

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
38	3	9/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: celebrities in the presidential campaign. 1 pg.
38	3	9/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Raymond Caldiero of the Committee for the Re-election of the President to the editor of Newsweek RE: the publication's perceived Democratic bias and use of celebrities to support its points. 2 pgs.
38	3	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Caldiero, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: celebrities and their roles in RN's 1972 campaign. 11 pgs.
38	3	8/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to MacGregor RE: campaign recommendations from Lionel Hampton. 1 pg.

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38	3	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Rita E. Hauser to Dent RE: Lionel Hampton and a "Strike Up the Band for Nixon" tour. Budget information attached. 4 pgs.
38	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of celebrity campaign events in August 1972. 1 pg.
38	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	News release from the Committee for the Re-election of the President RE: a "Celebrities for the President" press conference. 2 pgs.
38	3	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the use of Ed Nixon's signature on a fundraising letter for Senator Tower. 1 pg.
38	3	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Morgan to Magruder RE: Tower's request for a campaign letter from RN. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman. Suggested draft of letter attached. 2 pgs.

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38	3	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of memo from Morgan to Magruder RE: Tower's request for a campaign letter from RN with Haldeman's handwritten notes. Suggested draft of letter attached. 2 pgs.
38	3	9/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert Reisner to Strachan RE: MacGregor's thoughts on a letter from RN for the Tower campaign. 1 pg.
38	3	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Morgan to Magruder RE: a letter from RN for Senator Tower's campaign. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Draft of letter attached. 2 pgs.
38	3	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Rietz, through MacGregor, to Haldeman RE: courting the youth vote. Relevant newspaper article attached. 4 pgs.

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38	3	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Rietz requesting an analysis of support for RN among American youths. 1 pg.
38	3	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Joanou, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: the script for a proposed televised campaign ad. Script attached. 3 pgs.
38	3	9/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: notes from Malek's field organization sent through MacGregor. 2 pgs.
38	3	9/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to MacGregor RE: a comprehensive analysis of the Committee for the Re-election of the President's campaign activities up to the time of the memo. Planned workshop list and campaign chart attached. 11 pgs.
38	3	9/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: the former's thoughts on campaign polling results. Handwritten note added by Haldeman. 1 pg.

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38	3	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to MacGregor RE: analyzing the third wave of campaign polling. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman. 2 pgs.
38	3	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Ehrlichman RE: issues with campaign materials in Texas. Handwritten note added by Haldeman. 1 pg.
38	3	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Lewis Dale to MacGregor outlining the use of campaign materials in Texas. 1 pg.
38	3	9/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dale to State Materials Chairmen RE: campaign button and bumper sticker orders. 1 pg.
38	3	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: problems with campaign materials. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman. 1 pg.

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38	3	9/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: problems with campaign materials. Handwritten notes added by multiple unknown entities. 2 pgs.
38	3	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dale to Malek and Magruder RE: campaign distribution center problems. Relevant order figures attached. 6 pgs.
38	3	9/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dale to State Materials Chairmen RE: substitutions for ordered campaign materials. Relevant numeric figures attached. 12 pgs.
38	3	9/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: distribution of campaign materials in Texas. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
38	3	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Joanou, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: the script for a proposed televised campaign ad. Script attached. 3 pgs.

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38	3	9/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: attached information. 1 pg.

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38	3	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle to Strachan RE: distributing campaign materials. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
38	3	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to MacGregor RE: the use of American flag pins in the campaign. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman. 2 pgs.
38	3	9/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to unknown RE: campaign thoughts from White House officials. Thoughts from Sears, Teeter, John McLaughlin, Cole, Price, Garment, and Chotiner on RN's "Campaign Swing" attached. 15 pgs.
38	3	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rietz to Malek and Magruder RE: mock election results. 1 pg.
38	3	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Rietz, through MacGregor, to Haldeman RE: young people and the election. 3 pgs.

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38	3	9/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	"Sunday Herald Traveler" article titled "Mass. youth vote for Nixon." 4 pgs.
38	3	9/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Rietz requesting an analysis of support for RN among American youths. 1 pg.
38	3	9/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to Haldeman RE: thoughts for the final phase of the campaign and potential statements to use in the case of RN's re-election. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman. 2 pgs.
38	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Table of political statistics charting Presidential elections from 1900 to 1968. 1 pg.
38	3	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	"Action memo" from Haldeman calling for political notes to be sent to MacGregor, Finch, and others. Note for Buchanan also included. 1 pg.

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38	3	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Political action memo generated by Haldeman RE: funding Senate elections in certain states. 1 pg.
38	3	9/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	"Action memo" generated by Haldeman RE: using Winthrop Rockefeller to remove Babbit from a political race in Arkansas. 1 pg.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/20 ✓

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Ray Caldiero's updated Celebrity Report is attached as well as a letter he sent today to Newsweek, responding to their Shirley MacLaine article.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 333-0920

September 20, 1972

Editor
Newsweek, Inc.
444 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Sir:

Newsweek's reputation for reporting heavily weighted in favor of Democratic candidates, no matter how radical or incompetent, was enhanced by your feature article on celebrities in politics in the September 25 issue.

While I sincerely appreciate the small coverage you were able to give to the celebrities supporting President Nixon for re-election, I honestly feel that your decision to focus on Shirley MacLaine and the celebrities backing Senator McGovern gave a most unfair impression to your readers.

Contrary to the distorted impression you were striving to leave with your readership, Shirley MacLaine is not the best example of entertainers who give their time and talents to political candidates and issues. I submit that she is less credible than James Stewart, less charismatic than John Wayne, older than Pam Powell, and less entertaining than Bob Hope. She is also less experienced than all three of these men who had the courage of their convictions long before Shirley MacLaine discovered the publicity potential of supporting ~~radical~~ *extreme* candidates like George McGovern.

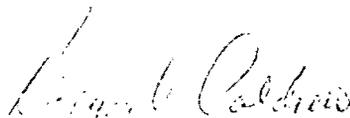
Likewise, the noted actor, Charlton Heston, who is supporting a Republican President this year for the first time, would have been a far better choice as an illustration of celebrities in politics than Ms. MacLaine. Like the other distinguished actors I mention, Mr. Heston was courageously speaking out for his beliefs quite some time before Ms. MacLaine discovered the joys of radicalism.

The fact is that a great many celebrities and entertainers have come forward to declare their support of the President---so many that we have recently formed a new division within our campaign. The division is known as "Performers for the President" and features talented young people of the caliber of Karen and Richard Carpenter, Allen Osmond (of the Osmond Brothers), Solomon Burke, The Frigid Pink, and the Mike Curb Congregation. This new group, plus many others, will provide entertainment suitable for rallies for young people. Newsweek knew about this activity, yet chose to ignore it and instead emphasized a so-called division of families by generation, a division in which the young people always support Senator McGovern.

In addition, Newsweek published 14 pictures, including the cover, in connection with this article: Ten of them on McGovern supporters, four on Nixon supporters. You can't seriously believe that this represents a true ratio of celebrity support.

Newsweek's "oversights" cannot be explained away by any lack of cooperation on the part of "Celebrities for the President". On the contrary, the celebrities staff responded to every request for assistance and the celebrities who have joined our effort on behalf of Richard Nixon made themselves readily available to Newsweek while the article was in preparation. Indeed, hours of their time were consumed by interviews in Miami Beach---interviews which you largely and conveniently ignored.

I am, quite frankly, shocked by your attempt to revive the faltering McGovern candidacy with this puff piece on another radical millionaire backing the Praire Populist. Neither I nor your readers, however, should have been surprised. In light of Newsweek's well-known bias, it is surprising only that its editors did not choose to feature our modern day Hanoi Hannah--Ms. Jane Fonda--as the shining example of entertainers active in politics.



Raymond Caldiero
Director
Celebrities for the President

Committee for the Re-election of the President

GRANDUM

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: MR. JEB MACGRUDER

FROM: MR. RAYMOND CALDIERO

SUBJECT: Celebrity/American Music Update

As requested, the following represents the current status of the Celebrity/American Music Division, with a complete update on our activities.

CURRENT STATUS

At the present time we have 198 committed celebrities from our Hollywood office, 32 from our New York office, and 57 celebrities from our American Music Celebrity division in Nashville, Tennessee. This number represents a substantial increase from our July update which is the result of a continuing recruitment campaign within all of our celebrity offices.

ORGANIZATION

LOS ANGELES

Additional volunteers have been recruited to work with Patti Schrage and Sue Taurog to aid in the scheduling of our celebrities and to prepare for the "crunch" prior to the election. These volunteers all have entertainment backgrounds and are well versed in the celebrity operation. One of the gals is the secretary to Johnny Mathis! Mr. Johnny Grant is still working very close with our LA office in the recruitment, advancing and rally emcee area.

NASHVILLE

Harry Warner, our American Music Director, has a good rapport with the Country and Western types and is recruiting new artists and scheduling them into events as requests are made. We had a very successful reception in Nashville for our committed celebrities with Mr. Rumsfeld and Senator Brock that was a major influence in motivating our Country and Western Group.

ORGANIZATION, cont.

NEW YORK

With the appointment of Mr. Dave Brown, former Vice President of Warner Brothers, as Executive Director of our New York operation we have instilled a bit of "new life" into our "old fashioned" New York celebrity list. Dave has recruited a few younger types from stage and theater with more to come.

IDEAS AND PROGRAMS BEING IMPLEMENTED

- (A) CELEBRITY BRIEFING BOOKS - Detailed information on the President's accomplishments, stands on issues, etc. has been sent to all of our offices for personal distribution to our celebrities. Also, the 1972 CAMPAIGN FACTBOOK has been sent to all of more active celebrities and is also available in all of our celebrity offices. We had ordered special attache cases for our Celebrity briefing data from the November Group with "Celebrities for the President" logo six weeks ago. Due to an unfortunate foul-up we still have not received these cases but do expect them within one week.
- (B) CELEBRITY SCHEDULES - All of our committed celebrities have been contacted for their schedules and a time commitment through November 7th.
- (C) CELEBRITY MEDIA PLAN - With the celebrity schedules on hand we have been implementing a media plan for all of our celebrities utilizing television, radio, talk shows, newspaper interviews, etc. The media plan is working now with those celebrities scheduled for specific events.
- (D) CELEBRITY TELEVISION SPECIAL - T.V. Special White House approved and scheduled for August 20, 1972. As you are well aware it was postponed with no specific date. I am still very much in favor of doing a T.V. special and would recommend for the later part of October. I honestly feel this will have a major influence on the last minute unsecured vote. The main theme should be to show massive support for the President from all areas of the entertainment industry, utilizing film and live entertainment.
- (E) RADIO AND T.V. SPOTS - Received approval from the November Group to film a T.V. and radio spot that would be aimed at the volunteer effort. Chad Everett from Medical Center had agreed to film this commercial but it has since been cancelled. I have proposed to Bill Taylor the possibility of utilizing Chad Everett, Sammy Davis, Jr., and Charlton Heston in three separate T.V. and radio commercials. They would all have different scripts, but they would all be speaking in their own way on the President's record and "why" they are voting

(E) Cont.

for the President. We now have completed scripts and are waiting for approval to go ahead with production of these commercials.

(F) SPECIAL CAMPAIGN SHOW - Utilizing the "Tonight Show", "Dick Cavett", "Merv Griffin", and "Mike Douglas" in a celebrity debate with our celebrities versus McGovern celebrities.

Johnny Carson - Turned down
Dick Cavett - Thinking about it, will advise
Merv Griffin - OK
Mike Douglas - OK. Also have scheduled Zsa Zsa Gabor as a co-host with Mike Douglas the week of September 24, 1972. I may be able to schedule a heavy surrogate one day with Zsa Zsa.

(G) RECRUITMENT CAMPAIGN FOR HUMPHREY AND MUSKIE CELEBRITIES - This went into effect immediately after the Democratic National Convention. We have received the endorsement of Danny Thomas, Milton Berle, Jimmy Durante, Robert Wagner, Eva Gabor, Debbie Reynolds, Morey Amsterdam, and we expect more in the near future.

(H) COUNTRY AND WESTERN SHOW - Idea Stage

(I) MAJOR CELEBRITY FUNDRAISERS - We are planning three major celebrity fundraisers:

September 17, 1972 - Nixon Boat Parade
Newport Beach, California

October 5, 1972 - Sacramento, California

October 9, 1972 - Anaheim Convention Center

Also, we are in the process of scheduling our celebrities in the various cities for the September 26th Victory '72 Dinners.

(J) CELEBRITY GOLF TOURNAMENT - Idea Stage

(K) REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION - (See supplement on specific details of celebrity participation.)

(L) CELEBRITIES AT LOS ANGELES AIRPORT - Plans are underway to use our celebrities at LAX to pass out bumper stickers, buttons, and issue date on the President to arriving and departing passengers.

(M) SAN CLEMENTE PANNY - Huge success...thanks. Great press coverage in all major magazines. Expect many additional celebrities to be recruited from this effort as well as the fantastic motivational aspects we achieved with our present committed celebrities.

CELEBRITY CONVENTION PARTICIPATION

LYNN ANDERSON: Convention Program -- Monday, August 21, 1972 1:00 PM

Participation: National Anthem

PAT BOONE: Convention Program -- Tuesday, August 22, 1972 1:00 PM

Participation: Introduction of Color Unit with Shirley Boone
Introduced 18 year old daughter Cherry who
led the Pledge of Allegiance
Joined by daughters Debby and Lindy, and the
entire family sang the National Anthem

Additional Activities: Co-narrated Republican National Committee
Women of Achievement Brunch with
Mrs. Sammy Davis, Jr.

LITA BARON:

Participation: State Caucus teams, including Spanish Caucus
"Celebrities For The President" press conference
Nixon-Navy pass by
Presidential Airport Arrival Program
Republican National Committee Heritage Groups
Gala

Attended: Convention sessions as a guest in the Celebrity
Box
1972 Republican Convention Gala
Committee for the Re-election of the President
Reception for women volunteers
Elmer Bobst Reception
Senior Delegate Reception

GARY COLLINS:

Attended: First Family and Vice Presidential Airport
Arrival Ceremonies
W. Clement Stone Reception for Illinois Dele-
gation and addressed the Delegation
Committee for the Re-election of the President
Reception for women volunteers

DENNIS COLE:

Participation: "Celebrities for the President" press conference
Nixon-Navy pass by
State Caucus teams

Attended: First Family and Vice Presidential Airport
Arrival Ceremony

LENNIS COLE, cont:

W. Clement Stone Reception for Illinois
Delegation and addressed the Delegation
Elmer Bobst Reception
Committee for the Re-election of the
President Reception for women volunteers
Youth Appreciation Dinner
Nomination Rally
Victory Party
Convention session as a guest in the
Celebrity Box

SAMMY DAVIS, JR:

Participation: NBC "Today Show" August 22, 1972
Emcee and performer at Nomination Rally,
Miami Marine Stadium
Filled in for Pat Boone as co-narrator
at Republican National Committee Women
of Achievement Brunch due to show run-
ning late and Pat Boone scheduled for
participation in Convention Session

Attended: Convention session as a guest in the
Presidential Box

MRS. SAMMY DAVIS, JR:

Participation: Co-narrated Republican National Committee
Women of Achievement Brunch with Pat
Boone and Sammy Davis, Jr.

Attended: Nomination Rally at Miami Marine Stadium
Convention session as guest in Presiden-
tial Box

ETHEL ENNIS:

Convention Program -- Wednesday, August 23, 1972 7:30 PM

Participation: National Anthem.

Attended: Convention session as a guest in the
Vice Presidential Box

CHAD EVERETT:

Convention Program -- Monday, August 21, 1972 1:00 PM

Participation: Introduction of Color Unit
Introduction of Pledge of Allegiance
Introduction of Invocation

Additional Activities: Participated in First Family and
Vice Presidential Airport
Arrival Program
Participated in "Celebrities for
the President" press conference
Attended W. Clement Stone Reception
for Illinois Delegation and
addressed the Delegation.

CHAD EVERETT, cont:

Attended Youth Appreciation Dinner
Convention Session as a guest in the
Celebrity Box

GLENN FORD:

Convention Program -- Monday, August 21, 1972 8:30 PM

Participation: Introduction of Color Unit
Introduction of Pledge of Allegiance
Introduction of Invocation

Additional Activities: Participated in "Celebrities for
the President" press conference
Attended W. Clement Stone Reception
for Illinois Delegation
and addressed the Delegation
Convention session as a guest in
the Presidential Box

KATHY GARVER:

Participation: "Celebrities for the President" press
conference
Nixon-Navy pass by
State Caucus teams

Attended: First Family and Vice Presidential Airport
Arrival Ceremonies
W. Clement Stone Reception for Illinois
Delegation and addressed the Delegation
Elmer Bobst Reception
Committee for the Re-election of the
President Reception for women volunteers
Youth Appreciation Dinner
Nomination Rally
Victory Party
Convention session as a guest in the
Presidential Box
Convention session as a guest in the Cele-
brity Box

BOBBY COLDSBORO:

Participation: Performer at the Nomination Rally, Miami
Marine Stadium
Performer at the Victory Party

JOHNNY GRANT:

Participation: Emceed the First Family and Vice Presiden-
tial Airport Arrival Ceremonies

Emceed the Presidential Airport Arrival
Program
"Ethnic Salute to the President"
State Caucus teams

Celebrity Convention Participation 4

BENNY GRANT, cont: Attended: W. Clement Stone Reception for Illinois
Delegation and addressed the Delegation
Convention session as a guest in the Celebrity
Box
Convention session as a guest in the Vice
Presidential Box

IONEL HAMPTON: Participation: Floor demonstration, fourth session of the
Convention
Republican National Committee Heritage Groups
Gala

CHARLTON HESTON: Convention Program -- Wednesday, August 23, 1972 7:30 PM

Participation: Special segment on POW's
Lead all in the Pledge of Allegiance
(very moving segment of the Convention)
Introduced Ethel Ennis who sang the National
Anthem

Additional Activities: Nixon-Navy pass by
Attended Convention session as a
guest in the Presidential Box

ART LINKLETTER: Participation: Emceed 1972 Republican Convention Gala
Emceed "See How She Runs" Breakfast honor-
ing women candidates, sponsored by the
National Federation of Republican Women

RUTA LEE: Participation: Presidential Airport Arrival
First Family and Vice Presidential Airport
Arrival
State Caucus Teams

Attended: Committee for the Re-election of the President
Reception for women volunteers
Senior Delegates Reception
1972 Republican Convention Gala
Republican National Committee Heritage
Groups Gala
Elmer Bobst Reception
Nixon-Navy pass by
W. Clement Stone Reception for Illinois
Delegation and addressed Delegation
Convention session as guest in Celebrity Box

Celebrity Convention Participation 5

STANLEY LEVINSON: Participation: Presidential Airport Arrival
First Family and Vice Presidential Airport Arrival
Activities at the Young Voters for the President
"Holding Area"
W. Clement Stone Reception for Illinois Delegation
and addressed Delegation
Committee for the Re-Election of the President
Reception for Women Volunteers
Youth Appreciation Dinner
Nomination Rally
Convention Session as a guest in the Celebrity Box

ETHEL MERMAN: Convention Program -- Tuesday, August 22, 1972 8:30 PM

Participation: National Anthem

Additional Activities: Presidential Airport Arrival Program
"Celebrities for the President" press
Conference

Attended: Committee for the Re-Election of the President
Reception for women volunteers
Senior Delegate Reception
W. Clement Stone Reception for Illinois Delegation
and addressed the Delegation
Convention session as a guest in the Presidential
Box
Convention Session as a guest in the Celebrity Box

MARY ANN MOBLEY: Participation: Presidential Airport Arrival Program
State Caucus Teams
"Celebrities for the President" Press Conference
First Family and Vice Presidential Airport Arrival
Nixon-Navy pass by

Attended: 1972 Republican Convention Gala
Elmer Bobst Reception
Convention session as a guest in Presidential Box
Convention session as a guest in Celebrity Box
W. Clement Stone Reception for Illinois Delegation
and addressed Delegation
Committee for the Re-Election of the President
Reception for Women Volunteers

ED NELSON: Participation: Exceed Presidential Airport Arrival Program
Nixon Navy pass by

Attended: Elmer Bobst Reception
Convention session as a guest in Celebrity Box
Convention session as guest in Vice Presidential Box

MIKEY HAMBERRY: Participation: Performer at the Nomination Rally, Miami Marine Stadium
Performer at Victory Party

JIMMY STEWART: Convention Program -- Monday, August 21, 1972 8:30 PM

Participation: Narrated film on First Lady (prior to Convention)
Introduced film on First Lady (live)
Introduced Mrs. Nixon

Additional Activities: "Celebrities for the President" Press Conference
First Family and Vice Presidential Airport Arrivals
NBC "Today Show", August 21, 1972

Attended: W. Clement Stone Reception for Illinois Delegation and addressed Delegation

JOHN WAYNE: Convention Program -- Monday, August 21, 1972 8:30 PM

Participation: Introduction of Documentary Film on President

Additional Activities: Illinois Caucus Team
Presidential Airport Arrival Ceremonies
"Celebrities for the President" Press Conference

Attended: 1972 Republican Convention Gala
Convention session as a guest in Presidential Box
Convention session as guest in Vice Presidential Box

MIKE GURD AND THE MIKE GURD

CONGREGATION: Convention Program -- Monday, August 21, 1972

Participation: National Anthem

Additional Activities: Main entertainment 1972 Republican Convention Gala
Performer at Nomination Rally
Recorded "Nixon Now" and "More than Ever" on MGM records

MIKE VINER: Participation: Instrumental in producing and arranging the Nomination Rally and Victory Party

Assisted in production of "Nixon Now" and "More Than Ever" Campaign Songs

ADDITIONAL DATA

- Sammy Davis, Jr. still working actively on Flip Wilson and Steve McQueen
- Alfred Hitchcock sent letter to Taft Schreiber along with \$500 check in support of the President, even though he cannot be visible.
- Sonny and Cher are aboard and may be willing to appear at the Los Angeles dinner on September 27, 1972.
- The Carpenters have given their support to the President. I'll be working with Bill Caurruthers and Mark Goode on a proper plan for utilizing the Carpenters.
- NEWSWEEK Magazine on Monday, September 18, 1972 will be doing a cover story on the celebrity operations in both camps.

