KAZAN  SINGER
THE KING SISTERS (3)  SINGERS
MISS DOROTHY KIRSTEN  OPERA STAR
(Mrs. John French)
MRS. ALAN LADD  PERSONALITY
MISS DOROTHY LAMOUR  ACTRESS
MR. MICHAEL LANDON  ACTOR
MISS RUTA LEE  ACTRESS
MR. MERVYN LeROY  PRODUCER/MOTION PICTURE DIRECTOR
MR. SOL LESSER  MOTION PICTURE DIRECTOR
MR. ART LINKLETTER  TELEVISION MC/PERSOALITY
MR. STANLEY LIVINGSTON  ACTOR
Committed Celebrities for the President
Page seven

MR. RICHARD LONG  ACTOR

MR. ART LUND  SINGER

MR. WILLIAM LUND  ACTING PRESIDENT OF CAL ARTS
   (wife, Sharon Disney)

MR. WILLIAM LUNDIGAN  ACTOR

MR. PETER LUPUS  ACTOR

MR. JAMES MACARTHUR  ACTOR

MR. FRED MacMURRAY  ACTOR

MR. JOCK MAHONEY  ACTOR

MR. LEE MAJORS  ACTOR

MR. TONY MARTIN  SINGER/ENTERTAINER

MR. JOHNNY KATHIS  SINGER

MISS VIRGINIA Mayo  ACTRESS
   (Mrs. Michael O'Shea)

MR. ANDREW McLAGLEN  MOTION PICTURE DIRECTOR

MISS JAYNE MEADOWS  ACTRESS

* MR. RAY MIDDLETON  ACTOR
   MISS ANN MILLER  DANCER/ACTRESS

MR. RON MILLER  VP & EXEC. PRODUCER WALT DISNEY PRODUCTIONS
   (wife, Diane Disney)

MISS MARY ANN MOBLEY  ACTRESS/FORMER MISS AMERICA
   (Mrs. Gary Collins)
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<td>Mr. Morgan Paull</td>
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<td>Mr. John Payne</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<td>Actor</td>
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<td>Miss Jane Powell</td>
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<td>Miss Pamela Powell</td>
<td>Actress</td>
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<td>Mr. LeRoy Prinz</td>
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<td>Miss Julie Sommers</td>
<td>Actress</td>
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<td>Mr. Robert Stack</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<td>Miss Laraine Stephens</td>
<td>Actress</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Robert Sterling</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss Kaye Stevens</td>
<td>Singer/Entertainer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. James Stewart</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Milburn Stone</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<td>Mr. Norman Taurog</td>
<td>Motion Picture Director</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Danny Thomas</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<td>Mr. Marshall Thompson</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<td>Miss Martha Tilton</td>
<td>Singer</td>
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<td>Mr. Forrest Tucker</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<td>Mr. Rudy Vallee</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<td>Miss Mamie Van Doren</td>
<td>Actress</td>
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<td>Miss Heidi Vaughn</td>
<td>Actress</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Paul Vaughn</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<td>Mr. Robert Wagner - Independent</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Hal Wallis</td>
<td>Motion Picture Producer</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>MR. JOHN WAYNE</td>
<td>ACTOR</td>
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<td>MR. MICHAEL WAYNE</td>
<td>PRODUCER</td>
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<td>MR. PATRICK WAYNE</td>
<td>ACTOR</td>
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<td>THE WIERE BROTHERS</td>
<td>SINGING GROUP (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MISS CAROLE WELLS (Mrs. E. L. Doheny, IV)</td>
<td>ACTRESS</td>
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<tr>
<td>MISS MARGARET WHITING</td>
<td>SINGER</td>
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<td>MR. ROGER WILLIAMS</td>
<td>PIANIST</td>
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<td>MR. MEREDITH WILLSON</td>
<td>COMPOSER</td>
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<tr>
<td>MISS MARIE WINDSOR</td>
<td>ACTRESS</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRS. BONITA GRANVILLE WRAHER</td>
<td>TV PRODUCER</td>
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*added this week
CONFIRMED CELEBRITIES

FOR THE PRESIDENT - 1972

NEW YORK

MR. JOEY ADAMS  COMEDIAN

MISS LICIA ALBANESE  OPERA SINGER

MR. ERIK ELYTHE  ACTOR

MISS TERESA BREWER  SINGER

MR. DAVID BROWN  PRODUCER
(Chairman, Executive Committee - New York Celebrities)

MISS ANITA COLBY  WORLD FAMOUS FASHION MODEL

MISS JEAN DALRIMPLE  PRODUCER/DIRECTOR

MR. BARRY FARBER  OWN RADIO SHOW

MR. TONY FAYLISS  PRODUCER (shows, rallies, etc.)

MISS ANN FOGARTY  DESIGNER/DRESS MFG.

MR. FRANK FONTAINE  ACTOR/COMEDIAN

MISS CONNIE FRANCIS  SINGER

MR. LIONEL HAMPTON  ORCHESTRA LEADER/MUSICIAN

MISS LUCIA HAWKINS  SINGER

MISS HELEN HAYES  ACTRESS/FIRST LADY OF THE THEATRE

HILDEGARDE  SINGER
Celebrities For The President
Confirmed Celebrities
As of 9/1/72
Page 2

MR. ALLEN JONES  SINGER

MR. SAMMY KAYE  ORCHESTRA LEADER

MISS GINETTA LA BIANCA  SINGER

MR. LESTER LANIN  ORCHESTRA LEADER

MR. GUY LOMBARDO  ORCHESTRA LEADER

MR. GORDON MAC RAE  SINGER/ACTOR

MISS SHEILA MAC RAE  ENTERTAINER
(Mrs. Ronald Wayne)

MISS CLAIRE MANLEY  MAGICIAN/ENTERTAINER

MISS ILONA MASSEY  ACTRESS

MISS JULIA MEADE  PERSONALITY

MISS ETHEL MERMAN  SINGER/ACTRESS (will appear-do not announce)

MISS DINA MERRILL  ACTRESS

MR. ROBERT MONTGOMERY  FORMER ACTOR & PRES. SCREEN ACTORS

MR. GREG RAFFA  ORCHESTRA LEADER/MUSICIAN

MISS DOROTHY SARNOFF  SINGER/AUTHORESS

MR. JULE STYNE  COMPOSER/MUSICIAN
MEMORANDUM FOR:  
Mr. Albert Abrahams  
Mr. Stanton Anderson  
Mr. Alex Armendaris  
Mr. Paul Barrick  
Mrs. Nancy Brataas  
Mr. Raymond Brown  
Mr. Murray Chotiner  
Mr. Peter Dailey  
Mr. Lewis Dale  
Mr. Bernard De Lury  
Mr. Thomas Evans  
Mr. E. D. Failor  
Mr. Harry Flemming  
Mr. Rick Fore  
Mr. Jon Foust  
Mr. Lawrence Goldberg  
Mr. Gordon Gooch  
Mr. Orley Herron  
Mrs. Pat Hutar  
Mr. Jerry Jones  
Mr. Paul Jones  
Mr. Allan Kaupinen  
Mr. Paul Kayser  

Mr. Fred LaRue  
Mr. Robert Mardian  
Mr. Robert Marik  
Mr. Richard McAdoo  
Mr. Bruce Miller  
Mr. Manyon Millican  
Mr. Robert Morgan  
Mr. Donald Mosiman  
Mr. Richard Murray  
Mr. Frank Naylor  
Mr. Daniel Piliero  
Mr. Herbert Porter  
Mr. Thomas Reed  
Mr. Robert Reisner  
Mr. Richard Richards  
Mr. Ken Rietz  
Mr. Peter Sawers  
Mr. Glenn Sedam  
Mr. Charles Shearer  
Mr. William Stover  
Mr. Taras Szmagala  
Mr. Robert Teeter  
Mr. Webster Todd  
Mr. Lang Washburn  
Mr. Clayton Yeutter

FROM:  
ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Our next Staff Meeting will be tomorrow, Wednesday, September 6, at 7:30 a.m. in the third floor conference room of 1761. Due to the increase in the size of the staff, only those Division directors listed above, or their designated alternate, should attend. Assist­ants should not attend if Directors can be present.

Beginning Tuesday, September 12, our Staff Meetings will be every Tuesday morning at 7:30 a.m.