FUTURES

- (A) Three special youth events patterned after the Miami Marine Stadium Nomination Rally with Sammy Davis, Jr. will be programmed in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York during the month of October. I will be meeting with Mike Viner next week to finalize the entertainment for the shows. We chose Mike to produce these shows for us due to his successful efforts in Miami.
- (B) A rock and roll revival show tour of six cities to spotlight the involvement of youth in our campaign. The tour is designed to run the first week in October in the following cities:

October 1 - Milwaukee
October 2 - Chicago area
October 3 - Cleveland
October 4 - Buffalo
October 5 - Pittsburgh
October 6 - Washington, D.C. area

Performers who have agreed to donate their talent are:

The Five Satins
The Coasters
Danny and the Juniors
Lobby Lewis
Johnny Thunder
Gary and the U.S. Bonds

- (C) In order to motivate our New York celebrities I feel we should have a cocktail party-reception showing our sincere interest in their campaign involvement. Most of our New York types were unable to make the trip to the Western White House due to the distance. I suggest a party hosted by Mr. MacGregor within the next few weeks.
- (D) Celebrities will be actively working in major cities throughout the U.S. for national "Kick-Off" canvas on Saturday, September 16, 1972. Their participation will involve attracting a large number of volunteers to come to our Storefront Headquarters and join in the Canvas, and to personally participate in the canvas.
- (E) Lionel Hampton "Strike Up The Band For Nixon" Southern Tour.
(See attachment)

In speaking with Mr. Hampton in detail about this proposal, I can assure you we will be able to cut 40% from his proposed figure. Total cost should be around \$6,000.00 per week.

August 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MACGREGOR

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT

ASS. (with file)

I am attaching material from Rita Hauser on the subject that Lionel Hampton and I discussed previously. I think, based on what I saw Hampton do in Miami, that his proposal is a good one. I do not think that he should be dispatched by the President, and I think we should do some hard negotiating on the budget. Also, I don't think we need the involvement by the governors of the states. However, I would like to recommend that some consideration be given to putting Hampton on a tour.

Office Memorandum
for the Re-election
of the President

1791 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 555-0000

August 3, 1972

Handwritten initials

The Honorable Harry Dent
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harry:

Lionel Hampton is very interested to do a Southern "Strike Up the Band for Nixon" tour. He tells me he has talked to you about it.

Several of the Southern state chairmen, as listed on the attached paper, have expressed great interest in this.

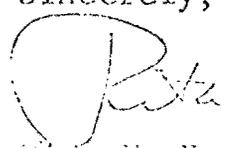
I am enclosing that which Hamp gave me and a weekly budget. He is prepared to do this for eight weeks but it may be advisable to cut it down somewhat for financial reasons.

Whatever your decision on this, I would appreciate you or someone else getting in touch with Hamp. He feels somewhat neglected, having come up with numerous excellent suggestions and getting no response to them. He is too good a person and too loyal a man for Nixon to be treated so lightly. As you know, the President is also very keen on Hamp.

Please let me know what you decide on this so I can hold Hamp down in the meanwhile.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,



Rich E. Hoover

LIONEL HAMPSON
STRETCHES UP THE BAND
FOR NIXON

Leave from Washington, D.C., dispatched by President Nixon, use Press and T.V.---Arrive for example, Virginia, received by Governor and other State officials, they give Hamp key to the State, wind up each State with a main evening affair (Rally)---Then on to next State, same routine.

Program - Band with singers and dancer
Hand out campaign material and
presentation of speakers -- show,
one hour

Factories at lunch time - Monday thru Friday

Shopping Centers on Saturday

University Campuses evenings

(could have torch lite affairs on Campuses)

All Main Events in evening

(could have motorcade to Rally area)

Teenage Party could be sponsored by Young Republicans

[Handwritten signature]

LIONEL HAMPTON
STRIKES UP THE BAND
FOR NIXON

Tentative weekly budget

1	Dancer	\$300.00
2	Singers	\$600.00
10	Musicians	\$3,000.00
	Staff	\$750.00
	Company Manager	\$350.00
2	Advance Men \$400.00 (Publicity-Gen. Radio- Television)	\$300.00
	Lionel Hampton (\$150.00 day)	\$1,050.00
	Expenses-Living, food, etc...	\$2,500.00
	Bus	---

Approx. \$10,000.00 a week operation.



Mr. James H. Boyce, President
Boyce Machinery Corporation
7655 Boyce Drive
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Mr. C. Kenneth Powell, Attorney
Powell, Atria and Smith
2231 Devine Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29205

Mr. L.E. Thomas
State Chairman Member for Florida
Republican National Committee
Post Office Box 490
Panama City, Florida 32401

Mr. Robert Keys
Assistant For Community Relations
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Sacramento, California 95814

Mr. Robert J. Shaw
State Chairman Member for Georgia
Republican National Committee
1819 Peachtree Road N.E. Suite 303
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Mr. Carl J. Taylor, President
Taylor-Merchant Construction Company
Post Office Box 13521 - Commerce Park
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

*Mr. James H. Boyce
asks Namp to stay w/Hime*

Tom Fuller

CELEBRITY EVENTS-AUGUST 1972

- August 5th Johnny Grant; San Diego, California
Older American Luncheon
- August 5th Ruta Lee; Los Feliz, California
GOP Candidate Showcase
- August 7th John Wayne, Edgar Bergen, and Ray Bolger;
Los Angeles, California
Orange County CRP Fundraiser
- August 8th John Payne and Stan Livingston; San Diego, Calif.
Republican Associates
- August 11th James Drury, Mickey Newberry, Janet Greenawalt,
and Lionel Hampton
Washington, D.C.
Headquarter's Grand Opening at 1730 Pennsylvania
- August 11th Rudy Vallee; Los Feliz, California
CRP Headquarter's Grand Opening
- August 12th Lita Baron, Johnny Grant, Stan Livingston, Scot
Man Crothers and Ed Nelson;
El Monte, California
GOP Parade
- August 12th Carole Wells; West Los Angeles, California
West L.A. GOP
- August 12th Johnny Grant; Los Angeles, California
Oriental Youth for the President
- August 15th Johnny Grant, Ruta Lee, Jock Mahoney, and Scot
Man Crothers
San Clemente, California
CRP Headquarter's Opening
- August 15th Madlyn Rhue; Monterey, California
Young Voters for the President Movie Preview
- August 17th Dorothy Lamour; North Hollywood, California
CRP Headquarter Opening
- August 20th Lloyd Nolan; Kansas City, Missouri
National Hispanic Finance Committee Dinner
- August 24th Art Linkletter, Chris Connolly, Scot Man Crothers, Desi Arnaz,
Ruddy Ebsen, Robert Sterling, Bob Crosby, Johnny Grant
San Diego, California
Presidential Arrival

from
the Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

4833 Collins Avenue, Miami Beach, Florida 33140

Campaign Phone: 305/674-2121

Hotel Phone: 305/532-3600

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: DEVAN L. SHUMWAY
(305) 674-2221
MBP #7

REMARKS BY RAY CALDIERO, DIRECTOR OF "CELEBRITIES FOR THE PRESIDENT"
PRESS CONFERENCE 5:00 P.M. AUGUST 20 WITH
LITA BARON, GARY COLLINS, MIKE CURB, CHAD EVERETT,
GLENN FORD, RUTA LEE, STAN LIVINGSTON,
ETHEL MERMAN, MARY ANN MOBLEY,
JIMMY STEWART AND JOHN WAYNE

MIAMI BEACH -- It is my pleasure as director of "Celebrities for the President" to welcome this group of outstanding entertainers and citizens to Miami Beach and to introduce them to you -- even though no introductions are really necessary. But, before getting to the introductions, I would like to say just a few words about the "Celebrities for the President" group. The group consists of top entertainers who, as private citizens, recognize the vital importance of re-electing President Nixon and have found it possible to pledge some of their time to the re-election campaign. They have formed the "Celebrities" group because they are all well known to the public -- but their interest in the President's re-election is the same as it is for most of his supporters: simply the interest of individual Americans who want to see this Nation continue to move forward under the sound leadership which the President has given us during his first term.

(over)

The celebrities here this afternoon are only a few of those who were able to make time in their schedules to come to Miami Beach to help launch the re-election campaign. Yesterday, more than fifty arrived on a flight from Los Angeles, and many others have been arriving at other times. Altogether some 100-plus Celebrities for the President will be on hand for the Convention. They will be participating from the podium during the next three days; they will be addressing state caucuses; and, generally, they will be taking an active part in the week's events. And after the convention they will be working in the President's behalf as their schedules permit -- giving speeches, appearing at rallies and making other public appearances as part of the re-election drive.. As of right now there are more than 300 Celebrities for the President, and more are joining with each passing week.

All of us in the campaign, at every level, appreciate their help as celebrities, but, most of all, we recognize that they are motivated, like so many other individual Americans, by the conviction that the President must be re-elected "Now more than Ever."

Evans

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

S

SUBJECT:

Ed Nixon Letter
for Senator Tower

Senator Tower's office (Brad O'Leary) called Tom Evans to obtain approval for a 500,000 fundraising letter over Ed Nixon's signature to Texans on behalf of Senator Tower. Evans balked, citing the rule that the First Family does not send fund-raising letters. O'Leary said that during the Texas trip, Ron Ziegler said that this type of mass mailing, rather than a personal letter was alright.

} Not True
L checked 2

You indicated on the last Political Matters memorandum that you wanted to see Ed Nixon's endorsements and fundraising events. Chapin will handle Ed Nixon's scheduling as another member of the First Family.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Ed Nixon not send a fundraising letter in Texas.

S → Review 9/29
S → Evans 9/29

Absolutely!

AGREE

DISAGREE

COMMENT

On a related Texas/Tower matter, Clark MacGregor today approved the attached memorandum suggesting the President send a letter to all Texas voters who favor the President but are undecided about Tower. You may want to review this in the Political Meeting in Ehrlichman's office.

~~absolutely~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

W/C
My name - the House folder
9/18

MEMORANDUM

September 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MORGAN *AM*
SUBJECT: Senator Tower's Mailing to Undecided Voters

Senator Tower's people want to send the attached letter from President Nixon to all voters in Texas who are identified as for the President and undecided toward Senator Tower, or for the President and for Barefoot Saunders (the Senator's opponent).

This voter identification is in process now in the top 27 counties. Their timing for undecided letters is not the first week in October, as previously indicated, but weekly, as the canvass forms are processed.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you give Senator Tower's people a decision on the undecided voter mailing signed by President Nixon.

Approve X Disapprove No Comments _____

cm per Reiner 9/28

S-7 Reiner 9/29

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the letter attached (TAB A).

Approve right change Disapprove No Comments _____

right change

OR

That you request a new letter to be approved by the President.

Approve X Disapprove No Comments _____

Attachment:
TAB A

He can use the letter that P. writes to him - but the P. cannot send out an endorsement

September 18, 1972/SUGGESTED LETTER
FROM SENATOR TOWER'S STAFF

Dear :

Our nation needs responsible leadership in the U. S. Senate to meet the problems and challenges that confront us.

I've known John Tower for a long time, and I have always considered him to be an articulate, effective spokesman for Texas. He has proven himself to be one of the Senate's leading authorities on economic policy and national defense.

I commend Senator Tower to you as a man in whom I have the utmost confidence. I hope that you will ~~support his~~ re-election on November 7.

give serious consideration to his bid for

Sincerely,

Richard M. Nixon

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10.001

September 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S
SUBJECT: Ed Nixon Letter
for Senator Tower

Senator Tower's office (Brad O'Leary) called Tom Evans to obtain approval for a 500,000 fundraising letter over Ed Nixon's signature to Texans on behalf of Senator Tower. Evans balked, citing the rule that the First Family does not send fund-raising letters. O'Leary said that during the Texas trip, Ron Ziegler said that this type of mass mailing, rather than a personal letter was alright.

Not True
checked 2

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RECOMMENDATION:

That Ed Nixon not send a fundraising letter in Texas.

Absolutely! _____ AGREE _____ DISAGREE

_____ COMMENT

On a related Texas/Tower matter, Clark MacGregor today approved the attached memorandum suggesting the President send a letter to all Texas voters who favor the President but are undecided about Tower. You may want to review this in the Political Meeting in Ehrlichman's office.

~~_____~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

W/C
Mr. [unclear] [unclear]
9/18

MORANDUM

September 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MORGAN *A*
SUBJECT: Senator Tower's Mailing to Undecided Voters

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This voter identification is in process now in the top 27 counties. Their timing for undecided letters is not the first week in October, as previously indicated, but weekly, as the canvass forms are processed.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you give Senator Tower's people a decision on the undecided voter mailing signed by President Nixon.

Approve X Disapprove NO Comments _____
cm per [unclear] 9/28

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the letter attached (A-1).

Approve right change Disapprove NO Comments _____

OR

That you request a new letter to be approved by the President.

Approve X Disapprove NO Comments _____

Attachment:
TAE A

He can use the letter that P. writes to him - but the P. cannot send out a endorsement

September 18, 1972/SUGGESTED LETTER
FROM SENATOR TOWER'S STAFF

Dear :

Our nation needs responsible leadership in the U. S. Senate to meet the problems and challenges that confront us.

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I commend Senator Tower to you as a man in whom I have the utmost confidence. I hope that you will ~~support his~~ re-election on November 7.

give serious consideration to his bid for

Sincerely,

Richard M. Nixon

OBE

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: ROBERT REISNER ~~R~~
SUBJECT: Senator Tower Mailing

As you can see from the attached approved memo, Mr. MacGregor is recommending that the President send a letter for Senator Tower in Texas. He has edited the letter in a manner that would seem appropriate for the President's consideration.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

*w/c
fy in
MacGregor folder
per Bruce
9/18*

MEMORANDUM

September 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MORGAN *AM*
SUBJECT: Senator Tower's Mailing to Undecided Voters

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This voter identification is in process now in the top 27 counties. Their timing for undecided letters is not the first week in October, as previously indicated, but weekly, as the canvass forms are processed.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you give Senator Tower's people a decision on the undecided voter mailing signed by President Nixon.

Approve ✓ Disapprove _____ Comments _____
EM

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the letter attached (TAB A). *(as amended)*

Approve ✓ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

OR

That you request a new letter to be approved by the President.

Approve ✓ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

Attachment: *CM*
TAB A *9/27/72*

September 18, 1972/SUGGESTED LETTER
FROM SENATOR TOWER'S STAFF

Dear :

Our nation needs responsible leadership in the U. S. Senate to meet the problems and challenges that confront us

I've known John Tower for a long time, and I have always considered him to be an articulate, effective spokesman for Texas. He has proven himself to be one of the Senate's leading authorities on economic policy and national defense.

I commend Senator Tower to you as a man in whom I have the utmost confidence. I hope that you will ~~support his re-election on November 7.~~

give serious consideration to his bid for re-election.

Sincerely,

Richard M. Nixon

September 28, 1972

FOR THE PRESIDENT

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
THROUGH: CLARK MacGREGOR *CM*
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KR*
SUBJECT: Memo of September 25
Discussing the Youth Vote

Although the latest Newsweek poll indicates the trend among 18 to 24 year-olds to still be in the direction of the President (50% during the middle of August and 52% now), we feel there has been some slippage. This slippage, however, is due more to a hardening up than anything else. There was a sudden shift among young voters, and that swung (due to peer group pressure) a lot of what should be undecided voters into the President's column. This was a temporary swing, and these voters are now going into the undecided column which is where they should have been.

It is our feeling that there will be another shift toward the President as the paid media goes on the air in early October. This shift should get the youth vote up to about 55% where it will level off and gradually slip back to the 50-51% level.

To help this shift in early October we have scheduled special youth events in Milwaukee, Chicago, Indianapolis, Columbus, Pittsburgh, Fairfax County (Va.) and

1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006 (202) 872-1430

St. Louis during the first week of October. All of these cities will receive a traveling rock and roll revival show - one of the most popular forms of entertainment with young people. As were our events in Miami, these shows will be aimed at maximum press coverage of young people supporting the President. If we get enough publicity, these events will effect the peer group pressure that exists just as the events in Miami did.

To help keep the slippage we expect to experience in late October from going below the 50% level, we have scheduled three major youth events - October 20 in Chicago, October 24 in Los Angeles and October 29 in Washington, D.C.

These events will again be aimed at maximum press coverage •influencing the peer group pressure. They will be modeled after the Miami Marine Stadium event in Miami with major entertainment and young crowds of 5-10,000.

In addition to this activity, we will be influencing peer group pressure through mock elections, youth blitz days, young crowd building for Presidential appearances, etc. Our effort will be concentrated on youth visibility in California, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

We feel peer group pressure is still the major factor, and we need to continually emphasize youth support for the President through the kind of activity we have planned. It would, of course, be easier to focus the attention of the media on these events with the involvement of the President and the First Family. This is particularly true of the three major events.

The President has struck precisely the right cord in his appeal to young people during the past few weeks. He is making them feel wanted. By a continued stress on the need to involve young people because of the future of America and the World, the President will continue to attract a large youth following.

Care must be taken, however, that issues which turn large segments of the youth population off not be used unless necessary. Young people want to hear positive things, not

the negatives. This is particularly true now that we are in the last stages of the campaign. Such issues as end of the war, the draft, etc. are great. Those on McGovern's weaknesses should be used with great care and generally aimed more at college audiences. The very volatile issues such as amnesty, legalization of marijuana, abortion, etc. should not be discussed.

Among young people of all ages (18-30) it has now become an acceptable thing to support the President. Because of the excitement generated at the convention, the slogan "Four More Years", the hand in the air sign (four fingers), and the continued stress by the President on young people, it is becoming the "in" thing to support the President. As long as we continue to generate that excitement, we will continue to be successful in building youth support.

Attached is an article from a Massachusetts paper which is a very accurate description of what young people are saying about both candidates. Those supporting the President seem to have more reasons than those supporting McGovern.

Attachment

Students and workers alike favor President

Mass. youth vote for Nixon

By JIM MORSE

Most first-time voters in Massachusetts — students as well as workers, women as well as men — apparently will support President Nixon over Sen. George McGovern in the November election.

A strong pro-Nixon sentiment emerged in a sample poll of Massachusetts young people between the ages of 18 and 24 conducted by a team of Sunday Herald Traveler-Sunday Advertiser reporters last week.

Fifty-six percent of those interviewed in Greater Boston, Springfield and Worcester either said they had definitely decided to vote for Nixon or were favoring him at the present time.

Thirty-one percent indicated a preference for McGovern, the Democratic candidate, while 13 percent were undecided.

Although these figures are somewhat surprising for Massachusetts, where Nixon was a big loser to Sen. Hubert Humphrey four years ago, they are similar to the latest Gallup Poll survey which gave the President an edge of 61 percent (as opposed to McGovern's 38 percent) among the nation's registered voters under the age of 30.