Thank you.

cc: Mr. Clark MacGregor  
Mr. Jeb Magruder  
Mr. Frederic Malek  
Mr. Maurice Stans

bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan  
Mr. Frank Herringer
MEMORANDUM FOR: PETE DAILEY

FROM: JEB MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Campaign Materials

We must get our material situation under control. While Lewis Dale has responsibility for ensuring material to meet our day-to-day needs, the ultimate responsibility for the materials rests with the November Group.

We are supposed to be receiving regular progress reports on materials distribution performance. To date, report one has not passed my desk. I would like to see this first report in my office no later than next Tuesday, September 5.

This report should of course break out information on our campaign materials situation at 1730. As the "display case" here in Washington, obviously we must stay on top of this location.

cc: Rob Odle
    Lewis Dale
    Fred Malek
    Gorden Strachan
MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. DAVID N. PARKER

FROM: JEB S. NAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Schedule Request

September 5, 1972

It is felt by a number of people here that up to four small meetings between the President and groups of our staff members would definitely give our people a tremendous morale boost and recognition for their efforts, and might also be helpful to the President in understanding how 1701 is organized and what it is doing.

The sessions could be as short as five minutes each for a handshake and picture, or longer if the President wanted to explore certain areas.

The suggested four groups are as follows:

1. Robert Marik, Director of Planning and Research
   Robert Teeter, Director of Polling
   Arthur Finklestein, assistant for demographic analyses
   Purposes of meeting: to discuss trends in the 1972 electorate, computer maps, the "emerging majority," and the "technical" side of the 1972 campaign.

2. Robert Marik, Director of Planning and Research
   Robert Morgan, Director of Direct Mail
   Nancy Bratsas, Director of Telephone Operations
   Richard Shriver, assistant for campaign planning
   Purpose of meeting: to discuss direct mail and telephone operations in the 1972 campaign and the relationship between them. In this campaign, direct mail, telephone operations, and door-to-door canvassing will be more closely coordinated than ever before.
3. Peter Dailey, President, November Group, Inc.
   Phil Joanou, Executive Vice President
   Mike Lesser, Senior Vice President
   Bill Taylor, Creative Director
   George Karalekas, Media Director

   Purpose of meeting: to discuss November Group's operations and advertising in the 1972 campaign.

4. Albert Abrahams, Director of Communications
   E. D. Failor, Special Assistant to the Campaign Director
   De Van Shumway, Director of Public Affairs
   Powell Moore, Director of Public Information
   Ann Dore, Communications Manager
   Clifford Miller (if in Washington), public relations consultant

   Purpose of meeting: to discuss public relations and media policy in the 1972 campaign organization and the attack strategy.

cc: Mr. Dwight L. Chapin
    Mr. H. R. Haldeman
    Mr. Clark MacGregor
MEMORANDUM FOR: PETE DAILEY
FROM: JEB MACRUDY
SUBJECT: Campaign Materials

We must get our material situation under control. While Lewis Dale has responsibility for ensuring material to meet our day-to-day needs, the ultimate responsibility for the materials rests with the November Group.

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cc: Rob Odle
    Lewis Dale
    Fred Malek
    Gordon Strachan
Attached is a copy of a memo from George Karalekas outlining planned TV purchases by McGovern.

cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman
TO: P. Joanou
FROM: G.S. Karalekas
SUBJECT: DEMOCRAT'S REQUEST FOR AVAILS

Stan Moger called this morning to alert me to the fact that the Democrats have requested television availabilities in Texas and Minnesota in addition to the North East Area which he told us about yesterday.

They have indicated to the reps that they plan to run 300 rating points a week effective 9/12 in some combination of 60's, 30's and 5's with some heavy-up activity scheduled in the last few weeks.

The above encompasses television broadcast time only. As I mentioned to you yesterday, they also are exploring the possibility of utilizing Criterion boards in New York City for two months. They are talking about a total of 1,258 boards (1,000 "white", 200 "black", 58 "Spanish"). The estimated cost per board is $30.00 (gross) or a two month total of approximately $75,000.00.

I will keep you posted, as additional information comes in.

GSK:sm
cc: P. Dailey
    B. Novelli
    E. Fitzpatrick
    P. Levins
    M. Lesser
    S. Willis
    S. O'Leary
    M. Giangrande
    J. Somers
    S. Woodson
MEMORANDUM

August 31, 1972

TO: SURROGATE SPEAKERS AND STATE CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN

FROM: Albert E. Abraham
Director of Communications

SUBJECT: Speech Inserts and Background Material on McGovern Economic Proposals

Enclosed are three speech inserts on the latest package of welfare, tax and other economic proposals made early this week by Senator McGovern. Additional background material is included in this package. These new proposals are equally ambiguous and contradictory and we should remind the people of that fact. Please see that this material is used in every possible way.

It is apparent that Senator McGovern is trying to create the impression that he has abandoned his earlier very liberal proposals and adopted a more "traditional" approach. As the attached indicate, this is simply not so. He has merely added to his plan a number of very expensive proposals without in any way renouncing his original concepts. Hence, as indicated in the attached, his tax and welfare policies are still subject to the same basic criticisms they were before, with additional points which should now be discussed.

Enclosures:

Speech inserts and background material.
George McGovern the Economist was back on stage again a few days ago unveiling still another welfare-tax reform-health insurance-social security bonanza designed to convince the voters that, Yes, indeed, he will be giving something for nothing to everybody if he is elected in November. But his most recent performance was not really very different from his earlier ones this year when he made the same sort of far-out promises -- only to be denounced by tax experts of his own party and economic leaders of virtually every school. In fact, his most recent performance just shows that McGovern the Economist is the same old McGovern the Magician we've been getting to know so well in the past few months.

McGovern the Magician now proposes to give a welfare family of four $1000 per person per year to everybody but he was then going to take it back from those who were not on welfare. So what's new in his latest give-away? Not much. Basically, it is the same old shell game he was working three months ago.

McGovern the Magician now says that there would be $5 billion to cover state and local operating costs and the increased benefit level of his latest give-away. But the fact is that operating costs alone would total $5.9 billion with nothing left over to cover the higher benefits.

McGovern the Magician says there would be $3 billion to expand social security to cover three million more people and increase the minimum benefit level across the board to $150 per month. But the fact is that raising the minimum benefit to that level alone would cost $4.5 billion.

(more)
It is pretty obvious that McGovern the Magician has not really improved his show very much -- basically he is trotting out the same old numbers tricks he started out with early this year.

You would think that by now he would have learned to make his figures add up a little better, but he hasn't: He proposes to raise $52 billion to pay for his schemes through various tax changes and by slashing the defense budget. At the same time, he proposes to spend $60 billion on compulsory national health insurance and $91 billion on other programs, excluding welfare. That all adds up to a minimum deficit of $99 billion.

And it doesn't take a Ph.D. to figure that out. In fact, it doesn't take a college student or a high school student. In fact, a third grade student can total up that deficit. Certainly, the taxpayers can.

The American people don't want a magic show. They want sound and responsible leadership, and they know that they have that leadership right now with President Nixon in the White House.
Last spring the barn doors opened, and, in a cloud of dust, Sen. George McGovern wheeled out a magnificent contraption -- a machine which would give $1000 a year to every man, woman and child in America, a machine which would eliminate poverty, a machine which would reduce taxes for just about everybody. Yes, it was a magnificent contraption.

But, unfortunately for Sen. McGovern, it was all too obvious that it wouldn't run. And some of his best friends told him so. His fellow Democrat, Wilbur Mills -- Congress's tax expert -- said it wouldn't run. His fellow liberal Tom Wicker of the New York Times said it wouldn't run. As a matter of fact, just about everybody agreed it wouldn't run. So, it was back to the barn with it for an overhaul.

For many weeks now we have all been eagerly waiting for the results.

And, early this week, the barn doors opened again, and Sen. McGovern emerged wheeling another magnificent contraption -- a machine which will give every man, woman and child in welfare -- up to a family of four -- you guessed it, $1000 per year; a machine which will eliminate poverty, a machine which will reduce taxes for just about everybody. But this contraption appears to be even more magnificent than the early one. It is going to put another three million people under social security and raise minimum benefits to $150 per month across the board. It is going to give us compulsory national health insurance. It is going to give us a bigger bonanza than ever.

(more)
But this new McGovern machine is basically the same old collection of far-out promises -- rewired, with a few new touches of paint here and there, a little bailing wire to hold up the rear end, a couple of new wheels and gears to jazz it up -- it is basically the same old collection of far-out promises the prairie populist rolled out of the barn last spring.