SUCH A SHIFT in the preference of younger voters could be a serious blow to McGovern, whose strategists have considered the youth vote a primary source of the senator's support.

Those men and women between 18 and 24 represent the largest bloc of new voters ever available for a presidential election.

They are about one fifth of the potential voting strength of the United States. And rarely has a political group been wooed more ardently by both parties in a national election.

The Republican and Democratic campaigners are giving top priority to capturing a majority of these young voters — nearly 26 million — on Nov. 7.

This presidential election is the first in American history in which young people 18, 19 and 20 years old will take part. They got the vote under the 26th Amendment to the Constitution, ratified on June 30, 1971. Others participating for the first time are those who were too young to vote for President in 1964.

Young voters between 18 and 24 interviewed by the Sunday Herald Traveler-Sunday Advertiser reporters were equally divided between men and women, students and non-student.

NIXON'S STRONGEST support came

from the males, 62 percent of whom said they favored the President's re-election. McGovern received 36 percent, and only two percent said they were undecided.

On the other hand, females gave Nixon 44 percent of their support. McGovern received 23 percent, and 33 percent hadn't made up their minds which candidate to favor.

There was little difference between the choices of students and non-students.

Students, many of whom have roots outside of the Commonwealth, favored Nixon by 53 percent, McGovern by 33 percent, with nine percent undecided.

Non-students expressed a 55 percent preference for the President's re-election, 28 percent said they would vote for McGovern, and 17 percent were undecided.

This newspaper does not claim that these percentages are necessarily a true barometer of the way the first-time voters will vote. However, the poll was taken with no advance preparation of those interviewed, and the random selection of subjects should provide an indication of the young voters' beliefs.

These are the views of a broad cross-section of first-time voters in wide areas of Massachusetts:

Undecided

Idaline Lavon, 21, of Ludlow, a Springfield hair dresser, said she hasn't registered as yet, but intends to. "I'm really undecided between Nixon and McGovern," she said. "And I don't know how my friends are going to vote. They don't talk about it very much."

"I'm not against anyone at this point," said Mrs. Constance Lavigne, 21, of Springfield, a clerk in W. T. Grant's store there. "It's going to be real difficult for me to make up my mind. Right now, I'm not leaning one way or the other."

Another who is undecided is Clarissa Reyes, 18, of New London, Ct., a freshman at Holy Cross College in Worcester. "I'm not a fan of either candidate," she said. "But I'll make up my mind in time to vote. I'm definitely going to vote."

For Nixon

Alice Smithing, 19, of Carthage, N. Y., a freshman at Boston University, said she'd vote for Robert Striver if he were the Democratic candidate. "But I can't go along with McGovern. I guess that means I'll be voting for Nixon."

Mary-Clara Swartz, 18, of Holliston,

also a freshman at Holy Cross, believes McGovern's proposals are too obscure. "It would be criminal to cut off Nixon's programs," she said. "He's ending the war and doing something about unemployment. He's making progress and he'll get my vote."

Jack Kiewski, 20, of Schenectady, N. Y., a junior at Boston College: "As far as I'm concerned, it's Nixon all the way. The Democrats should have dropped McGovern instead of (Sen. Thomas) Lasker."

Arnold Graham, 19, of Hvnans, a sophomore at Harvard: "People used to say that there was no difference between the candidates, but that's not true this year. That's why I'm going to vote for Nixon. There's really no choice when you study what the two men are saying. McGovern will say or do anything to win a vote. He can't possibly keep all those promises."

Jo Edelman, 22, of Jamaica, N. Y., a Boston sales clerk, said she once favored McGovern, but has changed her mind. "I don't like his outlook," she explained. "I'm not for Nixon either, but he'll probably get my vote."

Although he said he was undecided, Benjamin Russell, 22, of Cambridge, a salesman in a Boston sporting goods store, said he was "leaning toward Nixon because of McGovern's economic policies. They're unreasonable."

Arthur Brown of Brimston, a 23-year-old bartender, said he has a \$3 bet on Nixon. "If McGovern wins," he said, "I'll pay off in Australian currency because that's where I'll be going."

An 18-year-old Springfield roofer, Chris Footman, plans to vote for Nixon because "he said he'd get us out of Vietnam and that's what he's doing."

Describing himself as an independent, Mae Billings, 21, of Southwick, a factory worker, said he favors Nixon because "he's done as good a job as anyone could do. In fact, he's done a great job."

Paul Sheehan, 21, of Easthampton, a plant manager of a Springfield art store, didn't like the way "McGovern conducted himself."

"And I don't agree with his ideas about amnesty for those who left the country instead of doing their duty to this country," he said. "Plus, I think Nixon has done a good job."

Ray Paul May, 19, of W.bury, Long Beach, N. Y., a seaman at Holy Cross, said it's a simple decision. "Nixon can get more done," he said. "McGovern is too idealistic."

Another Holy Cross sophomore, Steve

Pingree, 19, of Rutherford, N. J., said this to say: "I'm undecided, but I'll vote for Nixon. He's accomplished more than any other of our recent Presidents. He's making good strides toward world peace."

And Holy Cross freshman Ir Nicolich, 18, of New York City, said she's for Nixon because she doesn't believe McGovern "can get the tro out of Vietnam as quickly as he claims. He's on the outside looking in. I do he would promise as much as he did if he was really aware of the situation

For McGovern

While admitting that he hasn't made up his mind, Richard McEvily, 19, Larchmont, N. Y., a junior at Holy Cross, said that McGovern "will probably get my vote."

"The trouble is," he said, "he and Nixon are both pretty shady."

In contrast, Jeanne Pupek, 20, Wilbraham, a Stop & Shop clerk in Springfield, likes McGovern because she believes "he'll be honest with everybody."

A Holy Cross senior, Lee Hibbar, 20, of San Francisco, said he'll vote for McGovern because "I'd rather not see Nixon in the White House for another four years."

Why? "His stand on foreign policy is in the country's best interest and economic policy isn't working. He's got a different slant at looking at things. He's off the beam."

Mark Cenci, 18, of Albany, a Boston University freshman, said he's "not sure" with either candidate, but "probably vote for McGovern."

Tom Yarsley, a 19-year-old Westfield construction worker, is convinced McGovern "is the right man."

Charles Rizzo, 24, a self-employed carpenter from Cambridge, said it although he's "not wild" about McGovern, "a working man would have to be insane to vote for Nixon." He believes the President favors business "rather than little guys like me."

And Jo Ann McVey, 18, of North Plainfield, N. J., a freshman at Boston University, said she'll vote for McGovern because "he offers more hope to this country."

"Four years of Nixon is enough," she said. "McGovern appeals to those who don't have anything, while Nixon is supposed to change. This country desperately needs change."

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: KEN RIETZ
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

As you probably know, the pollsters in their analysis say that the only areas where we are losing support are Blacks, Jews, and youth. These are, of course, our three supposedly weak areas where we have been surprisingly strong in recent weeks. It would be very interesting to have your analysis of whether you feel we are in fact dropping among youth and, if so, why and any thoughts you have on whether there is anything we can or should do about it.

HRH:kb

Arden Stach

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 25, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: CLARK MacGREGOR
 THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
 FROM: PHIL FRANDY
 SUBJECT: Amnesty Commercial

Japue

Per your request re a script for an "amnesty" television commercial.

We believe this issue should be targeted at special groups, as has been done in ads for veterans magazines, and direct mail to urban ethnic and blue collar workers.

The reason for not using it on television, which reaches all age groups, is that the issue varies by age, and the younger voter tends to be more in favor of amnesty than older voters. Also, a significant number of voters aren't sure.

Gallup on 8/9 showed that while the national sample was 57% for amnesty without some form of punishment, 60% were against. For under 30 voters, the figures were 47/51.

Harris on 8/10 showed 10-29 year olds favoring amnesty 55/39 (with total voters opposed 54/43).

We feel it is very well at this point with young voters. Therefore we recommend against broad use of this issue. The Raisin concurs with this recommendation.

cc: Phil Frandy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

P. Frandy

NOVEMBER
GROUP
INC.

300 THIRD AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011
(212) 752-3500

COMMERCIAL TV

Title: AMNESTY

Date: September 21, 1972

Commercial No.

Client: NIXON CAMPAIGN
(DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON)

Length 60 B&W Color

Product

No. of words:

RTO

Promise

Approval:

VIDEO

1. OPEN ON SCENE OF TROOPS WITH FULL GEAR BOARDING A TROOP SHIP.
2. DISSOLVE TO CLOSE SHOTS OF MEN AS THEY EMBARK.
3. DISSOLVE TO INDUCTION CENTER AS YOUNG MEN ARE BEING SWORN IN.

AUDIO

ANNCE: (VO) Senator George McGovern has promised that, once the war in Vietnam is over, he will grant complete and unconditional amnesty to those men who chose not to be drafted and instead, left the country or went to jail. President Nixon has said that he would be liberal in regard to amnesty, too, but with one reservation. He would ask that those who broke the law by dodging the draft pay the penalty of breaking that law. The President's position is this: There are thousands and thousands of young men who did choose to serve, and it is wrong to propose complete amnesty for draft dodgers while the North Vietnamese still hold our prisoners of war.

Time: APPROX.

Length: 60

VIDEO

4. PROPOSURE TO REPOSITION NIXON AT HIS DESK IN THE OVAL OFFICE.

5. DISCUSSION TO DEMONSTRATE FOR NIXON LOGS AND THE MANDATORY BOMB.

Date: September 21, 1972

Page: 2

AUDIO

The difference in the positions of Senator McGovern and the President on amnesty reflect a difference in philosophy....a difference you should think about on November 7th.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACIAN *S*
SUBJECT: Malek's Field
Organization Report

Clark MacGregor forwarded Fred Malek's field organization report today. Malek apologized for the two week delay. To summarize Malek's points:

- 1) All staffing and start-up problems have been resolved;
- 2) The canvass control system under Millican enables Malek to monitor the headquarter by headquarter progress of the key state canvass;
- 3) All state budgets have been set, in spite of additional requests.
- 4) A separate, detailed report on campaign materials has been submitted. The man responsible is Lewis Dale, former patronage aide to Tom Evans at the RNC;
- 5) Key states with organizational problems (Texas, California, Pennsylvania and New York) have received personal attention and where appropriate, additional men to implement the programs;
- 6) The animosity between 1701, the RNC, and the regular GOP has been ameliorated. Even the press is reporting Malek is respected by the RNC.
- 7) Malek's assessment of the current position indicates the campaign will fall

*Maybe that
the program
let a good one
on it. - FA*

*has that solve
the problems*

short of its goal of canvassing 75% of *how far along*
the priority precincts. The problem states are
New York, in spite of Mitchell's assistance,
Pennsylvania, Texas, Missouri, West Virginia,
Washington, and Oregon.

*Those are pretty
serious problems.*

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

September 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR.
FROM: FRED MALEK *FMM*
SUBJECT: Progress Report on Political Division Operations

The purpose of this memorandum is to review the progress over the last six weeks in the field organization and to assess at this point how the campaign generally is shaping up and what we can expect over the next sixty days. Generally, we've taken the following actions in the six weeks since the last written report.

1. Completed our 1701 re-staffing and staff break-in efforts.
2. Ironed out state campaign start-up problems - such as state budgets, state campaign and canvass materials allocations, etc.
3. Took steps to strengthen our ties with the Party organization in each state and at the national level.
4. Begun pushing state and county organizations to prepare for an all out effort on our canvassing, registration and voter turn out, which we formally kicked off September 16.

I will review the most important activities relating to the above actions and then assess where we now stand in the campaigns in each state and what we can realistically expect in the state campaigns over the next sixty days.

1701 FIELD DIVISION RE-STAFFING

Our 1701 staff went through its shake down in the month of August. As you know, our regional directors were on board by the first of August as were the major pieces of our support staff. In a couple of cases, we have had to make some adjustments in responsibility and duties in our headquarters staff.

Rick Fore, formerly director of training, has now been given a broadened mandate and is also responsible for programmatic elements of the canvassing effort and distribution of canvassing materials to the states.

Manyon Millican now is responsible only for control and accountability of the states' canvassing activities. As you know, we have set up a Master Control Room at 1730 to keep track of canvassing results in each county in the United States. Manyon is overseeing this tracking effort.

Lewis Dale has been given two important tasks: (1) to oversee state budget allocations and police state expenditures, and (2) to see that distribution of campaign materials goes smoothly.

He's pouring fuel!

Our team is through the shake down period and is devoting its entire energies toward operations.

LAYING AWAY STATE CAMPAIGN START UP PROBLEMS

As you know from your trips into the field, we have had several nagging start up problems which have hindered the states' efforts to get the campaign in gear. For the most part these are now behind us:

- a. State Budgets - All states now have approved monthly cash flow budgets. The finance division is sending money according to the cash flow schedules and this system is working satisfactorily. See Tab A for our present position on state spending. Nine or ten states have come back for supplements, but to now I have held the line on additional spending.

This should be worked in the present time, not perfect.

Campaign Materials - As you have observed on your trips, we have also had materials problems in many states, as was described to you this morning. However, the operating structure has now been improved, backlog has been reduced to less than 20%, and the four distribution warehouses are now filling campaign orders at a rapid clip. Most of the complaints pertain to yesterday's problems, and we are working with individual states to improve distribution within the state.

Not true

- c. Campaign Canvassing Materials - There have been shortages and mis-allocations of materials in several instances. Three weeks ago I increased our budget for these materials by one-third so that each state will have adequate allocations to cover at least 50% of their households. The complaints have subsided in the last ten days.

- d. Efforts in individual states were strengthened as follows:

In Texas, we appointed Bill Clements as Co-Chairman and Director of Operations for the state, to replace Fred Agnich, who was simply not getting the job done. In turn, Peter O'Donnell has been appointed by Clements to oversee the canvassing effort. This is a good move since Peter is one of the most knowledgeable canvassing pros in the business

In California, Marvin Collins is now plugged directly into the four regional chairmen. With Marvin properly positioned and after our trip there to push canvassing and build harmony among party leaders, I feel operations are moving much more rapidly than they were.

New York has been dragging its feet and not implementing our canvassing program. I met with Bixby and his top lieutenants last week to attempt to remove the road blocks. I am now satisfied that we will have a good canvass effort in operation. Perrotta, the New York City Chairman, is still not on board, and I will continue to work on him. Unfortunately New York will require constant prodding and close supervision on both of our parts if we are to keep them motivated.

Pennsylvania has also been slow off the mark. To a great extent, their problems have stemmed from a lack of strong leadership at the top. I have met with Specter on this and I expect that he will spend much more time on the campaign. We should see more rapid movement there.

REBUILDING TIES WITH THE PARTY

As you know, a great deal of resentment had built up over the last year between the GOP and the 1701 organization due to a number of factors. We knew that these resentments were building up before the convention; and because of this, our convention strategy was to direct our efforts almost exclusively to improving relations with Party and Nixon Chairmen.

I feel that the time we both have taken since the convention to meet with Party leaders has virtually eliminated the resentment which flared at the convention.

- Your travels in the various states and meetings with the GOP and CRP officials has done a great deal to ameliorate the problem.
- As you know I have started a series of telephone calls to Party officials to discuss their problems and to get to know them. These are directed particularly at the hot spots. Discussions with Andrews in Ohio, Jones in Pennsylvania, Daveport in Washington and many others have begun to calm the water.
- In addition, I have directed the Regional Directors to pay particular attention to Party officials as they travel throughout the states and to call on them or phone them to let them know what we're doing.

- We're making a great effort to jointly operate the voter identification, registration and turn out canvassing with the RNC, and the State GOP organizations. For example, the RNC took responsibility for some 20 of the 50 cities in our canvass kick off. In essence the two field divisions have merged for the purpose of getting the canvassing underway.
- The carefully planned Tuesday, September 12th meeting of the RNC and CRP Chairman here in Washington to explain the national campaign to the party apparatus bore real fruit. It was favorably reported in the press, and all feed back indicates that it laid away any resentments lingering after the convention.
- Finally, I have been having regular contact with Dole and Evans on topics of mutual interest. The regular Friday lunch with Evans has turned around his formerly unfavorable tone.

In short, we are dealing with a problem which is a natural one and will never go away completely. However, the excess heat is now out of this situation and I expect the problem will be under control through the election.

GETTING STATE CANVASSING EFFORTS UNDERWAY

Since the convention, the major thrust of the Political Division has been to get the states organized and underway on their canvassing effort. This entailed efforts in the following areas:

- We have held workshops in the states to explain the details of the canvassing program and how specifically to organize the canvass in each storefront across the country. Tab B indicates progress in holding these workshops to date.
- We have pushed for development of state and county organizations and for headquarters openings. Our regional directors have spent almost their entire time working with the states to get them structured and operating for the canvassing.
- The regional directors in the key states have been spending considerable time getting the telephone centers organized and operating. I have recently had a report on the progress of these efforts and am most satisfied that the telephone banks are opened and getting underway as planned. These banks will make a major contribution to our efforts to contact the voters. Tab C gives a summary of these activities for each state.

We have established the canvassing control and accountability system that you reviewed yesterday. We are asking each storefront headquarters to keep strict account of each door to door canvassing kit. Each canvasser's results will be posted on control panels at the storefront headquarters and summary panels permit storefronts to report progress to the county and state organizations. In addition, we have contracted for an 800 in-watts number so that on each Monday, each Nixon storefront in every state reports to our National Control Center the results of their canvassing for the campaign through the preceding Saturday. This helps to spot weak areas and get fieldmen involved to straighten out the problems, and it also allows us to set up competition between headquarters, states, and regional directors for canvassing performance.

We kicked off our national canvass program on Saturday, September 16. This took the energies of the entire Political Division for the two preceding weeks. The highly successful results which have been reported to you in previous memos made the exercise well worth the effort.

AN ASSESSMENT OF OUR PRESENT POSITION

As we knew from the beginning, our door to door canvassing project is a highly ambitious one. Because we started several months behind in getting the proper organization in place, funded, and instructed in canvass techniques, we have always been in the position of playing catch-up ball. In retrospect our goals are even more ambitious than we realized at the time. We're finding that canvassing is an activity that everyone gives great lip service to but is generally not well done. In addition, the present lead in the polls has eroded the sense of urgency of many of our state leaders.

Because of the lateness of our start as well as the complacency we all noted, we will fall short of our goal to canvass 75% of our priority precincts in many of our states. Right now I expect that we will have strong canvassing efforts in the New England states and the key states of Connecticut, Michigan, Illinois, California, Maryland and Ohio. New Jersey is behind, but coming on fast and we will have a good effort there. The farm and mountain states will be spotty. Iowa, Nebraska and Minnesota will do a good job. Some of the other states - Kansas, Montana and Idaho will fall well behind our initial expectations. There will be only token canvassing in some of the southern and border states.

As what?

I am particularly concerned about the campaigns in New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, Missouri, West Virginia, Washington and Oregon. I visited New York and Pennsylvania last week and will be in Texas, Washington, Oregon and California next week. The New York City organization is really weak and is

You sure should be!

simply not pushing the canvassing/telephone effort. They will not perform above 30% of standard as things now stand. Pennsylvania is also behind due to poor direction but is more correctable than New York. The problem in Texas is a late start coupled with some friction among the leadership. At present their canvass/telephone effort is in trouble, but I am hopeful that we can still turn it around.

At this point there are only two ways to bolster these problem states. The first is to exert maximum pressure from here on the state leadership to get their job done. I have already begun to do this and you may well begin receiving complaints. The other avenue is to divert resources from our national staff into the problem states. Accordingly, the following steps are now being taken:

- . I have assigned experienced fieldmen permanently to several of the key states which are having difficulty in getting their organizations fired up. Two men will be helping Gordon Gooch in New York; another two will be working exclusively in Pennsylvania. Also, I have assigned one fieldman to work with Marvin Collins in California and two full time men to go to Texas and work with Tom Reed and Peter O'Donnell. These men will work with state, county and storefront organization leaders to speed the canvassing efforts. All are good technicians who passed the canvass kick off test in the field. They will spend full time on the canvassing/telephone efforts and will be responsible to move these programs at the local levels.
- . In two secondary battleground states - Missouri and West Virginia - I have assigned Tom Crouch, one of the national fieldmen, responsibility for getting their canvassing activities underway. He in no way replaces Peter Sawers; but I felt that an extra push was needed by a man with Tom's expertise, as we have had real problems in these states. I have been quite impressed with Tom; his work in setting up Mrs. Nixon's canvassing kick off visit to Queens was particularly impressive and he will provide Sawers with strong day to day support.
- . Additional recommendations for Washington and Oregon will follow my visits this week.