The facts of the latest bundle of McGovern economic schemes speak for themselves:

Sen. McGovern says no new taxes. But the fact is that his health insurance plan alone calls for $7.7 billion in higher payroll taxes. The fact is that, to pay for the latest McGovern proposals, an average American family of four making $12,500 a year would have its taxes increased by at least $1,038 -- twice its present tax bill.

Sen. McGovern says no new taxes. But the fact is that he proposes to raise only $52 billion through tax changes and dangerous slashes in the defense budget, while just one of his schemes -- the compulsory health insurance plan -- would cost $60 billion to finance. And other McGovern programs, excluding welfare, would cost another $91 billion. That adds up to a deficit of $99 billion. Yet Sen. McGovern says no new taxes.

So what is the alternative? The only alternative -- if this Nation were to really pursue the extravagant, wasteful, misconceived program offered by Senator McGovern without raising taxes -- the only alternative is massive deficit spending which would feed the fires of inflation at just the time when President Nixon has brought them under control; massive deficit spending which would disrupt the solid economic growth which has resulted from four years of prudent management by the Nixon Administration; massive deficit spending

(more)
which would spell disaster for the competitive position of American workers in international markets.

I say to you that George McGovern can tinker around as much as he wants to with his magnificent collection of give-aways and far-out promises, but it will remain clear to the American people that it won't work. And that is why, on November 7, the American people are going to wheel George McGovern back into the barn for a truly major overhaul.
Senator McGovern's most recently announced package of economic proposals embodies the same grave risks that his earlier, far-out schemes did -- specifically, his programs would require either huge increases in the tax burden of the average American or massive deficit spending and increased inflation which would disrupt the Nation's economy and seriously erode the purchasing power of the wage earner's paycheck.

His latest proposals are being touted as an improvement on the outlandish schemes he floated last spring. They may indeed be an improvement, but that's not saying much. The fact is that these latest proposals are full of inconsistencies, ambiguities and contradictions.

Senator McGovern would raise $52 billion to finance his programs through tax changes and cuts in the defense budget. But just one of his programs -- compulsory national health insurance -- would alone cost $60 billion. So we start with a deficit of $8 billion. Add to that the cost of his other programs, excluding welfare, and the deficit rises to $99 billion.

What will Senator McGovern do about that deficit? Well, he promises that there will be no new taxes, so, evidently, he would just have us all live with his deficit spending -- with his continuing deficit spending. He would have us live with increased inflation which is the necessary result of such spending. He would have us live with a deteriorating economic position in international markets, another necessary result of such spending. He would have us live with an intolerable drag on job-creating investment, yet another necessary result of such spending.

(more)
But when Senator McGovern promises no new taxes, he doesn't appear to really mean it -- at least not altogether -- because his health insurance scheme alone calls for $7.7 billion in higher payroll taxes. The fact is that to pay for the McGovern programs the average American family of four earning $12,500 would see its tax bill increase by $1,038 -- twice its present level.

The parts of the Senator's new proposals which can be nailed down specifically are disturbing enough, but what about other, murkier propositions? What does he mean when he advocates make-work public works projects? Aerospace and defense industry hand-outs? Control over industrial location decisions?

Taken together the new McGovern programs reflect the same irresponsibility, the same confused thinking, which characterized his earlier proposals. These programs, on their face, simply will not work. And I believe the American people will recognize that fact.

President Nixon has set this Nation on a sound economic course. He has reversed the disastrous policies of the preceding Democratic Administrations. He has made the first real progress in more than a decade in curtailing inflation. He has converted an artificial war-time economy into a sound and growing peace-time economy. He has proposed a major overhaul of the outmoded welfare system. In short, he has compiled a proven record of responsible leadership which contrasts sharply with the outlandish promises of his opponent.
Much as Senator McGovern might hope otherwise, this obvious contrast will not be lost on the American people. In November the American people will not vote for outlandish promises but, rather, they will vote overwhelmingly for the proven record of responsible leadership -- the record of Richard Nixon's first four years in the White House.
1. McGovern's tax and spending proposals add up to higher taxes or new inflation.

- $52 billion to finance new programs from slashes in defense and tax changes
- $60 billion to finance ONE new McGovern program -- compulsory national health insurance
- $91 billion to finance other McGovern programs, excluding welfare

$99 billion DEFICIT will be paid for in higher taxes or inflation.

2. McGovern's Third Welfare Proposal this year is still not thought out

- $1,000 welfare grant per person converted to $4,000 for some families of four

McGovern proposes to include the working poor in the welfare program, but has not yet been able to figure out how—"he swept the problem under a committee."

- McGovern estimates for portions of program costed out are wrong

  - McGovern says $5 billion would cover state and local operating costs and increased benefit level
  - Facts are operating costs alone are $5.9 billion with no funds left over for higher benefits

  - McGovern says $3 billion would expand social security to cover 3 million more people and increase minimum benefit level across the board
  - Fact is raising social security minimum benefit to $150/month would by itself cost $4.5 billion


- No New Taxes?
  - McGovern says no new taxes on wage earner
  - Fact is McGovern's health insurance scheme calls for $7.7 billion higher payroll taxes

"McGovern's proposals are a strong disincentive to job-creating investments and will thus slow the economy and create unemployment. The resultant, sluggish economy will reduce the revenues McGovern forecasts with his tax changes

4. To pay for McGovern proposals an average American family of four making $12,500 would have its tax bill increased by at least $1,038, or twice their present tax bill.
Another result of McGovern's proposals would be to harm the international competitive position of American workers.

Many of McGovern's proposals are so murky and vague that they are impossible to price. What specifically does he mean when he advocates:

- Make work public works projects?
- Aerospace and defense industry adjustment handouts?
- Control over industrial location decisions?

The costs of such programs will only add to the average American family's tax burden.
August 29, 1972

THE McGOVERN WELFARE/TAX SCHEME

--- AS REVISED FOR AUGUST

$1000 PER PERSON

--- There is no substantive change in Senator McGovern's $100 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 WNW : 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.
MEMORANDUM

August 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: Press Aides of Surrogate Speakers
FROM: Albert E. Abrahams
Director of Communications

Attached are some significant quotes from Senator McGovern which I thought might be of interest to you.
ON HANDLING VIETNAM

"I'll accept that -- begging is better than bombing," McGovern responded. "I would go to Hanoi and beg if I thought that would release the boys one day earlier."

--McGovern in South Carolina quoted by Paul Hope, W. Star June 29, 1972

ON THE PRESIDENT'S HANDLING OF VIETNAM

"I've said many times that the Nixon bombing policy on Indochina is the most barbaric action that any country has committed since Hitler's effort to exterminate Jews in Germany in the 1930s."

--McGovern in interview with Gregg Herrington of AP, June 29, 1972

"He (President Nixon) has descended to a new level of barbarism and foolhardiness for no other reason than to save his own face and to prop up the corrupt regime of Thieu."

--AP, April 16, 1972

"I think the re-election of Richard Nixon in 1972 would be an open hunting right for this man to give in to all his impulses for a major war against the people of Indochina."

--Speech, April 20, 1972 Catholic University

ON THE MERITS OF THE COMMUNISTS

"Milton Viorst: I suppose that Nixon would like to make the late Ho Chi Minh into the Vietnam Hitler. Are you suggesting he might be the North Vietnam George Washington?"

"McGovern: That's right."

--Sept. 1971 issue of Playboy from Anson biography
"Playboy: Do you sympathize with the aspiration of the Viet Cong and their North Vietnamese allies?

"McGovern: In that they're striving for national independence, yes. Their posture is more legitimate than that of General Thieu, who is really a creature of French and American power."  

--Playboy interview, July, 1971

ON SUPPORTING REVOLUTION

"All else failing, the Church must support resistance movements, including revolutions which are aimed at the elimination of political or economic tyranny which makes racism possible."

--London Express Service, 1969, quoted in Manchester Union Leader February 26, 1971--

"McGovern says: '...I could foresee circumstances in which we might provide non-military assistance and, perhaps, even military supplies directly to the oppressed people.'"  (in Angola and Mozambique)

--Interview in National Democrat May 28, 1971

ON AMERICAN PATRIOTS

On Senator Goldwater

"I regard Mr. Goldwater as the most unstable radical and extremist ever to run for the Presidency in either political party."

--McGovern, Cong. Record p. 21690, September 8, 1964

On J. Edgar Hoover

"...Hoover had lived beyond the normal years, so I couldn't feel the pathos I would for a young man. I could feel nothing but relief that he (Hoover) was no longer a public servant. I thought he had become a menace to justice."

"I don't know whether you could persuade Ramsey Clark to take the job or not, but he'd be perfect, if you could get him."

--Miami Herald, October 3, 1971

On Senator Karl Mundt

"I don't know how he (Mundt) felt about me... but I know I hated his guts... I hated him so much I lost my sense of balance."

--To Robert Sam Anson
McGovern: A Biography (p. 93)

ON NATO

"I really don't understand why we have any forces at all in Western Europe."


ON THE NEW SPACE SHUTTLE

"I wouldn't manufacture foolish projects like the shuttle."

--Orlando Sentinel, January 21, 1972

ON FORCED BUSSING

"Q: You support bussing for integration, per se?"

"A: Yes, I do. I think it's essential."

--Interview, Washington Post
January 9, 1972
ON THE MAY DAY RIOTS, 1971

"Well, if I were President, there wouldn't be demonstrations like that. (Laughter) Those people would be having dinner at the White House instead of protesting outside. (Laughter)

--Interview with Phila. Inquirer
April 16, 1972

ON THE CHICAGO POLICE AT 1968 CHICAGO CONVENTION

"Friends of McGovern had never seen him more angry. 'Those sons of bitches,' he (McGovern) kept cursing. 'Do you see what those sons of bitches are doing to those kids down there? Those bastards.' "

--Robert Sam Anson
McGovern: A Biography

ON UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY

"McGovern advocates, 'Amnesty to be granted to those who, on the basis of conscience, have refused to participate in the Vietnam tragedy. Applicable to all men now serving jail sentences for refusing induction as well as the thousands of young men who have crossed the borders of the United States to avoid fighting in what we know to be an immoral war.' "

--McGovern on the Issues

ON MARIJUANA

"That experience (prohibition), along with limitations on enforcement personnel...suggests that a more promising route might be to regulate marijuana along the same lines as alcohol."

UPI, February 16, 1972
ON ANGELA DAVIS’ ACQUITTAL

"I want to say to the brothers over here who are trying to get recognition that this is a happy day... The court has spoken, and Angela Davis has been acquitted, and this is another demonstration that we can be pleased about it... The Superior Court of California has given Miss Davis a complete acquittal. That is not a cause of mourning. That is not a cause for protest. That ought to be a cause for rejoicing."

--McGovern on Angela Davis
at rally in Watts (L.A.) UPI
June 5, 1972
WASHINGTON, September 2 -- Traditionally, American Presidential campaigns begin on Labor Day; and the issues are joined for the two months hence. That is not the case this year, however. For the campaign began in the days immediately following the Democratic Convention. And the incredibly inept political performance of Mr. McGovern in the past seven weeks has made George McGovern himself the major issue of the fall campaigns.

Does Mr. McGovern have anything approaching the competence, credibility and capacity to govern effectively the United States? That is the central question of this campaign. And if the seven-weeks' circus he has conducted was any indication -- he does not. Three items have raised new question marks over Mr. McGovern's fitness for high office.

The first was the fund-raising letter of Mr. McGovern which raffled off tickets to future White House dinners as the "prize" for 250 lucky contributors. This "offer" was unparalleled in American history.

(more)
The second occurred August 24th when Senator McGovern told the American Federation of Teachers that "teachers belong in school -- or on a picket line -- but not in jail." This public endorsement of illegal strikes by teachers charged with the education of American children was rewarded immediately with a quarter-million-dollar pay-off -- to the McGovern campaign by the AFT.

The third is the enormous sums McGovern is taking in campaign contributions from millionaire, Stewart Mott -- even though in the wake of the 1968 campaign, it was disclosed that Mott had offered similar enormous contributions to Hubert Humphrey -- in return for Humphrey's abandonment of South Vietnam. Senator Humphrey angrily refused to sell out his beliefs for Mott's millions. But Mr. McGovern is fully willing to take hundreds of thousands of dollars from Mott without a word of explanation to the American people.

Senator McGovern owes this nation some answers. By what right does he raffle off White House dinner seats for political contributions? What is his explanation for the $250,000 contribution handed over to him by the American Federation of Teachers in return for endorsing a right to strike by public employees? Why is he taking hundreds of thousands from a man who tried to bribe a presidential candidate into abandoning his beliefs for campaign contributions?

What kind of politician is it who stoops to these means and sources to finance his campaign? That is the question Mr. McGovern has to answer to the satisfaction of the American people.
MEMORANDUM

September 5, 1972

TO: SURROGATE SPEAKERS
FROM: Albert E. Abrahams
Director of Communications

SUBJECT: McGovern's Voting Record

It is useful in reading the attached record to note that there are obvious election year shifts in McGovern's position when he was a Senate candidate. The material should prove helpful in assessing his backing and filling tactics as a presidential candidate.

CONFIDENTIAL
(One begins to understand how McGovern survives in that farm state -- by being the most radical member of the Senate for the first five years of his term -- while the voters aren't looking -- and then moving sharply right in his election year.)
MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: DEVAN SHUMWAY

Responding to your note of August 29, I forwarded this request to Ron Ziegler's office sometime ago for his action.

Enclosure
Committee for the Re-election of the President

Date August 29, 1972

TO: VAN SHUMWAY
FROM: CLARK MACGREGOR

Please Handle FYI

File Hold

Where do we stand on this?
July 21, 1972

Mr. Clark MacGregor  
Chairman, Committee for the  
Re-Election of the President  
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. MacGregor:

The National Public Affairs Center for Television is planning to broadcast a one-hour, prime time television interview with the Democratic Presidential nominee, Senator George McGovern, on Wednesday night, July 26. This program will be broadcast on virtually all of the Public Broadcasting Service stations across the country.

Following the Republican National Convention, we would like very much to do a similar interview with the President. This interview would also be broadcast on all the Public Broadcasting Service stations in prime time.

If such a program is of interest to you and to the President, I would be glad to meet with you at your convenience to discuss all the necessary details.

Sincerely,

Bruce Cohn, Executive Producer  
A Public Affair/Election '72

BC:kj
Committee for the Re-election of the President

Date August 29, 1972

From VAN SHUMWAY

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

________ Please Handle ________ FYI

________ File ________ Hold

Does the attached still refer to something that is worth pursuing?

To Bob Reisman

yes. I'm sending a new proposal through the unit.

Van.
The Honorable Clark MacGregor, Chairman
Committee for the Reelection of the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. MacGregor:

In accordance with my conversation with your secretary, Miss Kay Humphrey, I would like to invite you to be our guest again at the Off-the-Record Club at Costin's Restaurant, National Press Building, 17th & F Streets, Washington, D.C. If at all possible, the club would like to have you as its guest prior to the Republican National Convention and any Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday is preferable.

The format is kept simple. There is a cocktail hour commencing at 6:30 P.M. We sit down promptly to eat at 7:30 P.M. Lew Helm, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Interior, or Bill Timmons, Assistant to the President, acts as Master of Ceremony and introduces the guest. The guest determines whether or not his remarks will be strictly off the record; deep background (Lindley Rule); background (the press, of course, would not identify you as having made a particular statement or comment, but they would have the prerogative of attribution insofar as a key spokesman for the Administration or a top Presidential aide, etc.; or for the record. The guest makes any remarks that he chooses, then we go into a Q and A.

If you prefer, everything is strictly off the record and no one has violated the ground rules since the inception of the club in 1967. As an example, the former Senator Thurston Morton one evening announced 18 months prior to his formal announcement that he would not seek re-election to the United States Senate. This story was not carried.

If your remarks are off the record, the reporters have the prerogative to follow up this session with our guests the following day or sometime thereafter of anything they might have of interest to them.

(continued)
If you choose, rather than the off the record deep background, nothing you say at this meeting will be attributed to you in any way. Reporters, however, are free to use the substance of the material as they choose, but only on their own authority as part of their own story without attribution. As far as anyone outside of the room is concerned, the meeting never took place; you were not there; or nothing was said. The guest may agree, if he wishes, to certain journalist forms of attribution, such as Senatorial sources, Democrat officials, conservatives in Congress, etc.

Your format will be decided between you and the gentleman who introduces you before you start speaking. Of course, you may make the entire or portions of the evening for the record.

The group is composed of 28 of the top political writers in Washington, 15 of which are Bureau Chiefs, and one Managing Editor. A list is enclosed. The purpose of the "Off-The-Record Club" is to establish a better rapport between conservatives and the National News Media.

Looking forward to being your host at the Off-The-Record Club, I am

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Charles A. McManus
President

CAM: dd
MEMORANDUM

September 5, 1972

TO: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: PETER DAILEY
SUBJECT: Campaign Materials/Your Memo of September 1.