Additional fieldmen from the voter bloc groups will be moved into the lagging states during October, as necessary.

In summary, I am more than pleased with the progress we have made since July in getting the campaign off the ground. Actually we've had fewer problems than we might have expected. While we may not reach our canvassing goals in all states, we nevertheless will have strong efforts in most states. Furthermore, I expect to be spending more and more of 1701's resources in those key states where we are having problems. While this takes resources and management time away from some of the sure states, I feel it is worthwhile.

Not worthwhile, essential.

Despite these efforts, we will never reach our standard in states like New York, Pennsylvania and Texas. Rather our goals in these states will be to raise their performance from the present 30% of standard to a 60% level as compared with other key states.

Finally, in spite of the above assessment, I'm sure that our efforts in the states will be the best ever mounted in a national campaign and that they will far surpass McGovern's vaunted ability in campaign organization.

STATE	Capital	Population	Area	Admission	Slavery	Major Cities	Products	Notes
Alabama	Montgomery	1,000,000	52,000	1865	Yes	Montgomery, Birmingham	Cotton, Iron	
Alaska	Juneau	100,000	375,000	1912	No	Juneau, Sitka	Fur, Fish	
Arizona	Phoenix	1,000,000	113,000	1909	No	Phoenix, Tucson	Cotton, Copper	
Arkansas	Fayetteville	1,000,000	53,000	1836	Yes	Fayetteville, Little Rock	Cotton, Timber	
California	Sacramento	3,000,000	155,000	1850	No	Sacramento, San Francisco	Gold, Wheat, Fruit	
Colorado	Denver	1,000,000	104,000	1876	No	Denver, Colorado Springs	Copper, Wheat	
Connecticut	Hartford	1,000,000	36,000	1788	No	Hartford, New Haven	Wool, Iron	
Delaware	Dover	200,000	24,000	1787	No	Dover	Wheat, Tobacco	
Florida	Tallahassee	1,000,000	55,000	1845	Yes	Tallahassee, Jacksonville	Cotton, Sugar	
Georgia	Atlanta	1,000,000	59,000	1788	Yes	Atlanta, Savannah	Cotton, Timber	
Idaho	Boise	1,000,000	84,000	1890	No	Boise, Idaho Falls	Wheat, Potatoes	
Illinois	Springfield	3,000,000	143,000	1809	No	Springfield, Chicago	Wheat, Pork	
Indiana	Indianapolis	1,000,000	36,000	1800	No	Indianapolis, Fort Wayne	Wheat, Lumber	
Iowa	Des Moines	1,000,000	71,000	1846	No	Des Moines, Iowa City	Wheat, Hogs	
Kansas	Topeka	1,000,000	81,000	1861	No	Topeka, Lawrence	Wheat, Cattle	
Kentucky	Frankfort	1,000,000	40,000	1792	Yes	Frankfort, Louisville	Wheat, Tobacco	
Louisiana	Baton Rouge	1,000,000	52,000	1812	Yes	Baton Rouge, New Orleans	Cotton, Sugar	
Maine	Portland	1,000,000	33,000	1786	No	Portland, Bangor	Wool, Lumber	
Maryland	Annapolis	1,000,000	20,000	1788	Yes	Annapolis, Baltimore	Wheat, Tobacco	
Massachusetts	Boston	1,000,000	33,000	1780	No	Boston, Springfield	Wool, Iron	
Michigan	Lansing	1,000,000	96,000	1836	No	Lansing, Detroit	Wheat, Lumber	
Minnesota	St. Paul	1,000,000	80,000	1858	No	St. Paul, Minneapolis	Wheat, Lumber	
Mississippi	Jackson	1,000,000	47,000	1848	Yes	Jackson, Natchez	Cotton, Sugar	
Missouri	Jefferson City	1,000,000	68,000	1820	No	Jefferson City, St. Louis	Wheat, Lumber	
Montana	Helena	1,000,000	147,000	1889	No	Helena, Great Falls	Cattle, Wheat	
Nebraska	Lincoln	1,000,000	77,000	1867	No	Lincoln, Omaha	Wheat, Cattle	
Nevada	Carson City	1,000,000	110,000	1864	No	Carson City, Reno	Cattle, Silver	
New Hampshire	Concord	1,000,000	93,000	1776	No	Concord, Manchester	Wool, Lumber	
New Jersey	Trenton	1,000,000	28,000	1787	No	Trenton, Newark	Wool, Iron	
New Mexico	Santa Fe	1,000,000	121,000	1848	No	Santa Fe, Albuquerque	Cattle, Wheat	
New York	Albany	3,000,000	54,000	1784	No	Albany, New York City	Wool, Iron	
North Carolina	Raleigh	1,000,000	50,000	1777	Yes	Raleigh, Charlotte	Cotton, Tobacco	
North Dakota	Bismarck	1,000,000	77,000	1889	No	Bismarck, Grand Forks	Wheat, Cattle	
Ohio	Columbus	1,000,000	42,000	1803	No	Columbus, Cleveland	Wheat, Lumber	
Oklahoma	Oklahoma City	1,000,000	77,000	1907	No	Oklahoma City, Tulsa	Wheat, Cattle	
Oregon	Salem	1,000,000	98,000	1859	No	Salem, Eugene	Wheat, Lumber	
Pennsylvania	Harrisburg	1,000,000	45,000	1787	No	Harrisburg, Philadelphia	Wool, Iron	
Rhode Island	Providence	1,000,000	1,500	1790	No	Providence, Pawtucket	Wool, Iron	
South Carolina	Columbia	1,000,000	32,000	1776	Yes	Columbia, Charleston	Cotton, Sugar	
South Dakota	Sioux Falls	1,000,000	77,000	1889	No	Sioux Falls, Rapid City	Wheat, Cattle	
Tennessee	Nashville	1,000,000	40,000	1796	Yes	Nashville, Memphis	Cotton, Tobacco	
Texas	Austin	1,000,000	69,000	1845	Yes	Austin, Dallas	Cattle, Cotton	
Vermont	Montpelier	1,000,000	96,000	1777	No	Montpelier, Burlington	Wool, Lumber	
Virginia	Richmond	1,000,000	40,000	1783	Yes	Richmond, Norfolk	Tobacco, Cotton	
Washington	Olympia	1,000,000	71,000	1889	No	Olympia, Tacoma	Wheat, Lumber	
West Virginia	Charleston	1,000,000	62,000	1863	Yes	Charleston, Morgantown	Cattle, Coal	
Wisconsin	Madison	1,000,000	54,000	1836	No	Madison, Milwaukee	Wheat, Lumber	
Wyoming	Chester	1,000,000	97,000	1890	No	Chester, Laramie	Cattle, Wheat	

WORKSHOP SESSIONS
(Completed and Planned)

<u>State</u>	<u>Number</u>
Alabama	1
Alaska	1
Arizona	1
Arkansas	1
California	4
Colorado	1
Connecticut	1
Delaware	1
Florida	1
Georgia	1
Hawaii	1
Idaho	1
Illinois	1
Indiana	3
Iowa	1
Kansas	1
Kentucky	1
Louisiana	1
Maine	1
Maryland	1
Massachusetts	1
Michigan	1
Minnesota	1
Mississippi	1
Missouri	1
Montana	1
Nebraska	1
Nevada	1
New Hampshire	2
New Jersey	1
New Mexico	1
New York	1
North Carolina	Planned
North Dakota	Planned
Ohio	1
Oklahoma	1
Oregon	1
Pennsylvania	1
Rhode Island	1
South Carolina	1

WORKSHOPS, con't.

<u>State</u>	<u>Number</u>
South Dakota	1
Tennessee	1
Texas	2
Utah	1
Vermont	1
Virginia	1
Washington	1
West Virginia	Planned
Wisconsin	1
Wyoming	1

TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN PROGRESS CHART

ST.	BUDGETED NO. OF CENTERS	NO. OF PHONE CENTER CHAIRMEN RECRUITED	CENTERS LOCATED TO DATE	COMPUTER LISTS RECEIVE FOR HOW MANY CENTERS?	PROJECTED DATE FOR START OF OPERATIONS (Week of...)	# OF ORIENTATION MEETINGS	DATE	WHO ATTENDED?	OVERALL STATUS
Florida	46	46	46	46	9/4	2	7/22	NB RS CH	GOOD
Illinois	6	6	6	6	9/4	1	8/30	NB CH	NEED LISTS
Indiana	18	17	18	18	9/11	1	8/14	NB	NEED LISTS
17	17	17	17	17	9/11	1	8/14	NB	NEED LISTS
Almond	4	4	4	4	9/4	1	8/5	NB CH	Good -- used list for Almond
Alpen	19	16	18	19	9/11	1		-	Different program from other states
Jersey	22	16	17	18	9/11	1	8/26	NB RS CH	late start but good progress
Upstate New York	22	22	21	20	9/11	3	8/28- 8/29	NB NO CH RS	OK -- Phone Co. delays, deferred start up.
1	1	1	1	1	9/11	2	8/12	NB	GOOD -- need lists
21	20	21	21	21	9/4	2	8/12	NB	Need phone center leaders
Pennsylvania	33	28	33	33	9/11	1	8/12	NB CH	
49	29	29	35	26	9/11	2	8/19	NB CH	OK -- delayed start up

Cy: D. Swanson

Magruder

1234 FRODOBARD A AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004 (302) 335-5000

September 19 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN MITCHELL

Attached is a copy of a memo to Clark MacGregor outlining revised thoughts on campaign strategy in light of Wave III Polling Results. Any thoughts you have pertaining to this would be appreciated.

Job S. Magruder

*Very good
recommendations
I'm with you
10/7/72
(not 100%)
H.*

Attachment

*per [unclear] 11/19
25 [unclear]*

COMMITTEE FOR THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 18, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Campaign Strategy in the Light of Third Wave Polling Results

The results of the third wave of polling indicate a firm base of support for the President. Beyond that, they show a continued erosion in the voters' confidence of McGovern's ability to measure up to the job of President. Based on the new data, several strategy recommendations are presented below. All recommendations contemplate no change in overall budget.

General Advertising: Because the President shows substantial strength in all major states, it is recommended that a higher proportion of the advertising budget be directed toward national network exposure. An increase of \$800,000 would raise the national budget to its maximum level of \$3,500,000 for the remainder of the campaign. The previously planned level of activity in local media markets should be maintained in California, New York, Michigan, Missouri and Wisconsin. The \$800,000 should be made available by a proportional reduction in the local media market activity in the following states: Illinois, Ohio, Texas, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Connecticut. In addition, some local advertising could be beneficial in Minnesota, Massachusetts, Washington, Oregon and Virginia, where the President is running ~~poorly~~. Let's not get ahead of the curve. Let's have it been well established. Funds for these latter states would be made available by a slight further reduction in the seven states mentioned earlier.

Right

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the proposal to the general advertising strategy as outlined above.

Approve ✓ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

agreed
ideal

Democrats for Nixon: The full program of Democrats for Nixon media advertising is scheduled to start the week of September 25 in local media markets of the ten priority states. The first week will be devoted to defense. Present plans contemplate activity every other week, with subjects of welfare and credibility in subsequent weeks. Because McGovern's continuing fallopian in the polls is perceived to be due to the public's low image of him as a potential President, we feel that the Democrats for Nixon advertising presents the best vehicle for reinforcing that trend. Further, if McGovern is beginning to have some success in the recruiting of the factions of the Democratic Party, Democratic criticism is the most effective counter-measure. Therefore, it is proposed that the plan be amended to take the advertising on to national television starting the week of September 25. Rather than alternate week exposure, it should be reinforced every week for the final six weeks of the campaign. The sequence would be defense, welfare, credibility, and then repeat that cycle again in the final three weeks. After the week of September 25th, no newspaper advertising would be recommended until the final two weeks of the campaign, and then only in states which are thought to be close.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve *in effect* the Democrats for Nixon media plan as outlined above.

Approve Disapprove Comments _____

Surregates: The schedule of surrogate appearances should be adjusted in the case number as the general advertising strategy outlined in the beginning of this memo. Surrogate appearances should be kept to the original plan in the states of California, New York, Michigan, Missouri and Wisconsin. They should be reduced in Illinois, Ohio, Texas, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Connecticut. They should be increased somewhat in Minnesota, Massachusetts, Washington, Oregon and West Virginia.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve *in effect* the Surregate plan as outlined above.

Approve Disapprove Comments _____

H.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 25, 1972

To
Magruder
of
Malk

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDE

SUBJECT: Promotional Materials -- Texas

Enclosed is a memo from Lewis Dale to Clark MacGregor explaining our Texas situation. It seems in this case, as has been the case in other states, that the state has the material but the State Chairmen and the State Materials Chairmen are not in communication with each other. Therefore, the State Chairmen is unaware of the materials at the state level.

Because of these problems, we have asked our Regional Directors to work directly with the State Materials Chairmen to make sure that all materials are distributed to the appropriate parties in each state.

*For good's sake
 All writing
 of this material
 minimal*

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Clark MacGregor

FROM:

Lewis Dalrymple

SUBJECT:

Promotional Materials -
Texas

- Texas' original budget allocation for promotional materials from August 1 - November 7 was \$60,000. Through the first two weeks of September, the State CRP had submitted nine orders totaling less than \$7,000. All the items on these orders have been shipped and received.

In the first week of September, I urged the State Materials Chairman to order more materials. On September 14th, nine more orders totaling about \$51,000 were received by the Fullerton distribution center. These orders were all shipped, with a small number of backorders, by September 20th. The principal items backordered are the Spanish-speaking brochure which, according to my information, was held up in the approval stage; the "Nixon/Agnew" bumper strip; and the "President Nixon" bumper strip. These backorders are being filled. I have attached a copy of the policy statement sent to the State Materials Chairmen regarding backorders. This substitution policy does not apply to Nixon/Agnew material.

According to your instructions, I checked with the Austin office last week regarding the President's visit, to insure an adequate supply of materials. The materials chairman informed me that both Austin and San Antonio were in good shape, primarily because of a large shipment which we had air freighted to them.

I am calling both Clements and Wilford to see if I can help them. In addition, I have arranged with David Parker to be kept informed of the travels of the First Family.

cc: J.C. Clements

David Parker

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE PRESIDENT

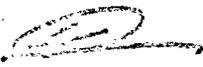
MEMORANDUM

September 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

State Materials Chairmen

FROM:

Louis I. Dale 

SUBJECT:

Backorders

Substitution will be used on all button and bumper strip orders when the item ordered is unavailable in the distribution centers. Any additional cost involved will be absorbed by the National Committee for the Re-election. This policy is necessary because of the heavy demand for the 1E button and the 2A bumper strip.

cc: State Chairmen

Bumper stickers are all that really matter.
Let's face defeat on all the other eggs, launch a
bumper sticker drive ~~and~~ and at least win
a little
the battle.

The problem is not getting them
distributed nationally, it's getting
them on cars!

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1972

TO
Malek
9/29

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN S

SUBJECT:

Campaign Materials

Fred Malek received a copy of my description of the Campaign Materials situation with your comments. He respectfully disagrees and says that the criticisms from the states are exaggerated or consciously created. Malek believes that in New York, John Ehrlichman suggested to Peter Brennan that he complain personally to the President about no materials. Malek had been in New York the previous week to resolve their materials problems. ~~He did not succeed.~~

Believe me,
that's not
necessary.
The complaints
are self-
generated.

Malek decided against the Magruder suggestion of a "bumper sticker blitz" in conjunction with the Canvass Kick-Off. Malek decided to put all resources on the Canvass Kick-Off in order to do one event well, instead of two events poorly. ~~He has no current plans for a bumper sticker blitz.~~

This is
absurd!

~~What about blitz?~~

Malek should take 1/2 hr per day on the phone to HQ's + find out what's happening + do something about - instead of writing memos, reports etc + blaming others.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To Macgregor - 9/29
Malek - 9/28
MacGregor
Magna
Gordon
Study
Sper

September 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN S

SUBJECT:

Campaign Materials

MacGregor and Malek met September 22 to review the current campaign materials situation. Lewis Dale, who has been assigned as the man responsible for campaign materials, received specific instructions. The first being a weekly report of the status of materials distributed. (Attached)

Better to get the results now + the reports in December. This way will do vice versa.

Malek attributes the materials problems to three factors. First, there is 2 to 3 times the demand for materials in 1972 than there was in 1968. Both the increased support for the President and the quality of the materials is cited. Second, the amount allocated in the national budget for materials is \$2,200 (1968 - \$2,000). The 1972 budget has been increased to \$2,400. Unlike 1968, the states have not had the freedom in allocating their budgets to materials. More is being spent on field organization. However, Malek has now directed certain states (Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana) to relocate some of their budgets to materials.

The third reason for the materials problem is the most serious. Over 80% of the scheduled materials have been shipped to various requested headquarters within the states. However, the State Chairmen, and other top officials, do not realize they have arrived and do not push for the distribution. In New York, for example, the State CRP and GOP leadership claimed they had not received materials. Lewis Dale and Peter Dailey reviewed the shipping orders and receipts signed by New York CRP officials. The result was that 80%

field part this morning

of all materials were in the state in the hands of local CRP officials but the top officials did not know this.

Why doesn't someone get off his ass + tell them!

No touch

The solution will be that MacGregor will contact each state chairman indicating the percentage of materials in the state and that it is their immediate responsibility to distribute them.

The 9/20 event matter. Drop the technicality + get the stuff out.

Last night Ed Cox stopped in my office to review the Virginia Senate race. He asked me about the campaign materials situation because he had been receiving complaints. He asked for any description of the situation that I had. I gave him a copy of the Dale memorandum and an oral description of the MacGregor-Malek actions.

Waste of time
Quit reporting for the next 6 weeks + just produce.
Signed
memorandum

This would be somewhat more useful than weekly reports. We get plenty of reports direct from the field + they're all bad!

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: Fred Malek
Jeb Magruder

FROM: Lewis Dale 

SUBJECT: Promotional Materials

As of September 22nd, the four distribution centers had received 653 orders and had shipped 634, with backorders outstanding. The statistics for the last reporting period (8/1-9/12) were drawn from copies of 299 orders. We have now received an additional 289 orders and also have records of 386 backorder shipments.

These newly received records reveal that in the period 9/8-9/22, the centers have received orders for 2,600,000 buttons, 2,500,000 bumper strips, 3,675,000 brochures and several thousand other items. Over 3,500,000 buttons, 3,000,000 bumper strips and 3,970,000 brochures have been shipped in this same period. The figure for brochures does not include any of the 9,000,000 brochures shipped for canvassing purposes in this period.

These figures indicate that supply is now outstripping demand. As of September 20th, the states had \$ 398,000 remaining in their promotional materials budgets. We are now beginning to receive more checks to pay for materials. I have advised Heinrich in New York that the states might be willing to buy up to \$200,000 worth of materials and that production for that amount should concentrate on buttons, bumper strips, posters and brochures. A memorandum from Magruder to Dailey on this subject would put the necessary wheels in motion.

I was informed this morning of the Texas complaints, and would like to add some background. Through the first two weeks of September, the State CRP had submitted nine orders totalling less than \$7,000. According to our records, all the items on these orders have been shipped and received.

In the first week of September, I urged the State Materials Chairman to order more materials. On September 14th, nine more orders totaling some \$51,000 were received by the Fullerton distribution center. These

Promotional Materials
September 25, 1972
Page 2

orders were all shipped, with a small number of backorders, by September 20th. The principal items backordered are the Spanish-Speaking brochure, which was late coming out of the approval stage; the "Nixon/Agnew" bumper strip; and the "President Nixon" bumper strip. I have attached a copy of the policy statement sent to the State Materials Chairmen regarding backorders. This substitution policy does not apply to Nixon/Agnew material.

I checked with Austin last week, regarding the President's visit. The materials chairman informed me that both Austin and San Antonio were in good shape, primarily because of a large shipment which we had air freighted to them. I called George Willeford and Peter O'Donnell today. Peter does not agree with my records, so I am tracing seven of the last nine Texas orders. For your information, we trace about five shipments per day. On one shipment out of fifteen, on the average, we discover some difficulty such as inexplicable delay, failure to ship or lost shipment.

One of the major tasks facing us now is insuring that the State Materials Chairmen are getting goods out to the local areas. An attachment shows the number of orders each state has submitted. In a populous state, a low number of orders is a good indication that most of the materials are going to a central headquarters for distribution. Pennsylvania's budget has been expended on 14 orders. New York, on the other hand, has submitted 180 orders with about half of its budget. The destinations for their materials are scattered all over New York. I had hoped to be able to solve this problem by visits to the problem states, but the Regional Directors are probably the best means we have of enforcing proper distribution within the states. I will discuss the problem states with the respective Regional Directors.

Attachments

<u>STATE</u>	<u>ALLOCATION (ORIGINAL AND SUPPLEMENT)</u>	<u>CURRENT ALLOCATION BALANCE</u>
ALABAMA	10,000	7,000
ALASKA	4,500	2,516.50
ARIZONA	5,000	1,022.84
ARKANSAS	75,000	2,458
CALIFORNIA	170,000	77,069.69
COLORADO	7,500	2,561.50
CONNECTICUT	22,000	5,945
DELAWARE	4,000	1,066.50
FLORIDA	40,000	13,752.96
GEORGIA	16,000	1,103
HAWAII	6,000	1,620.72
IDAHO	5,500	18.30
ILLINOIS	110,000	449
INDIANA	27,000	7,254.50
IOWA	12,000	4,061.50
KANSAS	20,000	3,324.50
KENTUCKY	24,000	4,885
LOUISIANA	6,500	1,014
MAINE	6,000	1,729.50
MARYLAND	26,000	5,892.50
MASSACHUSETTS	22,000	240.80
MICHIGAN	105,000	70,222
MINNESOTA	19,000	4,423
MISSISSIPPI	7,000	2,855
MISSOURI	21,000	5,374.50
MONTANA	3,500	517.75
NEBRASKA	11,000	3,260
NEVADA	5,000	1,464.80
NEW HAMPSHIRE	5,000	831
NEW JERSEY	60,000	8,302.67
NEW MEXICO	8,000	2,544.50
NEW YORK	197,000	55,976.75
NORTH CAROLINA	20,000	8,764
NORTH DAKOTA	7,000	336
OHIO	80,000	22,775.95
OKLAHOMA	10,000	392.06
OREGON	12,000	1 356
PENNSYLVANIA	115,000	9,853.50
RHODE ISLAND	7,000	2,862.20
SOUTH CAROLINA	6,000	2,000
SOUTH DAKOTA	4,500	1,260
TENNESSEE	13,500	6,296.50
TEXAS	80,000	12,184.25

UTAH	7,000	2,420.20
VERMONT	7,000	2,665
VIRGINIA	21,000	7,758
WASHINGTON	17,000	7,703.80
WEST VIRGINIA	10,000	4,793
WISCONSIN	16,000	1,385
WYOMING	6,000	2,668
D. C.		
D. C. HQ		
<u>TOTAL</u>	\$ 1,535,413	\$ 398,231.74

ORDERS SHIPPED (by state)

<u>STATE</u>	<u>ORDERS</u>	<u>BACKORDERS SHIPPED</u>
Alabama	3	5
Alaska	4	3
Arizona	5	
Arkansas	4	7
California	53	35
Colorado	4	2
Connecticut	9	3
Delaware	5	
D. C.	—	
Florida	1	5
Georgia	8	11
Hawaii	2	3
Idaho	6	3
Illinois	6	8
Indiana	9	4
Iowa	2	2
Kansas	7	5
Kentucky	2	4
Louisiana	16	18
Maine	2	
Maryland	5	6
Massachusetts	3	4
Michigan	4	3
Minnesota	8	3

Orders Shipped by State

Page - 2

Mississippi	2	2
Missouri	36	24
Montana	3	
Nebraska	1	1
Nevada	3	3
New Hampshire	1	2
New Jersey	19	33
New Mexico	4	2
New York	180	92
North Carolina	4	4
North Dakota	2	2
Ohio	34	1
Oklahoma	11	8
Oregon	3	3
Pennsylvania	14	1
Rhode Island	2	1
South Carolina	4	7
South Dakota	5	
Tennessee	3	5
Texas	21	22
Utah	3	3
Vermont	2	3
Virginia	4	2
Washington	6	
West Virginia	59	10
Wisconsin	8	5
Wyoming	2	1

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

State Materials Chairmen

FROM:

Lewis I. Dale 

SUBJECT:

Backorders

Substitution will be made on all button and bumper strip orders when the item ordered is unavailable in the distribution centers. Any additional cost involved will be absorbed by the National Committee for the Re-election. This policy is necessary because of the heavy demand for the 1E button and the 2A bumper strip.

cc: State Chairmen

AMOUNT CAMPAIGN MATERIALS
DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, week of 9/14/72 - 9/22/72

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>	<u>HQ KITS</u>
ALABAMA							
ALASKA							
ARIZONA	10,000	10,000					
ARKANSAS							
CALIFORNIA	13,500* 11,300	6,000* 15,500	18,000* 13,000	12* 236	3,250* 11,550	12* 135	
COLORADO	10,000* 10,000	15,000		250		2	
CONNECTICUT	4,000	2,000					
DELAWARE		10,000	4,000				
D. C.	21,250	5,000* 20,000	2,012* 63,000	200	6,500* 8,750	10,250	12
FLORIDA	15,000	40,000* 30,000	30,000		100*		
GEORGIA	25,000		10,000	262		50	
HAWAII							
IDAHO	10,000	8,000		512	500* 2,000	1,086	
ILLINOIS	200,000* 101,500	300* 1,000	279,000* 505,000	500			
INDIANA	11,000	10,000*	29,000* 5,000	800	15,000* 3,000		
IOWA							
KANSAS					5,000	26	

AMOUNT CAMPAIGN MATERIALS
DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, week of 9/14/72 - 9/22/72

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>	<u>HQ KITS</u>
KENTUCKY			8,000				
LOUISIANA	10,000* 1,325	1,000* 9,500	10,000	• 116	1,362* 300	97	12
MAINE							
MARYLAND	20,000* 30,000	30,000* 20,000					
MASSACHUSETTS							
MICHIGAN	50,000						
MINNESOTA	5,000	5,000	25,000* 5,000				
MISSISSIPPI							
MISSOURI	30,000* 15,000	15,000* 45,000	6,000				
MONTANA	10,000* 5,000	5,000* 5,000	5,000		2,500*		
NEBRASKA	10,000* 40,500	20,000* 10,000	50,000*	1,000	250* 2,250		
NEVADA	5,000	2,000* 2,000		212	2,000* 5,000	1,000*	
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
NEW JERSEY	1,000						
NEW MEXICO			2,000	100* 3,024	250* 2,000	25	
NEW YORK	162,400* 130,500	35,000* 168,000	220,000	238* 1,572	2,250* 300	75	
NORTH CAROLINA	35,000	44,000				24	

AMOUNT CAMPAIGN MATERIALS
DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, week of 9/14/72 - 9/22/72

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>	<u>HQ KITS</u>
NORTH DAKOTA				1,350	1,500* 7,000		
OHIO	11,000* 250	6,000	36,000* 4,000	196	2,150	30	12
OKLAHOMA	120,055	60,000	10,000			36	
OREGON	20,000	20,000* 10,000	40,000				
PENNSYLVANIA	8,000* 250	14,000* 16,000	6,000	12	1,500* 74		25
RHODE ISLAND							
SOUTH CAROLINA							
SOUTH DAKOTA	12,000	8,000		112	300		
TENNESSEE							
TEXAS	84,000* 326,750	207,000* 143,000	51,538* 488,200	2,340	2,100* 2,600	5,000* 11,024	117
UTAH							
VERMONT							
VIRGINIA					5,000 5,000*		
WASHINGTON	500 42,000*		75,000	500			
WEST VIRGINIA		21,000		100			
WISCONSIN	100,000* 11,000	10,000* 50,000	7,062*	500* 52	1,000		
WYOMING							
<u>TOTALS</u>	734,600* 796,980	720,000* 684,000	386,723* 1,509,200	850* 13,346	44,062* 58,274	6,012* 22,850	178
total order placed	1,531,580	1,404,000	1,895,923	14,196	102,309	28,872	

AMOUNT BACKORDERED CAMPAIGN MATERIALS
 DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, week of 9/14/72 - 9/22/72

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>	<u>HQ KITS</u>
ALABAMA		5,000					
ALASKA	1,000						
ARIZONA							
ARKANSAS		10,000					
CALIFORNIA	29,000						
COLORADO	6,000						
CONNECTICUT							
DELAWARE							
D. C.		5,000				500	
FLORIDA					482		
GEORGIA	11,000	60,000			24		
HAWAII	500						
IDAHO				50	1,500		
ILLINOIS	261,000	217,500	284,000				
INDIANA		10,000	14,000		15,000		
IOWA							
KANSAS	33,000						

AMOUNT BACKORDERED CAMPAIGN MATERIALS
 DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, week of 9/14/72 - 9/22/72

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>	<u>HQ KITS</u>
KENTUCKY			50,000				
LOUISIANA	1,000	2,000			500		
MAINE							
MARYLAND	20,000						
MASSACHUSETTS							
MICHIGAN	.50,000						
MINNESOTA					3,000		
MISSISSIPPI							
MISSOURI	15,000	30,000					
MONTANA							
NEBRASKA	6,000	20,000					
NEVADA							
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
NEW JERSEY			102,000				
NEW MEXICO							
NEW YORK	31,000	100,000					
NORTH CAROLINA							

AMOUNT BACKORDERED CAMPAIGN MATERIALS
 DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, week of 9/14/72 - 9/22/72

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>	<u>HQ KITS</u>
NORTH DAKOTA			8,000				
OHIO							
OKLAHOMA			11,000				
OREGON							
PENNSYLVANIA	900,000	300,000	200,000		100,000		
RHODE ISLAND							
SOUTH CAROLINA						50	
SOUTH DAKOTA							
TENNESSEE							
TEXAS	84,000						
UTAH							
VERMONT							
VIRGINIA							
WASHINGTON							
WEST VIRGINIA	20,000	10,000		500	2,000		
WISCONSIN	79,000	10,000		500			
WYOMING							
<u>TOTALS</u>	1,578,500	780,500	669,000	1,050	122,506	550	

AMOUNT CAMPAIGN MATERIALS
DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, week of 9/8-9/15

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>
ALABAMA	15,000* 1,500	5,000* 16,000				
ALASKA	5,500			100	2,000	
ARIZONA	10,000* 10,000	10,000			1,000	
ARKANSAS	250	30,000* 8,000			,250	
CALIFORNIA	3,500* 97,500	6,500* 56,000	12* 1,000	502	650* 14,480	36* 275
COLORADO						
CONNECTICUT		10,000* 20,000	100,000			
DELAWARE						
D. C.	4,156	3,878	6,721	393	85* 17,201	500* 2,307
FLORIDA						
GEORGIA	10,000	20,000* 10,000				
HAWAII	5,000* 10,000	5,000* 10,000		350	2,050	5,000
IDAHO	25,500	10,000	20,000	250	1,550*	12
ILLINOIS	100,000	50,000	10,000			
INDIANA	15,000	15,000	21,000			
IOWA						
KANSAS						500

AMOUNT CAMPAIGN MATERIALS
DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, week of 9/8-9/15

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>	<u>HQ KITS</u>
KENTUCKY	70,000	7,500* 62,500	30,000		250		
LOUISIANA	3,000	7,000* 2,000	12*	362	2,174		
MAINE							
MARYLAND	21,000	30,000				7,500	
MASSACHUSETTS	27,000	31,000	50* 6,000	3,100	6,250* 1,600		8
MICHIGAN	40,000	42,750	40,000				50
MINNESOTA	2,000						
MISSISSIPPI							
MISSOURI	31,000			450	250		
MONTANA							
NEBRASKA							
NEVADA							
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
NEW JERSEY							
NEW MEXICO							
NEW YORK	194,500* 210,000	20,000* 232,500	348,125	6,200	10,000* 20,250	50* 74	
NORTH CAROLINA							

AMOUNT CAMPAIGN MATERIALS
DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, week of 9/8-9/15

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>	<u>HQ KITS</u>
NORTH DAKOTA							
OHIO	82,000	90,000	90,000		10,250		
OKLAHOMA							
OREGON	7,000						
PENNSYLVANIA	5,000	5,000	5,000	10			
RHODE ISLAND	2,000	2,000	11,024		300	5,000	
SOUTH CAROLINA	45,000	50,000* 20,000		12	12	50* 262	
SOUTH DAKOTA							
TENNESSEE	20,000	70,000					
TEXAS	36,000* 23,250	30,000* 29,000	23,000* 120,400	186	200* 96	1,000* 2,060	23
UTAH	5,250	4,000	16,000* 8,000				
VERMONT							
VIRGINIA	30,000			5,000	50		
WASHINGTON	5,000* 110,000	50,000* 5,000		12	2,000* 124		
WEST VIRGINIA	76,000* 7,500	52,000	12*	162	500*		
WISCONSIN	6,200	7,000	30,000	200	100		
WYOMING							
TOTALS	345,000* 747,200 <u>1,092,200</u>	241,000* 893,628 <u>1,134,628</u>	39,086* 1,740,898 <u>1,779,984</u>				

AMOUNT BACKORDERED CAMPAIGN MATERIALS
 DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, WEEK OF 9/8-9/14

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>	<u>CAMPAIGN UNITS</u>
Alabama	5,000	10,000			750		18
Alaska							6
Arkansas		45,000					
California	19,000		3,000		881	24	12
Connecticut		10,000					
D. C.		13,250					
Florida							33
Georgia		79,500					
Hawaii							6
Idaho		5,000					
Illinois	175,000				200		
Indiana	68,000						
Iowa		20,000	1,000				
Kansas		20,000					12
Kentucky							25
Louisiana	5,000	27,000			2,012		17
Maryland		10,000					12

AMOUNT BACKORDERED CAMPAIGN MATERIALS
 DISTRIBUTED TO STATES, WEEK OF 9/8-9/14

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUTTONS</u>	<u>BUMPER STICKERS</u>	<u>BROCHURES</u>	<u>POSTERS</u>	<u>MISC. GIVE-AWAY</u>	<u>MISC. FUND-RAISING</u>	<u>CAMPAIGN PRIZES</u>
Massachusetts		20,000			100	12	
Michigan		32,750					
Mississippi							16
Montana	5,000	5,000			2,500		
New Jersey		50,050	32,000		4,000		
New Mexico	5,000						
New York	85,000	127,000					
North Carolina	15,000	50,000					
North Dakota	10,000		5,000				
✓ Oklahoma	15,000				500		
Rhode Island			6,000				6
South Carolina	15,000	55,000					
Texas	27,500	2,500	4,800	250	2		14
Virginia		40,000					
Vermont		20,000	12				
Wyoming		10,000	7,000		5,000		
TOTALS	449,500	652,050	58,812				

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/25

September 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : GORDON STRACHAN
FROM : L. HIGBY L

As you probably know, there was a big problem in Texas with the rumor either true or false that no material had been distributed in the state. John Ehrlichman was passing out bumper stickers and campaign buttons left and right to everybody, including the State Chairman.

This points up the problem that we really don't have our distribution system going right yet. I want to know every week from now on how many bumper stickers have been placed out by our kids and the bumper sticker blitz that is supposedly going on - what the amount of materials is that has been distributed to headquarters, not to just the states in general, etc. Let's really crack down on this area and tell them that Bob wants weekly reports from now on, beginning with the first report this Tuesday.

Lewis
5 → [initials]
9/15
↙

Norm Stach

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 25, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: CLARK MacGREGOR
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: PHIL COANON
SUBJECT: Amnesty Commercial

Jagme

Per your request as a script for an "amnesty" television commercial.

We believe this issue should be targeted at special groups, as has been done in ads for veterans magazines, and direct mail to urban ethnic and blue collar voters.

The reason for not using it on television, which reaches all age groups, is that the issue varies by age, and the younger voter tends to be more in favor of amnesty than older voters. Also, a significant number of voters aren't alive.

Galling on 8/4 stated that while the national sample was 35% for amnesty without home front punishment, 50% were against it. For under 30 voters, the figures were 47/53.

Harris on 8/10 showed 18-24 year olds favoring amnesty 55/45 (with total sample opposed 55/45)

We see no reason why very well at this point with younger voters. Therefore we recommend against broad use of this issue. Ron Harris concurs with this recommendation.

cc: Phil Coanon

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

P. Coanon

NOVEMBER

100 FIFTH AVENUE

GROUP

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011

INC.

(212) 752-3500

COMMERCIAL TV

Title: AMNESTY

Date: September 21, 1972

Commercial No.

Client: NIXON CAMPAIGN
(DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON)

Length: 60 B&W Color

Product

No. of words:

RTO

Premise

Approval:

VIDEO

1. OPEN ON SCENE OF TROOPS WITH FULL GEAR BOARDING A LOGBOAT SHIP.
2. DISSOLVE TO CLOSE SHOTS OF MEN AS THEY EMBARK.
3. DISSOLVE TO INMATELION CENTER AS YOUNG MEN ARE BEING SHOWN IN.

AUDIO

ANNCR: (VO) Senator George McGovern has promised that, once the war in Vietnam is over, he will grant complete and unconditional amnesty to those men who chose not to be drafted and instead, left the country or went to jail. President Nixon has said that he would be liberal in regard to amnesty, too, but with one reservation. He would ask that those who broke the law by dodging the draft pay the penalty of breaking that law.

The President's position is this: There are stapards and thousands of young men who did choose to serve, and it is wrong to propose complete amnesty for draft-dodgers while the North Vietnamese still hold our prisoners of war.

Title: AMNESTY

Date: September 21, 1972

Length: 69

Page: 2

VIDEO

AUDIO

4. STOPPAGE TO PRESIDENT NIXON AT HIS DESK IN THE OVAL OFFICE.

The difference in the positions of Senator McGovern and the President on amnesty reflect a difference in philosophy....a difference you should think about on November 7th.

5. DISSOLVE TO "ASSOCIATES FOR NIXON" LOGO AND THE MANDATORY LINE.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *S*

SUBJECT:

Malek's Field
Organization Report

Clark MacGregor forwarded Fred Malek's field organization report today. Malek apologized for the two week delay. To summarize Malek's points:

- 1) All staffing and start-up problems have been resolved;
- 2) The canvass control system under Millican enables Malek to monitor the headquarter by headquarter progress of the key state canvass;
- 3) All state budgets have been set, in spite of additional requests.
- 4) A separate, detailed report on campaign materials has been submitted. The man responsible is Lewis Dale, former patronage aide to Tom Evans at the RNC;
- 5) Key states with organizational problems (Texas, California, Pennsylvania and New York) have received personal attention and where appropriate, additional men to implement the programs;
- 6) The animosity between 1701, the RNC, and the regular GOP has been ameliorated. Even the press is reporting Malek is respected by the RNC.
- 7) Malek's assessment of the current position indicates the campaign will fall

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

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

September 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR.
FROM: FRED MALEK *FMM*
SUBJECT: Progress Report on Political Division Operations

The purpose of this memorandum is to review the progress over the last six weeks in the field organization and to assess at this point how the campaign generally is shaping up and what we can expect over the next sixty days. Generally, we've taken the following actions in the six weeks since the last written report.

1. Completed our 1701 re-staffing and staff break-in efforts.
2. Ironed out state campaign start-up problems - such as state budgets, state campaign and canvass materials allocations, etc.
3. Took steps to strengthen our ties with the Party organization in each state and at the national level.
4. Begun pushing state and county organizations to prepare for an all out effort on our canvassing, registration and voter turn out, which we formally kicked off September 16.

I will review the most important activities relating to the above actions and then assess where we now stand in the campaigns in each state and what we can realistically expect in the state campaigns over the next sixty days.

1701 FIELD DIVISION RE-STAFFING

Our 1701 staff went through its shake down in the month of August. As you know, our regional directors were on board by the first of August as were the major pieces of our support staff. In a couple of cases, we have had to make some adjustments in responsibility and duties in our headquarters staff.

Rick Fore, formerly director of training, has now been given a broadened mandate and is also responsible for programmatic elements of the canvassing effort and distribution of canvassing materials to the states.

Manyon Millican now is responsible only for control and accountability of the states' canvassing activities. As you know, we have set up a Master Control Room at 1730 to keep track of canvassing results in each county in the United States. Manyon is overseeing this tracking effort.

Lewis Dale has been given two important tasks: (1) to oversee state budget allocations and police state expenditures, and (2) to see that distribution of campaign materials goes smoothly.

He's got you!

Our team is through the shake down period and is devoting its entire energies toward operations.

LAYING AWAY STATE CAMPAIGN START UP PROBLEMS

As you know from your trips into the field, we have had several nagging start up problems which have hindered the states' efforts to get the campaign in gear. For the most part these are now behind us:

- a. State Budgets - All states now have approved monthly cash flow budgets. The finance division is sending money according to the cash flow schedules and this system is working satisfactorily. See Tab A for our present position on state spending. Nine or ten states have come back for supplements, but to now I have held the line on additional spending.