My understanding is that your meeting Friday evening satisfied you that campaign materials are effectively under control and that the working relationship between the November Group and Lewis Dale is an effective one.

The first progress report on materials and distribution was handed to you on September 1, as originally agreed upon.

We are as concerned as you that materials be properly and effectively distributed and we will support Lewis in his most difficult task of prioritizing shipments as best we can.

cc: Lewis Dale
Fred Malek
Gordon Strachan
Tuesday, August 29, should have been a Day of Revelation for the hundreds of thousands of black people who put their faith in the candidacy of George McGovern.

On that day, under political pressure, Mr. McGovern—the so-called Prairie Radical of the primaries—marched off, hat-in-hand, to New York to make his peace with Wall Street. To soothe Wall Street, to save the old plantation, McGovern appears to have sold his black supporters down the river.

The $6,500 guaranteed annual income, for which George Wiley and the National Welfare Rights Organization have fought for years, is also the center piece of the Black Caucus' program in the Congress. Before the convention, McGovern had introduced it into the Senate with the cry "$6,500 or Fight;" he had embraced it by endorsing "in toto" the Black Caucus program; he has endorsed it again when he supported the resolutions of the Gary Convention. But that was in the primaries, when McGovern desperately needed black votes.

On August 29, Mr. McGovern decided his own black supporters were in the bag; that they "had nowhere else to go." So the candidate of

(more)
Brothers Fauntroy, Clay and Wiley went to New York—and to the applause of the Wall Street Fat Cats—chopped $2,500 out of the guaranteed income he had committed himself to in the Black Caucus program, and on the floor of the Senate.

Why are Brothers Clay, Fauntroy and Wiley so silent now?

The answer is because their presidential candidate sold them down the river for a pat on the head from Big Business.

And where is their Vice Presidential candidate? Last week, Shriver was down in Louisiana telling a white audience he was proud that all of his slave-holding ancestors had fought with the Slave States—and proud that none of them had fought with the Union. If Brothers Clay and Fauntroy and Wiley are a little sheepish today, well, that's understandable.

But they've got a plate of crow and humble pie to eat this morning.

Black Americans who believe in jobs rather than welfare; who want a piece of the action, not a part of the dole, who want a political leader who does not promise more than he can deliver, do have somewhere to go. They can get off the ditched bandwagon of George McGovern and get behind the New Majority of the President of the United States, Richard Nixon.
PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

EVENT: PITTSBURGH
PURPOSE: CANVASS KICK-OFF

September 16, 1972
Saturday

7:45 a.m. Depart MacGregor residence, 2834 Foxhall Rd., N.W., for Washington National Airport.
Party to include:
Honorable Clark MacGregor
Mrs. MacGregor
Driver - Mike Wilson

8:05 a.m. Arrive National Airport, United Airlines terminal. Will be met by Charles Reisler.

8:25 a.m. Depart National Airport, United Airlines flight #499.
Flying time: 53 minutes

9:18 a.m. Arrive Pittsburgh Airport, United Airlines terminal. Will be met by Dick Wright, Allegheny County Re-election Chairman.

9:30 a.m. Depart Pittsburgh Airport for Brentwood Re-election storefront headquarters. Dick Wright to drive.

10:00 a.m. Arrive Brentwood Re-election storefront headquarters, 3608 Brownsville Road, (412-881-0630). Deliver brief remarks to volunteers regarding importance of canvassing, voter identification.

10:15 a.m. Depart 3608 Brownsville Road. Walk one block to residential neighborhood. Personally canvas approx. 36 homes.

11:30 a.m. Proceed back to 3608 Brownsville Road.

11:45 a.m. Arrive 3608 Brownsville Road. Meet with staff and volunteers, lunch.

1:00 p.m. Depart 3608 Brownsville for Pittsburgh Airport. Dick Wright to drive.

1:35 p.m. Arrive Pittsburgh Airport, Allegheny Airlines terminal

1:50 p.m. Depart Pittsburgh Airport, Allegheny Airlines flight #498 (snack flight).

Flying time: 50 minutes
September 16, 1972
Saturday

2:40 p.m.  Arrive Baltimore Friendship Airport, Allegheny terminal. Will be met by Mike Wilson.

2:50 p.m.  Depart Friendship Airport for MacGregor residence. Mike Wilson to drive.

3:30 p.m.  Arrive MacGregor residence.
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: DEVAN L. SHUMWAY
(202) 333-6760
#9-17

STATEMENT BY CLARK MacGREGOR

The allegations in the amended complaint as reported in the press are false, and Mr. O'Brien and his friends are well aware that they are false. They are deliberately abusing the American judicial system for the sole purpose of manufacturing political headlines which would be grossly libelous if said outside a legal proceeding.

The time has come to call a halt to this prostitution of the judicial process and the libeling of honorable men. Accordingly, I have instructed our attorneys today to file a suit for punitive damages for malicious prosecution and abuse of process.

The behavior of Mr. O'Brien and his associates is particularly vicious in that they have deliberately made false charges against two individuals knowing in advance that the charges are false. The allegation that Mr. Maurice Stans and Mr. Hugh Sloan willfully engaged in improper activities is totally without foundation and was fully dispelled in full statements which they filed with the General Accounting Office.

(more)
Mr. O'Brien's action is all the more contemptible because he knows the men he has falsely charged cannot speak up in their own defense because of the pendency of a grand jury proceeding and by reason of the need to protect the constitutional rights of men who must be presumed to be innocent.

The moral bankruptcy of the McGovern candidacy, and the indecency to which these men will stoop to conceal that bankruptcy, was never more clearly shown than in their effort again today to use the American court system as an instrument for political libel and slander.

Within the past 72 hours George McGovern has levelled charges of impropriety -- wholly unsupported by any facts -- regarding U. S. agricultural sales to Russia. He refuses to document or substantiate his charges, or to apologize and retract them.

Sunday's L.A. TIMES' front page proclaims "GOP Aide Acts as McGovern Informer." The by-lined story by Jules Witcover quotes Mr. McGovern as saying in Albuquerque Saturday, when asked who his spy is: "Well, I can't disclose that, but it's a fact. You'll have to accept it on faith."

Over the weekend, George McGovern said, spying is abhorrent. To us, it has always been abhorrent.

What a difference a spy makes, if he's your spy!

Let the self-annointed King of Credibility become credible on the Pierre Salinger Paris Caper and on his grains sales charges. Let the self-proclaimed Disciple of Disclosure tell us who his spy is. I'll fire the ... gentleman.

(more)
When George McGovern supplies you and me with some responsive answers, I'll be pleased to respond to any further questions you have.

-30-
STATEMENT BY MAURICE STANS, CHAIRMAN OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. O'Brien's allegations against me are a scurrilous pack of lies, and he knows it. They amount to nothing more than a contemptible maneuver to use the court for his own base political purpose -- and the American people will recognize it.
McGOVERN AND CIVIL RIGHTS:
A STATEMENT BY PAUL JONES,
DIRECTOR, BLACK VOTER DIVISION
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION
OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 11 -- it is becoming increasingly clear that Senator McGovern has no concept of the needs of Black Americans.

In what has been heralded as a McGovern White Paper on Civil Rights -- the Senator is found once again taking the Black vote for granted. No where in McGovern's "White Paper" does he come to grips with essential civil and social issues facing Blacks.

Such tactics -- becoming known, more and more, as transparent McGovernism is among the reasons increasing numbers of Blacks are lining up actively supporting re-election of the President.

The McGovern White Paper seeks to deal with wiretapping and encroachment on civil liberties -- clearly avoiding a stand on vital Civil Rights concerns of equal quality education, job opportunities, economic advancement, equal treatment before the courts of the nation, federal service equal employment opportunities,
private sector equal employment opportunities and civil rights conciliation.

I call on Senator McGovern to publicly make known to Black Americans -- all Americans -- where he stands on these important civil rights issues. Indeed, the Senator might well want to provide the nation a Black Paper -- not a White Paper -- on civil rights.

Meanwhile, Blacks are no longer waiting for McGovern to discover that there are Black communities -- and they do have problems -- as do all Americans -- they are coming together, Blacks of all political persuasion -- Democrats -- Republicans -- and Independents -- demonstrating there are no longer the powers of any one party -- that McGovern does not have them in the bag. The Democrats say they've got Black votes in the bag. I think they're overlooking a few facts.