This should be worked in the present track, not perfect.

Campaign Materials - As you have observed on your trips, we have also had materials problems in many states, as was described to you this morning. However, the operating structure has now been improved, backlog has been reduced to less than 20%, and the four distribution warehouses are now filling campaign orders at a rapid clip. Most of the complaints pertain to yesterday's problems, and we are working with individual states to improve distribution within the state.

Not true

- c. Campaign Canvassing Materials - There have been shortages and mis-allocations of materials in several instances. Three weeks ago I increased our budget for these materials by one-third so that each state will have adequate allocations to cover at least 50% of their households. The complaints have subsided in the last ten days.

- d. Efforts in individual states were strengthened as follows:

- In Texas, we appointed Bill Clements as Co-Chairman and Director of Operations for the state, to replace Fred Agnich, who was simply not getting the job done. In turn, Peter O'Donnell has been appointed by Clements to oversee the canvassing effort. This is a good move since Peter is one of the most knowledgeable canvassing pros in the business

In California, Marvin Collins is now plugged directly into the four regional chairmen. With Marvin properly positioned and after our trip there to push canvassing and build harmony among party leaders, I feel operations are moving much more rapidly than they were.

New York has been dragging its feet and not implementing our canvassing program. I met with Rixby and his top lieutenants last week to attempt to remove the road blocks. I am now satisfied that we will have a good canvass effort in upstate. Parcutta, the New York City Chairman, is still not on board, and I will continue to work on him. Unfortunately New York will require constant prodding and close supervision on both of our parts if we are to keep them motivated.

Pennsylvania has also been slow off the mark. To a great extent, their position has been a result of lack of strong leadership at the top. I have met with Specter on this and I expect that he will spend much more time on the campaign. We should see more rapid movement there.

REBUILDING TIES WITH THE PARTY

As you know, a great deal of resentment had built up over the last year between the GOP and the 1701 organization due to a number of factors. We knew that these resentments were building up before the convention; and because of this, our convention strategy was to direct our efforts almost exclusively to improving relations with Party and Nixon Chairmen.

I feel that the time we both have taken since the convention to meet with Party leaders has virtually eliminated the resentment which flaired at the convention.

- Your travels in the various states and meetings with the GOP and CRP officials has done a great deal to ameliorate the problem.
- As you know I have started a series of telephone calls to Party officials to discuss their problems and to get to know them. These are directed particularly at the hot spots. Discussions with Andrews in Ohio, Jones in Pennsylvania, Davenport in Washington and many others have begun to calm the water.
- In addition, I have directed the Regional Directors to pay particular attention to Party officials as they travel throughout the states and to call on them or phone them to let them know what we're doing.

- We're making a great effort to jointly operate the voter identification, registration and turn out canvassing with the RNC, and the State GOP organizations. For example, the RNC took responsibility for some 20 of the 50 cities in our canvass kick off. In essence the two field divisions have merged for the purpose of getting the canvassing underway.
- The carefully planned Tuesday, September 12th meeting of the RNC and CRP Chairmen here in Washington to explain the national campaign to the party apparatus bore real fruit. It was favorably reported in the press, and all feed back indicates that it laid away any resentments lingering after the convention.
- Finally, I have been having regular contact with Dole and Evans on topics of mutual interest. The regular Friday lunch with Evans has turned around his formerly unfavorable tone.

In short, we are dealing with a problem which is a natural one and will never go away completely. However, the excess heat is now out of this situation and I expect the problem will be under control through the election.

GETTING STATE CANVASSING EFFORTS UNDERWAY

Since the convention, the major thrust of the Political Division has been to get the states organized and underway on their canvassing effort. This entailed efforts in the following areas:

- We have held workshops in the states to explain the details of the canvassing program and how specifically to organize the canvass in each storefront across the country. Tab B indicates progress in holding these workshops to date.
- We have pushed for development of state and county organizations and for headquarters openings. Our regional directors have spent almost their entire time working with the states to get them structured and operating for the canvassing.
- The regional directors in the key states have been spending considerable time getting the telephone centers organized and operating. I have recently had a report on the progress of these efforts and am most satisfied that the telephone banks are opened and getting underway as planned. These banks will make a major contribution to our efforts to contact the voters. Tab C gives a summary of these activities for each state.

We have established the canvassing control and accountability system that you reviewed yesterday. We are asking each storefront headquarters to keep strict account of each door to door canvassing kit. Each canvasser's results will be posted on control panels at the storefront headquarters and summary panels permit storefronts to report progress to the county and state organizations. In addition, we have contracted for an 800 in-watts number so that on each Monday, each Nixon storefront in every state reports to our National Control Center the results of their canvassing for the campaign through the preceding Saturday. This helps to spot weak areas and get fieldmen involved to straighten out the problems, and it also allows us to set up competition between headquarters, states, and regional directors for canvassing performance.

We kicked off our national canvass program on Saturday, September 16. This took the energies of the entire Political Division for the two preceding weeks. The highly successful results which have been reported to you in previous memos made the exercise well worth the effort.

AN ASSESSMENT OF OUR PRESENT POSITION

As we knew from the beginning, our door to door canvassing project is a highly ambitious one. Because we started several months behind in getting the proper organization in place, funded, and instructed in canvass techniques, we have always been in the position of playing catch-up ball. In retrospect our goals are even more ambitious than we realized at the time. We're finding that canvassing is an activity that everyone gives great lip service to but is generally not well done. In addition, the present lead in the polls has eroded the sense of urgency of many of our state leaders.

Because of the lateness of our start as well as the complacency we all noted, we will fall short of our goal to canvass 75% of our priority precincts in many of our states. Right now I expect that we will have strong canvassing efforts in the New England states and the key states of Connecticut, Michigan, Illinois, California, Maryland and Ohio. New Jersey is behind, but coming on fast and we will have a good effort there. The farm and mountain states will be spotty. Iowa, Nebraska and Minnesota will do a good job. Some of the other states - Kansas, Montana and Idaho will fall well behind our initial expectations. There will be only token canvassing in some of the southern and border states.

As what?

I am particularly concerned about the campaigns in New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, Missouri, West Virginia, Washington and Oregon. I visited New York and Pennsylvania last week and will be in Texas, Washington, Oregon and California next week. The New York City organization is really weak and is

You sure should be!

simply not pushing the canvassing/telephone effort. They will not perform above 30% of standard as things now stand. Pennsylvania is also behind due to poor direction but is more correctable than New York. The problem in Texas is a late start coupled with some friction among the leadership. At present their canvass/telephone effort is in trouble, but I am hopeful that we can still turn it around.

At this point there are only two ways to bolster these problem states. The first is to exert maximum pressure from here on the state leadership to get their job done. I have already begun to do this and you may well begin receiving complaints. The other avenue is to divert resources from our national staff into the problem states. Accordingly, the following steps are now being taken:

- . I have assigned experienced fieldmen permanently to several of the key states which are having difficulty in getting their organizations fixed up. Two men will be helping Gordon Gooch in New York; another two will be working exclusively in Pennsylvania. Also, I have assigned one fieldman to work with Marvin Collins in California and two full time men to go to Texas and work with Tom Reed and Peter O'Donnell. These men will work with state, county and storefront organization leaders to speed the canvassing efforts. All are good technicians who passed the canvass kick off test in the field. They will spend full time on the canvassing/telephone efforts and will be responsible to move these programs at the local levels.
- . In two secondary battleground states - Missouri and West Virginia - I have assigned Tom Crouch, one of the national fieldmen, responsibility for getting their canvassing activities underway. He in no way replaces Peter Sawers; but I felt that an extra push was needed by a man with Tom's expertise, as we have had real problems in these states. I have been quite impressed with Tom; his work in setting up Mrs. Nixon's canvassing kick off visit to Queens was particularly impressive and he will provide Sawers with strong day to day support.
- . Additional recommendations for Washington and Oregon will follow my visits this week.

Additional fieldmen from the voter bloc groups will be moved into the lagging states during October, as necessary.

In summary, I am more than pleased with the progress we have made since July in getting the campaign off the ground. Actually we've had fewer problems than we might have expected. While we may not reach our canvassing goals in all states, we nevertheless will have strong efforts in most states. Furthermore, I expect to be spending more and more of 1701's resources in those key states where we are having problems. While this takes resources and management time away from some of the sure states, I feel it is worthwhile.

Not worthwhile, essential.

Despite these efforts, we will never reach our standard in states like New York, Pennsylvania and Texas. Rather our goals in these states will be to raise their performance from the present 30% of standard to a 60% level as compared with other key states.

Finally, in spite of the above assessment, I'm sure that our efforts in the states will be the best ever mounted in a national campaign and that they will far surpass McGovern's vaunted ability in campaign organization.

WORKSHOP SESSIONS
(Completed and Planned)

<u>State</u>	<u>Number</u>
Alabama	1
Alaska	1
Arizona	1
Arkansas	1
California	4
Colorado	1
Connecticut	1
Delaware	1
Florida	1
Georgia	1
Idaho	1
Illinois	1
Indiana	3
Iowa	1
Kansas	1
Kentucky	1
Louisiana	1
Maine	1
Maryland	1
Massachusetts	1
Michigan	1
Minnesota	1
Mississippi	1
Missouri	1
Montana	1
Nebraska	1
Nevada	1
New Hampshire	2
New Jersey	1
New Mexico	1
New York	1
North Carolina	Planned
North Dakota	Planned
Ohio	1
Oklahoma	1
Oregon	1
Pennsylvania	1
Rhode Island	1
South Carolina	1

WORKSHOPS, con't.

<u>State</u>	<u>Number</u>
South Dakota	1
Tennessee	1
Texas	2
Utah	1
Vermont	1
Virginia	1
Washington	1
West Virginia	Planned
Wisconsin	1
Wyoming	1

TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN PROGRESS CHART

ST.	BUDGETED NO. OF CENTERS	NO. OF PHONE CENTER CHAIEMEN RECRUITED	CENTERS LOCATED TO DATE	COMPUTER LISTS RECEIVE FOR HOW MANY CENTERS?	PROJECTED DATE FOR START OF OPERATIONS (Month of...)	# OF ORIENTATION MEETINGS	DATE	WHO ATTENDED?	OVERALL STATUS
Illinois	46	46	46	46	7/4	2	7/22	NB RS CH	GOOD
Illinois	6	6	6	6	7/4	1	8/30	NB CH	NEED LISTS
Illinois	18	17	18	18	9/11	1	8/14	NB	NEED LISTS
Illinois	17	17	17	17	9/11	1	8/14	NB	NEED LISTS
Illinois	4	4	4	4	7/4	1	8/5	NB CH	Good -- need list for Auto Attached
Illinois	19	16	18	19	7/11	1	8/5	---	Different program from other states
Illinois	22	16	17	18	7/11	1	8/26	NB RS CH	late start but good progress
Illinois	22	22	21	20	7/11	3	8/28 - 8/14	NB CH	OK -- phone Co. delays, deferred start up.
Illinois	1	1	1	1	7/11	3	8/14	NB CH	OK -- phone Co. delays, deferred start up.
Illinois	21	20	21	21	7/4	2	8/12	NB	GOOD -- need lists
Illinois	33	28	33	33	7/11	1	8/12	NB RS CH	Need phone center loaders
Illinois	49	29	35	26	7/11	2	8/19	NB CH	OK -- delayed start up

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 26, 1972

To
Malek
Done
9/28
cc for
him

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S
SUBJECT: Malek's Field
Organization Report

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We kicked off our national canvass program on Saturday, September 16. This took the energies of the entire Political Division for the two preceeding weeks. The highly successful results which have been reported to you in previous memos made the exercise well worth the effort.

AN ASSESSMENT OF OUR PRESENT POSITION

As we knew from the beginning, our door to door canvassing project is a highly ambitious one. Because we started several months behind in getting the proper organization in place, funded, and instructed in canvass techniques, we have always been in the position of playing catch-up ball. In retrospect our goals are even more ambitious than we realized at the time. We're finding that canvassing is an activity that everyone gives great lip service to but is generally not well done. In addition, the present lead in the polls has eroded the sense of urgency of many of our state leaders.

Because of the lateness of our start as well as the complacence we all noted, we will fall short of our goal to canvass 75% of our priority precincts in many of our states. Right now I expect that we will have strong canvassing efforts in the New England states and the key states of Connecticut, Michigan, Illinois, California, Maryland and Ohio. New Jersey is behind, but coming on fast and we will have a good effort there. The farm and mountain states will be spotty. Iowa, Nebraska and ~~Minnesota~~ will do a good job. Some of the other states - Kansas, Montana and Idaho will fall well behind our initial expectations. There will be only token canvassing in some of the southern and border states.

As what?

I am particularly concerned about the campaigns in New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, Missouri, West Virginia, Washington and Oregon. I visited New York and Pennsylvania last week and will be in Texas, Washington, Oregon and California next week. The New York City organization is really weak and is

you sure should be!

simply not pushing the canvassing/telephone effort. They will not perform above 30% of standard as things now stand. Pennsylvania is also behind due to poor direction but is more correctable than New York. The problem in Texas is a late start coupled with some friction among the leadership. At present their canvass/telephone effort is in trouble, but I am hopeful that we can still turn it around.

At this point there are only two ways to bolster these problem states. The first is to exert maximum pressure from here on the state leadership to get their job done. I have already begun to do this and you may well begin receiving complaints. The other avenue is to divert resources from our national staff into the problem states. Accordingly, the following steps are now being taken:

- . I have assigned experienced fieldmen permanently to several of the key states which are having difficulty in getting their organizations firmed up. Two men will be helping Gordon Gooch in New York; another two will be working exclusively in Pennsylvania. Also, I have assigned one fieldman to work with Marvin Collins in California and two full time men to go to Texas and work with Tom Reed and Peter O'Donnell. These men will work with state, county and storefront organization leaders to speed the canvassing efforts. All are good technicians who passed the canvass kick off test in the field. They will spend full time on the canvassing/telephone efforts and will be responsible to move these programs at the local levels.
- . In two secondary battleground states - Missouri and West Virginia - I have assigned Tom Crouch, one of the national fieldmen, responsibility for getting their canvassing activities underway. He in no way replaces Peter Sawers; but I felt that an extra push was needed by a man with Tom's expertise, as we have had real problems in these states. I have been quite impressed with Tom; his work in setting up Mrs. Nixon's canvassing kick off visit to Queens was particularly impressive and he will provide Sawers with strong day to day support.
- . Additional recommendations for Washington and Oregon will follow my visits this week.

Additional fieldmen from the voter bloc groups will be moved into the lagging states during October, as necessary.

In summary, I am more than pleased with the progress we have made since July in getting the campaign off the ground. Actually we've had fewer problems than we might have expected. While we may not reach our canvassing goals in all states, we nevertheless will have strong efforts in most states. Furthermore, I expect to be spending more and more of 1701's resources in those key states where we are having problems. While this takes resources and management time away from some of the sure states, I feel it is worthwhile.

Not worthwhile, essential!

Despite these efforts, we will never reach our standard in states like New York, Pennsylvania and Texas. Rather our goals in these states will be to raise their performance from the present 30% of standard to a 60% level as compared with other key states.

Finally, in spite of the above assessment, I'm sure that our efforts in the states will be the best ever mounted in a national campaign and that they will far surpass McGovern's vaunted ability in campaign organization.

STATE	Transfers & Major Gifts 9/1-9/30	Contributions 9/1-9/30	Transfers 9/1-9/30	Major Gifts 9/1-9/30	Receipts Through 9/1	Total State Budget	1961-62 9/1-9/30	1960-61 9/1-9/30	1959-60 9/1-9/30	1958-59 9/1-9/30	1957-58 9/1-9/30	1956-57 9/1-9/30	1955-56 9/1-9/30	1954-55 9/1-9/30	1953-54 9/1-9/30	1952-53 9/1-9/30	1951-52 9/1-9/30	1950-51 9/1-9/30
Alabama	32,715	4,012	5,581	46,198	61,405	70,217	43,752	2,402	8,932	21,305	13,373	16,470						
Alaska	11,326	12,339	2,876	34,742	31,216	2,141	22,117	1,565	13,317	11,252	5,831	23,4						
Arizona	29,068	5,330	11,524	46,272	53,460	7,092	34,782	11,324	9,247	23,180	13,933	27,6						
Arkansas	27,241	2,310	8,576	41,277	46,222	2,275	49,228	1,419	5,638	21,491	15,853	20,0						
California	1,527,135	111,997	11,076	1,662,233	2,777,227	1,116,814	1,971,117	328,554	1,262,239	1,405,415	142,177	20,1						
Colorado	43,561	2,515	11,576	43,655	76,225	33,120	47,621	5,974	15,603	27,810	11,787	51,3						
Connecticut	72,283	2,050	2,876	70,621	120,450	87,841	116,300	2,641	16,317	72,300	5,513	17,3						
Delaware	17,121	22,833	9,576	49,533	42,325	6,308	27,250	20,783	21,000	17,000	1,000	30,0						
District of Columbia	23,264	22,270	9,576	51,710	45,223	6,317	23,763	27,247	27,247	27,247	17,500	41,6						
Florida	73,362	53,224	11,576	138,272	143,405	5,272	85,028	53,144	22,581	41,246	20,522	62,9						
Georgia	28,241	550	11,576	46,129	52,650	44,410	56,710	19,720	6,447	21,260	24,586	22,1						
Hawaii	2,078	32,650	8,976	24,634	63,654	10,210	42,940	31,074	16,349	32,200	13,911	44,9						
Idaho	14,628	1,225	9,576	24,229	26,450	12,741	24,929	250	5,200	15,246	4,246	9,5						
Illinois	176,925	53,234	19,527	249,726	831,200	521,424	552,222	302,416	245,390	319,520	122,200	32,1						
Indiana	77,875	8,255	11,121	97,311	157,450	84,307	116,530	14,269	50,203	50,750	20,583	7,6						
Iowa	25,426	8,553	11,219	45,498	82,205	42,547	53,730	2,672	17,227	22,670	10,843	9,4						
Kansas	35,827	1,327	8,226	45,380	42,557	28,557	52,227	12,775	14,221	17,223	12,223	7,7						
Kentucky	55,676	1,100	9,576	65,372	131,225	65,203	72,100	11,227	10,166	34,200	21,014	8,3						
Louisiana	27,328	4,512	9,576	42,427	60,000	17,573	38,623	3,724	13,220	21,249	5,579	22,3						
Maine	32,202	2,215	2,276	36,713	42,021	5,222	31,536	10,562	19,016	19,205	727	20,8						
Maryland	104,626	4,226	2,276	111,128	118,450	101,322	157,222	41,702	81,252	119,510	35,242	60,4						
Massachusetts	71,482	25,030	9,576	71,161	41,000	30,161	22,587	48,474	10,225	10,449	8,476	57,7						
Michigan	156,221	12,346	11,727	212,146	424,625	214,429	273,895	63,699	72,170	173,320	101,150	13,2						
Minnesota	41,225	1,225	11,170	52,621	118,000	63,281	70,300	24,221	27,449	46,420	10,261	35,3						
Mississippi	25,524	1,353	8,576	35,453	42,400	13,127	28,802	6,711	7,694	15,238	7,534	10,2						
Missouri	55,223	37,217	11,121	102,821	132,067	21,126	90,876	12,015	59,504	65,517	6,023	27,3						
Montana	15,147	515	9,576	24,770	28,505	4,229	16,505	7,765	4,373	7,420	2,447	4,4						
Nebraska	44,253	-	11,576	55,829	63,522	7,938	28,733	16,311	8,227	21,455	12,772	20,7						
Nevada	32,220	2,200	17,026	52,446	62,465	10,619	27,222	14,644	23,104	25,502	7,585	25,6						
New Hampshire	16,222	70	2,276	22,214	22,222	2,222	12,225	12,949	4,353	4,420	107	12,4						
New Jersey	103,472	227	11,581	115,272	435,000	319,812	255,277	140,190	61,931	121,116	59,185	15,5						
New Mexico	22,427	5,242	9,521	37,190	42,222	3,622	31,727	14,416	13,220	13,222	7,222	15,3						
New York	272,627	1,444	11,521	283,224	1,810,854	1,427,120	1,036,616	652,892	220,220	441,126	211,156	60,8						
North Carolina	95,223	455	9,576	104,821	132,852	34,469	92,652	5,729	72,722	69,022	3,674	11,3						
North Dakota	13,523	7,652	8,581	27,757	30,454	65	12,062	11,727	7,718	8,536	818	15,1						
Ohio	17,222	2,222	12,727	22,222	72,150	432,244	462,422	143,981	142,462	222,812	152,344	17,6						
Oklahoma	22,626	17,152	8,521	37,339	97,216	37,527	64,024	4,825	30,126	32,224	9,122	52,1						
Oregon	26,122	2,226	11,521	37,869	42,000	13,000	41,205	17,947	41,235	25,602	64,223	43,3						
Pennsylvania	313,646	32,702	11,123	423,471	711,000	352,807	441,019	22,522	372,269	306,297	72,172	12,1						
Puerto Rico	4,621	-	-	4,621	1,000	3,621	550	4,081	-	7,2	200	7,0						
Rhode Island	20,224	835	8,521	30,580	27,225	13,375	18,041	22,349	5,923	11,994	6,061	14,7						
South Carolina	27,527	25,272	8,521	40,056	32,322	31,214	62,100	19,044	24,492	47,912	18,470	56,4						
South Dakota	15,422	1,225	8,521	22,975	42,959	17,014	20,526	4,641	7,426	20,276	13,550	8,2						
Tennessee	55,237	2,030	8,521	65,788	116,152	32,472	74,410	5,722	45,223	51,265	5,426	78,0						
Texas	102,276	4,510	11,143	117,929	506,600	357,121	274,854	154,275	89,340	126,694	46,744	55,6						
Utah	22,122	7,120	7,812	37,054	42,222	2,222	25,222	8,254	24,024	22,222	1,222	14,5						
Vermont	9,222	2,222	2,221	14,221	28,221	13,663	16,526	2,105	2,122	9,226	6,221	9,6						
Virginia	41,227	8,526	8,521	58,274	114,000	55,126	67,025	4,211	22,522	38,450	12,522	26,0						
Virgin Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50,5						
Washington	61,055	14,255	14,026	89,336	109,410	30,404	78,025	11,511	22,147	47,220	22,573	18,6						
West Virginia	12,326	215	8,521	21,062	22,222	22,222	21,177	9,750	1,517	14,521	13,054	6,3						
Wisconsin	52,241	2,444	11,227	65,712	144,000	67,426	112,522	35,926	59,425	89,250	29,525	47,6						
Wyoming	15,429	1,025	2,226	18,680	22,062	22,223	19,643	2,267	1,922	12,673	11,521	5,5						
Unassigned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-						
Foreign	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-						
Miscellaneous	Transfers	Contributions	Transfers	Major Gifts	Receipts	Total State Budget	1961-62 9/1-9/30	1960-61 9/1-9/30	1959-60 9/1-9/30	1958-59 9/1-9/30	1957-58 9/1-9/30	1956-57 9/1-9/30						
	1,222,222	100,000	1,500,000	472,652	5,497,365	11,725,165	5,875,800	7,587,153	1,737,288	3,531,009	4,152,729	1,121,720						