President Nixon's record on Blacks:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPLOYMENT</th>
<th>NIXON ADMINISTRATION</th>
<th>PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Cabinet appointments</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive level appointments</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White House Staff</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supergrade appointments</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General/Admirals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minorities in Federal employment</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appointments to Commissions-Advisory boards</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appointments of women to Executive level posts</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(more)
The Nixon record on Blacks continued:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Amount 1</th>
<th>Amount 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aid to Black colleges</td>
<td>$601</td>
<td>$300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid to Minority Bank Deposit Program</td>
<td>$245</td>
<td>Not established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid to Minority Business Enterprise</td>
<td>$508</td>
<td>Not established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Rights Enforcement Budget</td>
<td>$602</td>
<td>$75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal Employment Opportunity Budget</td>
<td>$30.5</td>
<td>$8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair Housing Employment Budget</td>
<td>$8.2</td>
<td>$2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Mr. Nixon is the first President to ask for government funds to fight Sickle Cell Anemia.
- He is spending $371 million to combat drug abuse this year.
- He has asked for $2.5 billion to raise the quality of education in disadvantaged schools.

Deeds, not words. That's what President Nixon has delivered.

A lot of people will be in for a surprise in November -- especially McGovernites -- when more Blacks than ever will be voting for President Nixon.

**WHAT HAS MCCOYVERN DONE FOR THE BLACKS?**

- The 1957 Civil Rights Act: This was the first Civil Rights Law to be enacted since the days of reconstruction. McGovern was absent on the votes leading to the passage of this bill in the House.
- 1959, the Ikoney Amendment: An amendment to the Justice Department Appropriations Bill extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission. McGovern was absent and did not take a stand for the Record.
- Civil Rights Act of 1960: When it was up for final House approval, McGovern was absent, and did not take a stand for the Record.

(more)
1972, Governor's Conference: Houston. The Atlanta Constitution reported that McGovern offered two major concessions to the South. One was a promise to push for a change in the 1965 Voting Rights Act which requires Southern states to submit re-apportionment plans to the Justice Department.

- 1960, the McDonough Amendment: Prohibited the Federal National Mortgage Association from purchasing housing where discrimination was involved. McGovern voted against it.

- 1964 Civil Rights Act: McGovern joined 22 other Senators in supporting a last-ditch effort to emasculate the voting rights provisions of the Act.

- 1968, Riot 'Punishment' Measures: This legislation sought to disqualify anyone convicted of participating in a riot from Federal employment for six years. A thinly-veiled effort to punish Blacks who had participated in the disturbances that followed Rev. Martin Luther King's assassination. McGovern voted for it.

- 1969, Powell Amendment: Part of the School Construction bill requiring that facilities built under the Act be open to all students regardless of race, color, creed, national origin or religion. McGovern voted against it.

What has McGovern done for the Blacks? Judge for yourself.

(more)
Recently, Senator McGovern said that working men supporting President Nixon ought to have their heads examined. Yesterday, he said young people, who support the President, don't know which end is up.

I expect any day now that Senator McGovern will be telling Black Americans that they need their heads examined or don't know which end is up.

-30-
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: FRED MALEK

August 15, 1972

Your memo of August 1st raised several questions regarding our field progress. I will respond to them in the order that they were asked:

1. Rick Murray has responsibility for New Jersey.

2. There is no updated memo, but Bob Mardian has been assigned the responsibility for following the McGovern campaign organization. I will discuss with him his progress to date.

3. Most of the instructions to the various States have been verbal. However, some of them were in writing such as agreements with Nofziger on the California situation, budget agreements, and others.

4. The budget situation for the state organizations is completely resolved. There is still some question on the advertising budgets, and there are several other non-field items where we are overbudgeted, and we plan to address these in the next week.

5. Marvin Collins was cleared by Mitchell, Reagan, and Finch. I have briefed him extensively on the California situation, he has met with Finch, and he has now spent considerable time in California.

6. Peter Sawers has not run any state-wide campaigns. Rather, his major experience has been in running Rumsfeld’s Congressional campaign. However, the principles are the same, and he is taking hold well.

7. Gordon Gooch is completely responsible for New York, and Harry Flemming has been completely out of that situation since July 3rd.

Sorry for the misspelling on Erik Jonsson - smart ass. A separate memo has been forwarded to you on the materials distribution system. I trust this answers the questions you raised.
Your July 28 memo was read with considerable interest. However, there were several questions raised:

1) Who really has responsibility for New Jersey -- Rick Murray or Al Kaupinen?

2) Is there an updated memorandum analyzing McGovern's campaign organization? Maybe it would be best if Rick Pore did such a paper since he did the original analysis of the California/McGovern situation.

3) Concerning the specific instructions to the various states mentioned on Page I, are any of these in writing?

4) The budget situation is still not completely resolved because as I understand it the advertising people are questioning the cuts.

5) Who is briefing Marvin Collins on the California situation? Was he cleared by Mitchell, Reagan and Pinch?

6) Has Pete Sawyer run any statewide campaigns?

7) If Gordon Gooch is fully responsible for New York, is Harry Flesner completely out of that situation?

8) A minor point, but our Chairman in Texas, Erik Jessen, does not spell his name the same as the former President.

9) It is not clear that the materials distribution system has broken down. Peter Dailey says that the report from one of your fellows, who was up in New York examining last week, will be positive. He says that the delay in the materials distribution is attributable to the change in materials from "Re-Elect the President" to the entirely new set, "President Nixon - Now More Than Ever."

GS/jb
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM TO: CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR.

SUBJECT: Second Letter from Senator Dole Alleging McGovern Campaign Violations

August 30, 1972

Attached is a draft of a second letter to be released by Senator Dole tomorrow alleging two additional violations of the Campaign Act by Senator McGovern.
Dear Mr. Hughes:

Two additional serious violations of the law by the McGovern campaign have come to my attention since my earlier letter.

It appears that, as well as attempting to cover up contributions of large sums of money and to not reveal the identity of large donors, Senator McGovern's fund raising efforts have also been designed to illegally facilitate the avoidance of Federal Gift Tax payments by large contributors. For example, records on file with your office reveal that Mr. Hugh Hefner, publisher of Playboy Magazine, has to date contributed at least $50,000 to the McGovern campaign. This amount has been divided into several $2,500 individual contributions which have been parceled out to various separate McGovern campaign committees designed to enable Mr. Hefner to escape payment of the Federal tax levied on political contributions in excess of $3,000 under IRS regulations.

It appears that the bulk of these committees had no purpose other than to act as conduits for Hefner's contributions. Sums involved were immediately transferred out directly to the McGovern Central Control Fund in California and several of these conduit committees appear not to have reported receiving or expending any other monies.
Ten of these committees1/ have the same officers: Arthur Wortman is the Chairman of each of these while Marian Pearlman serves as Treasurer. Wortman is the Director of Financial Reporting for the McGovern campaign. Consequently these committees do not qualify for the $3,000 per donor exclusion from gift tax in that the IRS has ruled that contributors to such "dummy" committees are subject to Federal taxation (Rev. Rule 72-355, 1972-29 I.R.B. 4). Thus, it seems Mr. Hefner has been misled by the McGovern campaign and will be required to pay a gift tax on the amount of his contributions in excess of $3,000. One can only speculate as to how many other dummy committees have been established as tax shelters for wealthy contributors by the McGovern campaign people.

The other violation which has been called to my attention concerns the failure of the McGovern campaign to file reports with your office as required by Section 14.6 of the Comptroller General's Rules and Regulations five days before the selection of Mr. Shriver as the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate. While the circumstances of this nomination were most unusual, the regulations require, and it is Congress' intent, that reports of contributions and expenditures be filed and be publicly available prior to the selection of the candidate.

to the selection of candidates for President and for Vice President. This requirement was designed to insure that contributions and expenditures by and on behalf of nominees for the offices of President and Vice President are a matter of public record before the parties select their candidates. This requirement seeks to ensure that no hidden financial considerations are in issue when selection of a candidate is finally made. All of the McGovern campaign committees have failed to file requisite reports before the second Democratic Party nominating convention wherein Mr. Shriver was nominated as the party's eventual Vice Presidential candidate.

In view of the violations which I cited in my previous letter and the additional points that I now raise, I feel that an immediate and thorough investigation of Senator McGovern's campaign fund raising organizations should be undertaken as soon as is practicably possible.
MEMORANDUM

August 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CLARK MACGREGOR

FROM: MR. JEB MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Senator Dole's letter charging McGovern's Campaign Violations.

Attached is a draft of the letter for Senator Dole's signature which Glenn Sedam prepared and forwarded to Senator Dole last night. It was released at 10:00 AM this morning.