TAB A

WORKSHOP SESSIONS
(Completed and Planned)

<u>State</u>	<u>Number</u>
Alabama	1
Alaska	1
Arizona	1
Arkansas	1
California	4
Colorado	1
Connecticut	1
Delaware	1
Florida	1
Georgia	1
Hawaii	1
Idaho	1
Illinois	1
Indiana	3
Iowa	1
Kansas	1
Kentucky	1
Louisiana	1
Maine	1
Maryland	1
Massachusetts	1
Michigan	1
Minnesota	1
Mississippi	1
Missouri	1
Montana	1
Nebraska	1
Nevada	1
New Hampshire	2
New Jersey	1
New Mexico	1
New York	1
North Carolina	Planned
North Dakota	Planned
Ohio	1
Oklahoma	1
Oregon	1
Pennsylvania	1
Rhode Island	1
South Carolina	1

WORKSHOPS, con't.

<u>State</u>	<u>Number</u>
South Dakota	1
Tennessee	1
Texas	2
Utah	1
Vermont	1
Virginia	1
Washington	1
West Virginia	Planned
Wisconsin	1
Wyoming	1

TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN PROGRESS CHART

STATE	BUDGETED NO. OF CENTERS	NO. OF PHONE CENTER CHAIRMEN RECRUITED	CENTERS LOCATED TO DATE	COMPUTER LISTS RECEIVE FOR HOW MANY CENTERS?	PROJECTED DATE FOR START OF OPERATIONS (Week of...)	# OF ORIENTATION MEETINGS	DATE	WHO ATTENDED?	OVERALL STATUS
California	46	46	46	46	9/4	2	7/22	NB RS CH	GOOD
Connecticut	6	6	6	6	9/4	1	8/30	NB CH	NEED LISTS
Downstate ILLINOIS Urban	18 17	17	18 17	18 17	9/11 9/11	1	8/14 8/14	NB NB	NEED LISTS
Delaware	4	4	4	4	9/4	1	8/5	NB CH	Good -- need list for Anne Arundel
District of Columbia	19	16	18	19	9/11	—	—	—	Different program from other states
New Jersey	22	16	17	18	9/11	1	8/26	NB RS CH	Late start but good progress
Upstate New York	22 1	22 1	21 1	20 1	9/11 9/11	3	8/28- 8/29	NB NB CH CH RS	OK -- Phone Co. delays, deferred start up.
Ohio	21	20	21	21	9/4	2	8/12	NB	GOOD--- need lists
Pennsylvania	33	28	33	33	9/11	1	8/12	NB RS CH	Need phone center leaders
Texas	49	29	35	26	9/11- 9/18	2	8/19	NB CH	OK -- delayed start up

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/26

TO: LARRY HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Per your request - see page
2 re: no press.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: ~~MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN~~

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Last week we distributed 10,000 American flag lapel pins. We paid 35 cents per pin and purchased them from His Lordship, Inc., in New York, the same firm that supplies Presidential jewelry to Lucy Ferguson.

Distribution was as follows:

- .. 400 to Bruce Kehrlie for the White House Staff.
- .. 400 to Dwight Chapin for use on The Spirit of '76.
- .. 600 to the staff and volunteer staff at 1701/1730.
- .. 200 to the November Group staff in New York.
- .. 600 to Lewis Dale for our Nixon state chairmen.
- .. 200 to Pat Hutar for her volunteers operation.
- .. 400 to the voter blocs.
- .. 400 to Young Voters for the President.
- .. 600 to Bart Porter for the surrogates.
- .. 600 to Barry Mountain for RNC staff and volunteers.
- .. 4000 to Bill Moeller for use by Presidential and 1701 advancements.
- .. The balance to Lewis Dale for fulfillment of additional requests.

cc: Mr. Jeb S. Magruder

They should be away from spawning them out.

*Jeb
What ever happened to
H the little story
we were getting out
on this whole fiasco
Please give me
a call —*

L.

Need much more

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT:

Distribution of Lapel Pins

Great!
Something got done.
Where's my supply?
of pins
Staff memo
S -> Levine 9/19
S -> Miller 9/19

An idea has come up for gaining increased use of the American flag lapel pin worn by the President. The thought being that the presence of this particular pin signifies, more than anything, the bond we all share in our endeavor to re-elect the President. Thus, in order to gain wider distribution of this pin, our thought is to:

- 1. Issue pins to all 1701/1730 and November Group staff, (volunteers included), with a cover memo from you.

APPROVE X

DISAPPROVE _____

- 2. Provide all surrogates with pins for their own use as well as a supply of pins for distribution to their staffs and at their speaking locations. Again, these will go out with a note from you.

APPROVE X

DISAPPROVE _____

- 3. Provide all State Chairmen with a pin for their use and a supply of pins for distribution to their staff and in their area. Your letter would accompany the pins.

APPROVE X

DISAPPROVE _____

- 4. Issue pins to all voter block and citizen's committee heads for distribution to their membership. This distribution will include Ken Rietz and his corps of young folks who in turn can hand out pins during their "Bumper Blitz", as well as Pat Hutar and her legion of volunteers.

APPROVE X

DISAPPROVE _____

5. Provide each advanceman here at the Committee, as well as Ron Walker's office, with a full supply of pins to distribute as they move across the country.

APPROVE X DISAPPROVE

We would also order pins for the White House Staff (in conjunction with Bruce Kehrl) as well as for guests and staff of the Spirit of '76 (in conjunction with Dwight Chapin).

APPROVE X DISAPPROVE

Attached are memoranda for your signature which will be used for distribution to the groups noted above.

One last thought: If you agree with the basic idea outlined above, this may make a good news item and I'll pursue it with Al Abrahams.

COMMENT:

No
L - 9/21
Sgt. Reisman 9/19
Sgt. Miller 9/19

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/29

TO:

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

At Chapin and Higby's suggestion, I asked several people for their impressions of the President's Campaign Swing. Colson, Sears, Teeter, McLaughlin, Cole, Price, Royster, Garment, Safire, Bush and McCrary. Buchanan, Moynihan, Chotiner, Dent and Harlow will submit their comments later today.

*I've pulled a few
for future use*

Thoughts from John Sears on first week of campaign:

Mr. Sears feels the first week went very well.

The President should do more of this; mainly, stay cloaked in the Office and away from the political arena.

Perhaps in the last 7-10 days it would help to become partisan but until that time stay away from partisanship remarks - you could lose Democratic votes if you were to begin now.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *Rmt*
SUBJECT: The President's Trip to New York
and California

Gordon Strachan asked for my impressions of the President's trip this week to New York and California.

I think the trip was a success overall as he did three major fund raisers without any significant negative comment. They were very well surrounded and covered up by other activities.

The demonstrators issue appeared to be well handled. Our handling of demonstrators during the last five weeks may be particularly important in light of our slippage among young voters.

My only negative impression, which I received exclusively from the press, is that the President is spending too large a proportion of his time talking about national defense and not enough about how his domestic programs are going to help the average citizen. National defense ranks 7th, 8th, or 9th on the list of issues in terms of importance in determining Presidential vote and a large majority of voters are in favor of cutting the defense budget. At the same time, other issues have increased as being more important -- the economy, crime and drugs. It is also very difficult for individual citizens to interpret the effect of a strong national defense in terms of their daily lives. I'm not advocating that the President stop talking about national defense as it is an area we have a large advantage over McGovern but that our mix be a little more oriented to the economic issue. The overexposure to national defense might be ameliorated by discussing this issue in the future in terms of jobs rather than in a national security context.

We continue to be vulnerable on the bread and butter and pocketbook issues and these should receive more emphasis overall.

Overall, this does not change my view that personal appearances by the President should be limited throughout the campaign.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

JOHN McLAUGHLIN *John*

SUBJECT:

RN's Campaigning in
New York and California

1.) Statue of Liberty. The physical presence of RN with the ethnics was politically very lucrative. Faces of ethnics on the television screen, like the old Jewish man with the yarmulke, and their association with the President at the scene -- first rate. The verbal tussle between RN supporters ("Four More Years") and the militants ("Stop The War") favorable to the President because of the higher decibels of the RN supporters. The physical tussle between the two elements worked to RN's advantage too, providing drainage to millions of Americans who feel an irritated sense of surfeit with the demonstrators. RN's remonstrance, by indirection, to the television producers to focus not only on the handful of militants but on the thousand others gathered here was said perfectly: RN smiled as he made the very clear point. This segment on the ethnics took the edge off the wires' heavy coverage of CREP filling its coffers, and Dan Rather's stress on the \$40 million incremented by the 28 dinners. Two minor minuses: RN sounded a trifle angry when talking about ethnics believing in hard work, not a handout. RN should avoid the appearance of irritation. Secondly, I would have liked to have seen him warmer with the people, as happened with the Italians and the Scalobrine Fathers. Obiter Dicta: The "Jews For Nixon" sign on the TV screen (two networks) priceless; Machin's comment that RN appears to have the ethnic vote which he never had before, also very valuable.

2.) Labor Leaders. Another very remunerative sequence. There is simply no substitute for the direct talk of Gleason and Brennan. One leader made the point that labor supported Rockefeller, despite Rockefeller's wealth; therefore, there's no reason why they can't support RN, since RN doesn't have Rockefeller's wealth. This language has no substitute: It grabs the working man where he lives. Minor Minus: In this sequence, too, RN looked a trifle too restrained. I would like to have seen more give-and-take with the labor leaders, more warmth.

3.) San Francisco. The BART sequence good, and reminiscent of the sight-seeing in Peking. An imaginative piece of politicking, associating RN with transportation innovation pictorially. Here again, however, RN would have benefited by meshing more with the crowd, not immersing himself in the flesh, but more contact than we saw on the screen.

4.) The Basic Strategy: For RN McGovern Doesn't Exist. Excepting Rather's forced comment that RN had attacked McGovern by the "confiscation of wealth" charge, the media play on New York and California left the impression that for RN McGovern doesn't exist. I think this strategy is absolutely sound and wise for this point in the campaign, and quite probably right through to the election. In his remarks, I would like to see more blue sky from RN, more stress on the future, more vision. On the issues, my feeling is that RN should avoid prose and modes of presentation of self that might suggest that he is confronting a McGovern allegation. (McGovern's single high point in an otherwise catastrophic campaign was his timing of his statement on drugs, creating an impression that RN was smoked out into a rebuttal.)

5.) Surrogates. The surrogate program is theoretically sound. There are practical problems with it, however, the chief of which is diffusion. RN can only maintain his "above-the-battle" stance, if his surrogates get media attention, not just locally (where they are getting considerable), but nationally. I see problems with nationally pick-up of surrogates: 1.) Mankiewicz is leaning on the networks to restrict their surrogate coverage, since the surrogate is not the candidate. 2.) Focus for the surrogate's national coverage appears lacking, i. e., with several surrogates in the field on a given day, the networks are given the license to select which surrogate to cover, and also their production task is increased. If the media could be trained to expect a prime surrogate response, we would be guaranteed that the subjects we want addressed, will indeed be addressed, thus taking away the power of selection from the networks. Recommendation: Provide focus for a daily prime surrogate response by establishing one platform, preferably the White House press briefing room. This would draw the surrogate and his political expressions closer to the President and in so doing help ease us by Mankiewicz's objection. Secondly, it would give us the control and national media power to blunt any momentum that McGovern may develop. The margin is going to shrink, as happens uniformly in Presidential races when the trailing contender is the candidate of the majority party. This movement can be contained, however, if the surrogates on national media confront, challenge, harass McGovern daily and demonstrate how RN's program in any given area is superior. I know that extensive discussion has taken place

on the political problems entailed in having a surrogate appear in the White House press room itself. Doubtless there is some substance to these concerns; nevertheless, I think we are hypersensitive in this regard. If the WH press room is unacceptable, then CREP might serve but in my view it would be a distinct second choice.

Conclusion: RN's campaign strategy is right on target and the visits to New York and California were both strong gains. The mechanism of the surrogate program needs some modulating, but its theory is excellent.

(Of Note: In a visit to Notre Dame this week, I learned that the students straw polled as follows: 1700 RN, 1500 McGovern and about 500 undecided. In Rhode Island, RN's 50th State in 1968, a private Becker poll (an excellent pollster who proved to be right on target in my own race) showed RN last week leading McG. better than 2 to 1.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM

KEN COLE

SUBJECT:

Reaction to President's
Trip to New York and
California

Based on network TV accounts, reports in the New York Times and Washington Post and the news summary, my reaction to the trip is that it was flat -- it had little national impact either positive or negative. As far as local impact is concerned, I can't judge.

Because the purpose was fund raising, however, I think we came out better than I expected we would given the purpose and opportunity for mischief by the press and the opposition. Still, the trip did little to further enhance the image of the President or broaden public support for his re-election.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN
FROM: RAY PRICE *RP*
SUBJECT: New York-California trip

I don't really have a strong impression of the trip; such as I have is made up from what I happened to catch on the evening news, and read in the paper or the news summary -- thus it includes nothing of whatever may have been the local impact.

It didn't seem to me to have a great deal of impact -- but that fact, at this point, is not all bad. We wanted, after all, to minimize the attention paid to the \$1000-a-plate dinners.

One general impression I've been getting is that news coverage of the campaign this year is inordinately -- more so than before -- focused on the techniques of the campaign; not just in the coverage of us, but in the coverage of McGovern as well. Reporters seem to feel a greater compulsion than before, in reporting what the candidate said or did, to analyze why he did it this way, how it fits into his campaign strategy, etc. To a considerable extent, this is legitimate and responsible reporting; after all, the techniques of the campaign are an important part of the story, even though we'd rather not have them reported on when the focus is on us (though we like it when the focus is on McGovern). Thinking back impressionistically rather than scientifically over the reporting on this trip, it seems as if a great deal of it was focused on the busing in of crowds to provide backdrop for the cameras, the stationing of young people to cheer, the assembling of ethnic groups at Liberty Island, etc.; in short, this may be the year when, in effect, the advance man is pulled out into the spotlight. McGovern has gotten the same treatment; there's been heavy reporting of his staging events for the cameras, etc.

There's nothing we can do about the fact of this kind of reporting, but it looks as though we're going to have to take it pretty centrally into account in planning the rest of the campaign. One thing it probably means is that we should lean toward less rather than more contrivance. Another effect may be to make the White House comparatively more desirable (as against the road show) as a place from which to conduct the campaign, and real events more desirable as compared with manufactured events. It may also argue for comparatively greater emphasis on such things as written statements and formal (or radio or TV) speeches.

Vermont Royster had little in the way of specific comments on the trip; he noted that he's simply seen "bits and pieces on TV, " plus what he'd read in the papers -- his general impression was that it "came off okay. "

Reflecting on his understanding that it had received pretty heavy coverage in those places where the President was, but that the rest of the country had gotten only "snippets in the morning paper, or on CBS or ABC, " he said he thought we should look for one or two occasions when he can get "a lot of public exposure all over the country in one hunk. "

When I talked with him, I'd already written the comments above -- and I asked whether as an old-time newsman he'd had the same impression about the focus of coverage this year on techniques. He leaped to it, said absolutely, and that in fact he's taking part in a panel next month in which "that's precisely the point I'm making. " He plans to cite as an example the coverage of McGovern's speech to the security analysts -- "the stories I saw down here all had long stories about his appearance, about the reaction of the security analysts, about George going into the lion's den -- but none told me what he'd said -- they were all writing about the mechanics of the campaign... I'm having a hard time keeping up with George, with what he's saying. " And on the President's visit to the Statue of Liberty -- "I guess he made a speech, but I don't know what he said. Four or five people started a little furor, and all the

cameras turned on them." So, he suggests, we've got to find a way of getting the focus on what he's saying -- which he thinks is one advantage of the formal speech, "the kind of thing you force the New York Times to carry the text of."

He also had some additional thoughts unrelated to the trip, which I'll pass along in a separate memo.

###

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: LEN GARMENT

Impressions. I don't place much stock in press talk about "remoteness" or Broder-type (i. e., sophisticated) complaints about "inconsistency" in the speeches. I don't think the public is unhappy about the President's careful (and safer) campaign activities; they're apparently not paying that much attention to the entire campaign. The basic reason; the President's credentials are established; McGovern has settled in as an implausible candidate and "real" news events therefore loom larger than the campaign. There are problems - e. g., the Soviet wheat deal, the three POWs, Soviet Jews, the "special interests" issue - but I don't sense that the basic attitudes toward either man is as yet being affected by them. One thing that does bother me is the absence of any sense of hard material - programmatic or otherwise - in what the President is saying (IMF was an exception but an esoteric one). The little I've managed to see of the President on television in the past few days has shown him cool and Presidential, and to good advantage (e. g., Liberty Island). I don't think more or a different style of campaigning is needed. I would in fact trade off some of this for a couple of Presidential statements or speeches (and they could originate in Washington) that are more specific about what the second term will have as its short and long-term objectives. I don't think people realize how fundamentally "future-oriented" a hard-headed man like the President is, and, on the other hand, that the passionate moralists, like McGovern, are incapable of doing or refraining from doing the kinds of things that go into building for the future. Why can't some of this be said? The fund raising core of the past few days was pretty well muffled by all the surrounding activity and news. The Soviet exit permit issue is causing some damage. An added thought: If we can, I think we should be much more specific and aggressive about the positive results flowing from the Soviet Summit (e. g., withdrawals from Egypt, SALT I, Soviet cooperation versus terrorists, Vietnam, collaboration on environment, etc.) in countering the criticism on the Soviet wheat deal.



The following are Ambassador George Bush's impressions of the President's 2-day visit to New York and California:

The Ambassador thought that the New York trip was quite well presented in the press, but he felt the Soviet Jewry issue was somewhat of a problem because of the press coverage. Ambassador Bush feels that the President's position on the issue of Soviet Jewry is good and that the Administration should stay with it and not demagogue this issue. The Ambassador feels it's better to improve relations with Russia and thus be in a better position to help correct the inequities that the Jewish community may feel Russian Jews are suffering.