You will note that the information on Hugh Hefner's donation, and that on Max Palevsky, was deleted to be used in another letter from Senator Dole today for release tomorrow.
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, Republican National Chairman, today called for an immediate and thorough investigation of more than a half-dozen serious violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1976 by Senator McGovern's campaign which could amount to more than $400,000 in non-reported and improperly reported campaign funds.

The alleged violations include among others: (1) the failure to report large amounts of contributions from wealthy contributors; (2) failure to list the names and other information on campaign contributors as required by law; (3) improper splitting of contributions to avoid Federal gift taxes, and; (4) illegal contributions from foreign principals.

The specific allegations are set forth in a letter sent today by Senator Dole to the Director of the Office of Federal Elections. The text of the letter is as follows:
Dear Mr. Hughes:

The Comptroller General's Rules and Regulations promulgated under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 provide in Section 20.10 that any person who believes a violation of the Act has occurred may file a complaint with your office. I believe that there is substantial evidence that the McGovern Campaign apparatus has committed at least eight serious violations of the Act. The records on file with your office indicate that the Senator's campaign officials, and others acting on his behalf, have conspired to obfuscate their true fund raising actions by false and misleading filings under Title III of the Act, and have generally attempted to mislead your office and the public. Accordingly, I call for a complete and immediate investigation of the McGovern Campaign records.

While Senator McGovern's Campaign has attempted to hold its candidate out to the public as "Mr. Clean", his organization has in fact resorted to devious cover-ups in various fund raising activities. For example, the McGovern Campaign received $5,000 on May 22, 1972, and $5,000 on June 7, 1972, from a London, England, committee called "Americans for McGovern Abroad". This political committee has not, as required under the Federal Election Campaign Act, registered with the Federal Elections Office. The secrecy of this fund leads me to question whether the purpose of concealing
the identity of the contributors of the committee is motivated by
the fact that the fund serves as a conduit for political contribu-
tions to the Senator's campaign from foreign principals in violation
of Section 613 of the Federal Criminal Code.

On May 5, 1972, a half-page endorsement of McGovern's candi-
dacy was published in the Los Angeles Times by the "California
Citizens for Fair Share". The cost of this publication was several
thousand dollars, and its stated purpose clearly brings the sponsor-
ship within the definition of a "political committee" as set forth
at Sec. 11.14 of the Comptroller General's Rules and Regulations.
The committee was obviously acting on Senator McGovern's behalf.
As such, the California Citizens for Fair Share is required to
file a statement of organization with the Comptroller General's
office within ten days of the date of its organization or within
ten days after the date on which the committee has cause to antici-
pate the expenditure of more than $1,000. No such registration has
been filed. Further, Sec. 12.6 of the Rules and Regulations requires
that any political committee which makes expenditures on behalf of
a candidate that is not authorized by the candidate shall include
a statement in the advertisement to that effect. The absence of
such a disclaimer indicates either complicity by the McGovern Cam-
paign in the violation and/or a further violation of the law by
the California Citizens for Fair Share.
Section 14.2(b)(2) of the Comptroller General's Regulations provides as follows:

"The full name, residence mailing address, occupation, and principal place of business, if any (as defined in Sec. 12.4 of this subchapter), of each person who has made one or more contributions to or for such committee or candidate (including a separate itemized account for the purchase of tickets for fundraising events, such as dinners, luncheons, rallies, and similar events held to raise funds for the committee or candidate) during the reporting period in an amount or value in excess of $100, or within the calendar year in an aggregate amount or value in excess of $100, together with the amount and date of such contributions;"

It has been generally reported in the press that certain special tickets for the McGovern rally at Madison Square Garden were sold for $2,500 apiece and up. Federal reports filed on behalf of the McGovern Campaign appear to have reported some of the bulk ticket sales, but appear to have ignored the reporting requirement of the law requiring that the identity of contributors who purchased the many tickets sold at prices in excess of $100 be reported.

The Committee for Good Government-D.C., on June 12, 1972, filed with the Office of Federal Elections a report in which it indicated that it made "transfers-out" on April 20, May 1, May 9, May 24, and May 31 in the total amount of $21,500 to McGovern for President-D.C. The McGovern for President-D.C. committee, however, reported that it received "transfers-in" from the Committee for Good Government-D.C., at a total of $13,278.42. The Good Government committee transferred-out to the McGovern for President Committee
$8,221.58, more than the McGovern for President Committee admits it received.

The McGovern for President-New York Committee has reported "transfers-in" from the following committees:

a) On April 14, 1972, $1,000 from the Drug Hospital Union;
b) On April 28, 1972, $1,000 from the Academic Lobby;
c) On May 31, 1972, $5,000 from the Committee for Peace.

None of these three political committees have registered with the Federal Elections Office as they are required to do by the Campaign Act.

In all instances where a committee received contributions from an individual, it is the express duty of the Treasurer of the political committee to obtain the name, address, occupation, principal place of business, and the date and amount of the contribution. (11 C.F.R. 12.4(a)(2)). In doing so he is bound to exercise his best efforts to obtain the above information which is necessary to meet the legislative intent of requiring public disclosure of all political contributions in excess of $100. The McGovern Campaign filings are so lax in meeting this requirement (especially with regard to occupation and principal place of business) that one can only conclude that it is a purposeful intent to be less than totally honest in revealing the true identity of contributors.

It has been generally reported in the press that Stewart Mott, the General Motors heir, has contributed $377,500 to the
McGovern Campaign. Records available to the public, however, have reported only $38,000 in contributions and $160,000 in loans to the campaign by Mott — a substantial difference not reported by the McGovern Campaign.

The McGovern Campaign committees have apparently attempted to cover up such large contributions in their effort to build an image of receiving most of their money from small contributors. They should not, however, be permitted to flaunt the Federal Campaign Act in pursuit of their public relations goals.

In my opinion, there is substantial reason to believe the McGovern Campaign apparatus has violated federal law on numerous other occasions as well and will continue to do so unless challenged by your office. The examples cited in this letter are apparent from a cursory examination of the public record. Your investigation into the Senator's campaign records will most likely reveal further violations which have been better concealed. I therefore call upon you to expeditiously undertake a thorough investigation of Senator McGovern's Campaign fund raising organizations.

Very truly yours,

Bob Dole
MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: BRUCE MILLER

Attached is a transcript of the Q&A's following McGovern's speech to the New York Society of Security Analysts.

cc: Sent to C. W. C. Weinberger
1. Under your plan would any working man get less for his work than he would get on welfare?

Absolutely not. No man or woman will earn less who is working than he could receive under welfare. I did not here today spell out every detail of the national income insurance group proposals but we would certainly guarantee that no person working is going to earn less than he would earn by going on welfare.

2. What effect do you think the higher income taxes on the $15,000 to $25,000 bracket would have on traditional American incentive? Similarly, what effect would it have on equity investment?

Well, it would have no effect at all in the tax position that people in the middle income bracket - $15,000 to $20,000 - who make their income on wages and salary. As I have said, we are not going to raise by one-tenth the taxes of anyone whose income is derived from wages and salaries and the only persons, as a matter of fact, who would have any tax change would be those who derive their income from the tax shelters that I have referred to here and have spelled out to you. But even there I have no doubt at all that we will have a healthier standing investment incentive in this country and investment pattern under the kind of full employment sound economy that I prescribe than we have under the sluggish high unemployment economy which exists today. I think the programs that I have outlined here today to put people back to work, to take them off welfare, begin building up our cities, begin building up our country, ending the waste in the military sector and something I haven't stressed today, but even living in peace for a change, that all of this creates a climate in which business will prosper.

3. Please explain your sponsorship of S-3378, a bill which denies tax deductibility to charitable request legacies where proceeds are to be used outside the United States and its investment possessions, such as CARE.

Well, that question refers to a bill that I co-sponsored a few months ago with Sen. Humphrey and Sen. Kennedy, Sen. Nelson and others in which the drafters of the bill inadvertently included a section which did have the effect of what the question indicated - closing down the possibility of deductions for contributions to overseas organizations such as CARE and
the United Jewish Appeal and other organizations of that kind. So several days ago, Sen. Nelson and I and other co-sponsors of that bill introduced separate legislation to correct that deficiency in our tax proposal.

4. Why do you think Wall Street fears you after having proved to them Republican political victories mean disaster for the Street?