The Ambassador felt the President's remarks at the Dinner were very effective and that the overall effect and impression of the Dinner was very good. Having the young people there was good. Ambassador Bush saw many Democrats in attendance at the Dinner and thought that there was a very good political mix of people. He was very encouraged to see the number of Democrats that he did.

The Ambassador has no real judgment on the California trip. His impressions are only taken from a fleeting reading of the newspapers.

The Ambassador feels that destructive hecklers such as those who broke the window of the Nixon Headquarters on Madison Avenue help the President rather than hurt him.

Not mentioning McGovern's name is effective, particularly when it's done by somebody with the stature of the President. It's not always possible for lesser candidates to pull that off very well.

The theme of continuity which the President stressed at the Dinner in New York has a strong appeal to the American people. The Ambassador thinks that talking about the importance of continuing the job which has already been started is very effective.

September 26, 1972

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

Dear Bob:

Things are no better since we met. I believe both of us must meet with the President.

Please let me know when and where.

Cordially,

Murray

*I have always put you first
as with
L*

MMC:a

*Chuck Mac.
You should
talk up Murray
- than we should
review. This
should not go
to P -
at least,
not now
H*

LAW OFFICES
REEVES & HARRISON
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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
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TELEX 440376 CRDK
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MARION EDWYN HARRISON
ERNEST GENE REEVES
ROBERT F. SAGLE
MYRON SOLTER
CHARLES EMMET LUCEY

OF COUNSEL
MURRAY M. CHOTINER

September 26, 1972

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

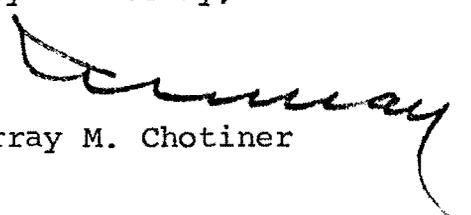
Dear Mr. President:

For several months I have watched the development of the campaign for your re-election. Some time ago, I remarked facetiously that you would win in spite of the campaign. Today, six weeks before the election, I can only say that your re-election will occur in spite of the campaign.

At a time when a campaign should be one of the best and most efficient in history, I am sorry to say that it is far from this.

As you well know, it is most unwise to rely on how well things appear; every possible step must be taken to insure victory. Also, as you know, I would not impose on your time unless I felt the need to be of the utmost importance to you -- I am suggesting that we meet before things become any worse.

Very sincerely,


Murray M. Chotiner

MMC:a

H ✓

September 25, 1972

VOTERS
FOR THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK
JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

KEN RIETZ KR

SUBJECT:

Mock Election Results

It's mock election time again. Following are the first results since the Democratic convention:

- A random poll taken by the Oklahoma City Times at Oklahoma State:

Nixon 35 votes
McGovern 10 votes
Undecided 4 votes

- Marietta College of Ohio, with 2/3 of the students voting:

Nixon 649 votes
McGovern 479 votes
Undecided 139 votes

- A scientifically weighted poll at Kansas State:

Nixon 37%
McGovern 27%
Undecided 26%

- University of South Carolina:

Nixon 63%
McGovern 14%
Undecided 23%

- Southwest Texas State (L.B.J. Alama Mater) - 900 votes cast:

Nixon 74%
McGovern 15%
Undecided 11%

- Eastern Illinois Political Science Department Poll - 3,000 voting:

Nixon 51%
McGovern 25%
Undecided 24%

These are the only polls we've heard of, and we have won them all.

05 1972

cc: Al Magruder, Appleton
1701 Polk Parkway, Northridge, D. C. 20133 (202) 872-1430

**Young
Voters**
FOR THE PRESIDENT

September 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

THROUGH: CLARK MacGREGOR *CM*

FROM: KEN RIETZ *KR*

SUBJECT: Memo of September 25
Discussing the Youth Vote

Although the latest Newsweek poll indicates the trend among 18 to 24 year-olds to still be in the direction of the President (50% during the middle of August and 52% now), we feel there has been some slippage. This slippage, however, is due more to a hardening up than anything else. There was a sudden shift among young voters, and that swung (due to peer group pressure) a lot of what should be undecided voters into the President's column. This was a temporary swing, and these voters are now going into the undecided column which is where they should have been.

It is our feeling that there will be another shift toward the President as the paid media goes on the air in early October. This shift should get the youth vote up to about 55% where it will level off and gradually slip back to the 50-51% level.

To help this shift in early October we have scheduled special youth events in Milwaukee, Chicago, Indianapolis, Columbus, Pittsburgh, Fairfax County (Va.) and

1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006 (202) 872-1430

St. Louis during the first week of October. All of these cities will receive a traveling rock and roll revival show - one of the most popular forms of entertainment with young people. As were our events in Miami, these shows will be aimed at maximum press coverage of young people supporting the President. If we get enough publicity, these events will effect the peer group pressure that exists just as the events in Miami did.

To help keep the slippage we expect to experience in late October from going below the 50% level, we have scheduled three major youth events - October 20 in Chicago, October 24 in Los Angeles and October 29 in Washington, D.C.

These events will again be aimed at maximum press coverage influencing the peer group pressure. They will be modeled after the Miami Marine Stadium event in Miami with major entertainment and young crowds of 5-10,000.

In addition to this activity, we will be influencing peer group pressure through mock elections, youth blitz days, young crowd building for Presidential appearances, etc. Our effort will be concentrated on youth visibility in California, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

We feel peer group pressure is still the major factor, and we need to continually emphasize youth support for the President through the kind of activity we have planned. It would, of course, be easier to focus the attention of the media on these events with the involvement of the President and the First Family. This is particularly true of the three major events.

The President has struck precisely the right cord in his appeal to young people during the past few weeks. He is making them feel wanted. By a continued stress on the need to involve young people because of the future of America and the World, the President will continue to attract a large youth following.

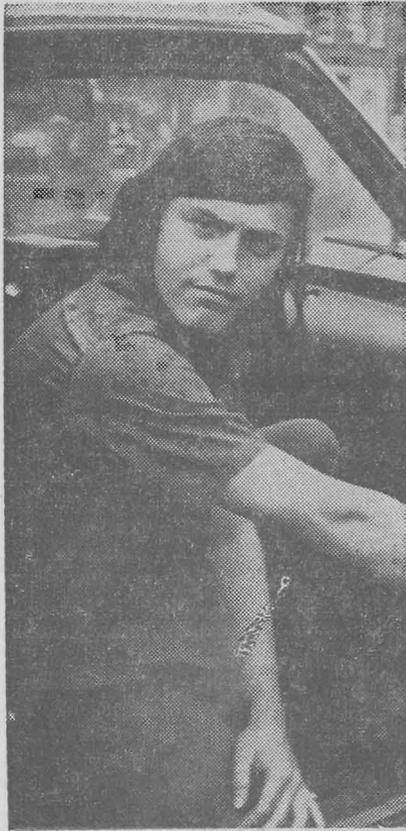
Care must be taken, however, that issues which turn large segments of the youth population off not be used unless necessary. Young people want to hear positive things, not

the negatives. This is particularly true now that we are in the last stages of the campaign. Such issues as end of the war, the draft, etc. are great. Those on McGovern's weaknesses should be used with great care and generally aimed more at college audiences. The very volatile issues such as amnesty, legalization of marijuana, abortion, etc. should not be discussed.

Among young people of all ages (18-30) it has now become an acceptable thing to support the President. Because of the excitement generated at the convention, the slogan "Four More Years", the hand in the air sign (four fingers), and the continued stress by the President on young people, it is becoming the "in" thing to support the President. As long as we continue to generate that excitement, we will continue to be successful in building youth support.

Attached is an article from a Massachusetts paper which is a very accurate description of what young people are saying about both candidates. Those supporting the President seem to have more reasons than those supporting McGovern.

Attachment



TOM YARSLEY
"McGovern's right man"



BENJAMIN RUSSELL
"Leaning toward Nixon"



MIKE BILLINGS
"Nixon good as anyone"



JILL EDELSTON
"I was for McGovern"



JEANNE PUPEK
"McGovern is honest"



PAUL SHEEHY
"I don't like an

Students and workers alike favor President

Mass. youth vote for Nixon

By JIM MORSE

Most first-time voters in Massachusetts — students as well as workers, women as well as men — apparently will support President Nixon over Sen. George McGovern in the November election.

A strong pro-Nixon sentiment emerg-

from the males, 62 percent of whom said they favored the President's re-election. McGovern received 36 percent, and only two percent said they were undecided.

On the other hand, females gave Nixon 44 percent of their support, McGovern received 23 percent, and 33 percent hadn't made up their minds which candidate to favor.

also a freshman at Holy Cross, believes McGovern's proposals are too obscure. "It would be criminal to cut off Nixon's programs," she said. "He's ending the war and doing something about unemployment. He's making progress and he'll get my vote."

Jack Kilowski, 20, of Schenectady, N. Y., a junior at Boston College: "As far

Pingree, 19, of Rutherford, N. J., had this to say: "I'm undecided, but I think I'll vote for Nixon. He's accomplished more than any other of our recent Presidents. He's making good strides toward world peace."

And Holy Cross freshman Irene Nicolich, 18, of New York City, said she's for Nixon because she doesn't





TOM YARSLY
"McGovern's right man"



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"Leaning toward Nixon"



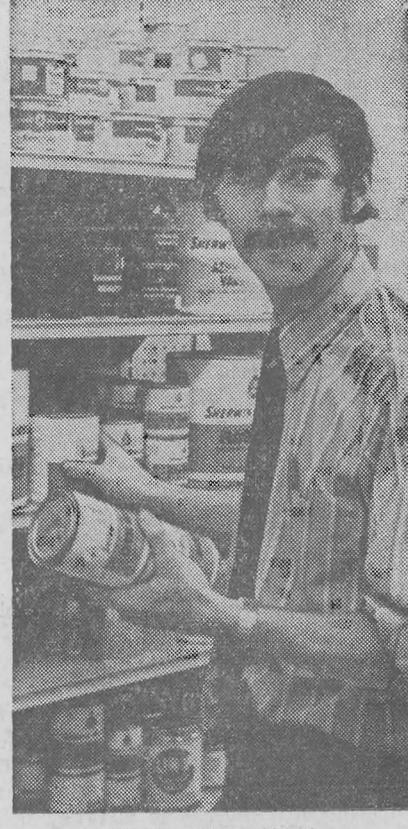
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IDALINE LAVOIE

"I don't really know"

which gave the President an edge of 61 percent (as opposed to McGovern's 38 percent) among the nation's registered voters under the age of 30.

SUCH A SHIFT in the preference of younger voters could be a serious blow to McGovern, whose strategists have considered the youth vote a primary source of the senator's support.

Those men and women between 18 and 24 represent the largest bloc of new voters ever available for a presidential election.

They are about one fifth of the potential voting strength of the United States. And rarely has a political group been wooed more ardently by both parties in a national election.

The Republican and Democratic campaigners are giving top priority to capturing a majority of these young voters — nearly 26 million — on Nov. 7.

This presidential election is the first in American history in which young people 18, 19 and 20 years old will take part. They got the vote under the 26th Amendment to the Constitution, ratified on June 30, 1971. Others participating for the first time are those who were too young to vote for President in 1968.

Young voters between 18 and 24 interviewed by the Sunday Herald Traveler-Sunday Advertiser reporters were equally divided between men and women, students and non-students.

NIXON'S STRONGEST support came

believes. These are the views of a broad cross section of first-time voters in wide areas of Massachusetts:

Undecided

Idaline Lavoie, 21, of Ludlow, a Springfield hair dresser, said she hasn't registered as yet, but intends to. "I'm really undecided between Nixon and McGovern," she said. "And I don't know how my friends are going to vote. They don't talk about it very much."

"I'm not against anyone at this point," said Mrs. Constance Lavigne, 23, of Springfield, a clerk in W. T. Grant's store there. "It's going to be real difficult for me to make up my mind. Right now, I'm not leaning one way or the other."

Another who is undecided is Clarissa Reyes, 18, of New London, Ct., a freshman at Holy Cross College in Worcester. "I'm not a fan of either candidate," she said. "But I'll make up my mind in time to vote. I'm definitely going to vote."

For Nixon

Alice Smithling, 18, of Carthage, N. Y., a freshman at Boston University, said she'd vote for Sargent Shriver if he were the presidential candidate, "but I can't go along with McGovern. I guess that means I'll be voting for Nixon."

Mary-Clare Swanke, 18, of Holliston,

he'll probably get my vote." Although he said he was undecided, Benjamin Russell, 22, of Cambridge, a salesman in a Boston sporting goods store, said he was "leaning toward Nixon because of McGovern's economic policies. They're unreasonable."

Arthur Brown of Brighton, a 23-year-old bartender, said he has a \$5 bet on Nixon. "If McGovern wins," he said, "I'll pay off in Australian currency because that's where I'll be going."

An 18-year-old Springfield roofer, Chris Footman, plans to vote for Nixon because "he said he'd get us out of Vietnam and that's what he's doing."

Describing himself as an independent, Mike Billings, 21, of Southwick, a factory worker, said he favors Nixon because "he's done as good a job as anyone could do. In fact, he's done a great deal."

Paul Sheehan, 23, of Easthampton, assistant manager of a Springfield paint store, doesn't like the way "McGovern contradicts himself."

"And I don't agree with his ideas about amnesty for those who left the country instead of doing their duty to their country," he said. "Plus, I think Nixon has done a good job."

For Paul May, 18, of Westbury, Long Island, N. Y., a sophomore at Holy Cross, it's a simple decision. "Nixon can get more done," he said. "McGovern is too idealistic."

Another Holy Cross sophomore, Steve

A Holy Cross senior, Lee Hibbard, 20, of San Francisco, said he'll vote for McGovern because "I'd rather not see Nixon in the White House for another four years."

Why?

"His stand on foreign policy is not in the country's best interest and his economic policy isn't working. He has a different slant at looking at things. He's off the beam."

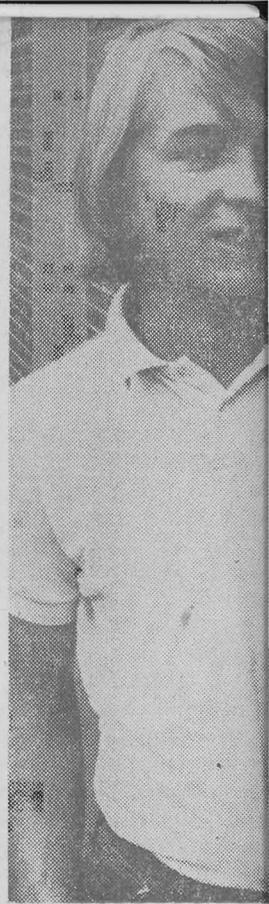
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And Jo Ann McVey, 18, of North Plainfield, N. J., a freshman at Boston University, said she'll vote for McGovern because "he offers more hope to the country."

"Four years of Nixon is enough," she said. "McGovern appeals to those who don't have anything, while Nixon is opposed to change. This country desperately needs change."



STEVE PINGREE

"Nixon . . . ma"





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STEVE PINGREE
"Nixon . . . maybe"



September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: KEN RIETZ
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

As you probably know, the pollsters in their analysis say that the only areas where we are losing support are Blacks, Jews, and youth. These are, of course, our three supposedly weak areas where we have been surprisingly strong in recent weeks. It would be very interesting to have your analysis of whether you feel we are in fact dropping among youth and, if so, why and any thoughts you have on whether there is anything we can or should do about it.

HRH:kb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 19, 1972

Buch
misses the
PT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

PAT BUCHANAN

In my judgment, it would be a serious mistake to start setting any "targets" for what we expect to do -- other than win. Predictions never help when you are right; and they are murder when you are wrong.

What we should do is what we did in New Hampshire and the other primary states. a) Keep quiet as mice while the election is on; and b) Start crowing the instant the returns are in.

Note from below that the "landslide" (a victory of 10% or more) is damn near the "rule" in the twentieth century, rather than the exception.

Also, while Eisenhower won by 15 points in 1956 -- Harding won by 26 in 1920, Coolidge by more than 25, Hoover by 18 and TR in 1904 by 19 points -- all greater margins than Ike (Coolidge of course had LaFollette drawing liberal votes).

We're talking about re-election.

For the Democrats, LBJ won by 22 points, FDR by 17 in 1932, by 23 points in 1936 and by 13 points in 1940.

Also, Harding won by damn near two-to-one, and Coolidge actually did (although Coolidge had a third-party candidate in the race, lending a hand).

Buchanan's Suggestion:

Let's wait until the election is over; and then if RN meets Eisenhower's margin, this is what we say:

1) Richard Nixon got the largest percentage of votes of any minority party candidate in American presidential history. (Note: TR, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover were majority party candidates.)

2) Despite the fact that Republicans are a smaller minority than 1956, and RN is not the beloved war hero, like Ike -- he swept a higher percentage of votes than Dwight David Eisenhower.

3) Conceivably we could say RN swept more states than any other Presidential candidate since the incredible Roosevelt landslide of 1936 -- or more states than any Republican candidate in the history of this nation. (All RN needs is 42 States to accomplish this.)

4) Not since the Civil War has a Republican won more states, or won a higher percentage of Southern votes than Richard Nixon -- who has achieved the historic feat of, at one stroke, changing the solid Democratic South into the solid Republican South -- and thereby building the framework of a new majority in American politics.

5) We should have in hand, by election night, also the Catholic vote totals -- from previous years, so we can show that vote; and the Jewish vote totals.

Finally, what we should do is as in New Hampshire -- that night and the next morning have all our spokesmen and interpreters putting out these lines so that they go into all the interpretive pieces and into the history books. But, for God's sake, let's not be setting any "targets" at this point in time.

Buchanan

POLITICAL STATISTICS
1900 - 1968

Year	GOP		DEM		3rd Party	GOP States Carried	Dem States Carried	3rd Party States Carried	South % Dems
1900	MCKINLEY	51.7%	Bryan	45.5%		28	17		
1904	ROOSEVELT	56.4%	Parker	37.6%		32	13		
1908	TAFT	51.6%	Bryan	43.1%		29	17		
1912	Taft	23.2%	WILSON	41.9%	27.5% (T. Roosevelt)	2	40	6	
1916	Hughes	46.1%	WILSON	49.3%		18	30		
1920	HARDING	60.4%	Cox	34.1%		37	11		
1924	COOLIDGE	54.0%	Davis	28.8%	16.6% (LaFollette)	35	12	1	
1928	HOOVER	58.1%	Smith	40.8%		40	8		52.1%
1932	Hoover	39.7%	ROOSEVELT	57.4%		6	42		80.7%
1936	Landon	36.5%	ROOSEVELT	60.8%		2	46		80.6%
1940	Wilkie	44.8%	ROOSEVELT	54.7%		10	38		78.1%
1944	Dewey	45.9%	ROOSEVELT	53.4%		12	36		71.4%
1948	Dewey	45.1%	TRUMAN	49.6%	2.4% (Thurmond) 2.4% (Wallace)	15	29	4	50.4%
1952	EISENHOWER	55.1%	Stevenson	44.4%		39	9		51.8%
1956	EISENHOWER	57.4%	Stevenson	42.0%		41	7		47.8%
1960	Nixon	49.5%	KENNEDY	49.7%	.8% (Byrd)	26	23	1	50.5%
1964	Goldwater	38.5%	JOHNSON	61.1%		6	45		49.5%
1968	NIXON	43.4%	Humphrey	42.7%	13.5% (Wallace)	31	14	5	30.9%

ACTION MEMO

We need a memo to MacGregor, Finch, et al, covering two points:

1. A study of the President's thesis that you should look at elections in this century and you will see that no Presidential candidate has ever won by a 2 to 1 ratio. The optimum, or maximum ever attained was Roosevelt over Landon which was 63-37, or whatever it was. Get the facts on that.
2. The optimum for a Republican is the Eisenhower landslide of 1956 where he got 57.5% of the vote versus his opponents 42.5%. In other words, a 15 point margin is optimum for a Republican in these times, and that should be our stated goal - to equal the Eisenhower reelection majority of 57.5%.

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

HRH

9/18/72

ACTION MEMO - POLITICAL

We need to review the question of supplying, or directing financing, to key Senate races. The two most likely in this regard are New Mexico and South Dakota, according to Senator Scott.

HRH •

9/12/72

ACTION MEMO

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

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

HRH

9/11/72