I think the question must have been written by my staff. Well, I don't know why Wall Street fears me. I really don't know why they were so afraid of John Kennedy or why they were afraid of President Roosevelt. I've always felt as a student of history that had it not been for the progressive and imaginative initiatives that President Roosevelt took which at first terrified the business community that we might have lost our free enterprise system. I think it is historically sound to say that President Roosevelt saved us from disaster. As Arthur Okun said here last Tuesday, there's a peculiar marriage of at least a sizable portion of Wall Street that takes place every four years with the Republican party. I never thought it was a wise mass but nevertheless there is and I suppose I'm on the receiving end of those same fears that have always haunted Democratic presidents during the campaign period and which usually turned to rejoicing on the part of the business community once we're elected. So I can only repeat again something that I hope everyone will accept that a full employment economy - the kind I have outlined here - where you reduce these maximum tax rates and then broaden the base so that we are all paying a fair and more equitable share of the tax load. I think that's going to create a situation in which Wall Street will do better, in which the working people of this country will do better because it is the kind of economy where we are not giving everybody a smaller slice of the pie or giving anybody a smaller slice of the pie except enlarging the size of the economic pie by the kind of enlightened social and economic policies that I think will help this country function at its best. I know we have to do something here in the United States if we are going to restore some measure of confidence and respect for our government and for the manner in which it conducts
its business. We cannot go on with the kind of inequities that have been publicized in the press in recent years, especially, and maintain the kind of a safe and decent society in which we want to rear our children. So what I want above all else for this country is not a diminished opportunity for business people but an opportunity for all Americans to have the good things in life and to enjoy those things in a climate of peace. That I think ought to be the great goals of the 1970's.

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August 19, 1972

Dear Fellow Republican:

As we enter the campaign of 1972, each of us holds a part of history in his hands. The success or failure of our efforts on behalf of President Nixon this year will determine the history of our country for the next four years and perhaps for the next generation.

The President and I are depending on you to provide a resounding victory on November 7.

As you well know, a political party consists of people who believe in a set of principles to guide the government. Victory for a political party results when sound principles, dedicated leaders, inspired volunteers, and an articulate candidate work together.

As President Nixon has clearly demonstrated through his first three and one-half years in the White House, it takes hard work to reach worthwhile goals. In his Inaugural Address on January 20, 1969, the President pledged his Administration to the goal of seeking peace in the world, and added:

"I know that peace does not come through wishing for it -- that there is no substitute for days and even years of patient and prolonged diplomacy."

So, too, victory for our cause on November 7 will not come about because we wish it. Each of us -- you and I -- must work diligently to assure the political organization -- at all levels -- which will give us that victory.

I pledge to you that from now until the polls close on election day, I will devote my total energy and talents to the re-election of President Nixon.

I know each of you will make the same pledge and join me in the effort ahead.

With best wishes for success,

Sincerely,

Clark MacGregor
Campaign Director
Welcome to Miami!

On behalf of the Host Committee for the Re-election of the President, we extend our sincere greetings.

We look forward to working with you for an enthusiastic re-nomination of The President and his overwhelming re-election in November. Our committee is providing volunteers and services for most of the activities of the national campaign staff.

To assist in making your stay in the Sunshine State enjoyable, a "Host Couple" from our committee has been assigned to your delegation. Further, if we can be of service, please call us at 674-2121.

Have a good convention!

Sincerely,

J. Deering Danielson
Chairman
WASHINGTON, D.C. -- For the past several years, the Communist regime in Hanoi has resorted to the inhumane, reprehensible tactic of using American prisoners of war as bargaining counters to extract political concessions at Paris. They have played cruelly upon the deep concerns of American families, parents, wives and children. Occasionally, a naive American has been unwittingly duped into playing Hanoi's wretched game, into serving as an American megaphone for Communist propaganda. Such a naive American is Mr. Ramsey Clark.

For two weeks this man, whom Senator McGovern says is his "perfect" choice to be Director of the FBI, has been chaperoned around North Vietnam on a guided tour by his Communist hosts. Now he returns to the United States and informs us that the Hanoi Government has told him that American prisoners will be returned when there is a military and political settlement. There is nothing new in that, nothing new at all.

(more)
What is new, says Mr. Clark, is that an "editor" of the largest Communist newspaper in Hanoi assured him that the prisoners would be released if Senator McGovern is inaugurated on January 20. Given the stark contradiction between the stated position of the Hanoi Government and the whispered position of that Hanoi editor, one must conclude that Mr. Clark has been led down the primrose path by a Communist newspaperman.

In exchange for this endorsement of Senator McGovern by the largest daily in Hanoi, Mr. Clark has provided the Communist regime in return with an international propaganda windfall.

Mr. Clark's behavior while within the frontiers of a country waging war against an ally and the armed forces of the United States was inexcusable. And the time has come for Mr. McGovern to face up to this issue.

Does Senator McGovern endorse and approve the outrageous conduct of his adviser and supporter, Ramsey Clark, while in Hanoi? Does Senator McGovern believe Ramsey Clark is the "perfect" choice to fill the shoes of the late J. Edgar Hoover as Director of the FBI?

Senator McGovern's half hour diatribe against American policy in Southeast Asia Sunday did not answer these questions. It only served to remind us that Senator McGovern, like Mr. Clark, seems more solicitous about the fate of a nation committing aggression than about the fate of its victims.

(more)
Is Mr. McGovern once again waiting for public opinion to crystallize? Is he waiting for the polls to tell him whether or not to dump Ramsey Clark as his prospective choice for FBI Director?

We do not need another half hour of obfuscation on the question; we need only a half minute of candor.
MEMORANDUM

August 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. PAUL BARRICK
MR. FRED LA RUE
MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
MR. JEB MAGRUDER
MR. FREDERIC MALEK
MR. MAURICE STANS
MR. LANGHORN WASHBURN

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

SUBJECT: Budget Meetings

This is just a reminder that at the last budget meeting it was agreed to initiate a regular weekly budget meeting each Wednesday at 3:00 p.m. in Suite 407. The first Wednesday budget meeting will be September 6.

It was also agreed there would be a budget meeting next Tuesday, however, and that meeting will be Tuesday, August 29, at 3:00 p.m.

Thank you.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER

SUBJECT: National Federation of Republican Women Convention, Boston, Massachusetts, Friday, September 22, 1972

Mrs. Connie Armitage, President of the National Federation of Republican Women has called me specifically requesting that you address their Convention in Boston on Friday, September 22. Mrs. MacGregor is also invited to this event.

Their schedule is flexible, and you can name the time you wish to be there. A lunch or dinner could be arranged.

Would you be willing to speak to this convention in Boston on that date? They have called several times and are very interested in having you and Mrs. MacGregor attend.

APPROVE _______ DISAPPROVE _______ COMMENT _______
WASHINGTON, August 14 -- Clark MacGregor, Campaign Director of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, released the following statement today:

"Although I responded to Senator George McGovern's call to debate on July 22, the Senator apparently overlooked that response. Therefore, I will reiterate what I said on July 22.

"Leaders of both parties have long maintained that it was not in the national interest for incumbent Presidents to engage in public debate. On August 18, 1964, Senator McGovern himself voted to kill a bill which would have permitted debates between Senator Goldwater and former President Johnson. By his actions and his comments then he made his position clear. He was against campaign debates involving the President. I think Senator McGovern was sincere in 1964. I think he was right.

"His repeated challenge now in the face of his own recorded view is a desperate attempt by a losing candidate to divert attention from the successful policies of the President and from his own extreme defense, welfare and tax increase proposals -- the real issues in this campaign.

"We call upon Senator McGovern to stop reversing his own record. Come home, Senator McGovern -- come home to reality."
WASHINGTON, D.C. -- This afternoon, former Attorney General John Mitchell issued a call to Senator McGovern to repudiate the conduct of Ramsey Clark in Hanoi. This is a very serious matter. Senator McGovern has said that if he were elected President, he hoped Ramsey Clark would take the position of Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Clark, for his part, is now in the capital of North Vietnam serving as a mouthpiece for Communist propaganda and lending whatever slim credibility he retains as a former cabinet officer to the calculated program of deceit emanating from Hanoi.

It is serious business when a McGovern advisor and associate broadcasts enemy propaganda to American servicemen and attempts to undercut United States efforts for a just peace in Southeast Asia.

I concur fully in former Attorney General Mitchell's demand for Senator McGovern to repudiate Ramsey Clark. I call on Senator McGovern to tell the American people if he still regards this man -- who is now assisting an enemy responsible for the deaths of 55,000 American servicemen -- to be the "perfect" choice for the most important internal security post in the United States Government. It's time the American people got the answer.

-30-