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<td>From Higby to Chapin RE: the Vice President's presence at an &quot;ethnic&quot; event. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Rose Marie Monk to Strachan RE: Mrs. Edwin Gazsi's campaign role in Orange County, California. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Malek to MacGregor RE: campaign progress in important Western states. 3 pgs.</td>
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<td>Records from a meeting of the Budget Committee. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>10/2/1972</td>
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<td>Budget comparisons from the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 3 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Haldeman to MacGregor RE: organizing a large &quot;get out the vote&quot; program. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Post election action memorandum generated by Haldeman laying out topics for a meeting with advertising agencies. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Higby to Howard RE: campaign matters relating to various newspapers. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Haldeman to Chapin RE: a possible campaign stop in Denver. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Kehrli to Ziegler, Moore, Safire, Colson, Chapin, Ehrlichman, and Buchanan RE: presidential posture during the final weeks of the campaign. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>From McGovern to Peter H. Dominick requesting the latter's assistance in the final weeks of the presidential campaign. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Dominick to McGovern RE: the former's campaign efforts during the election season. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Odle, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: a weekly report. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Odle's weekly report on various election topics, including key issues and support from various voter groups. Chart indicating support for RN from various citizens groups attached. 5 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Malek to Strachan RE: the Committee for the Re-election of the President's policy of avoiding debate with Democratic candidates. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Lewis Dale to MacGregor RE: problems with the distribution of campaign materials. Distribution charts attached. 3 pgs.</td>
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<td>From MacGregor to &quot;Nixon Storefronts&quot; RE: promotional campaign materials. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Raymond Caldiero to Strachan RE: Caldiero's letter to &quot;Newsweek.&quot; 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Kenneth Auchincloss of &quot;Newsweek&quot; to Caldiero responding to a previous letter from the latter. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the main points of a planned McGovern speech on Vietnam. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From MacGregor to members of the Budget Committee laying out tasks for its members. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Strachan to &quot;Follow Up&quot; RE: checking with Bull on October 11 on financing. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Malek to various Committee for the Re-election of the President state and county chairmen RE: county plans for &quot;Get-Out-The-Vote.&quot; Detailed schedule and planned activities attached. 5 pgs.</td>
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<td>10/12/1972</td>
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<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a campaign ad on McGovern and Buchanan's plan to discredit the &quot;Washington Post&quot; for its reports on campaign smearing and sabotage. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Strachan to Magruder RE: Ray Caldiero's memo on celebrity activity on an Election Night Program. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Malek to MacGregor RE: an overview of Get-Out-the-Vote plans. Attachments include memos to state and county Committee chairmen, event calendars, and media plan memo from Dick Nellius to Rick Fore. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 23 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Garment to Haldeman RE: attached information on campaign fundraising. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Max M. Fisher to Garment RE: campaign contributions, particularly from former Democratic supporters. Handwritten note added by unknown. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>Talking paper generated by Strachan RE: Buchanan's desire to attack the &quot;Washington Post&quot; because of its campaign reporting. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>38</td>
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<td>10/12/1972</td>
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<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Malek to Haldeman RE: mock election results. Mock election results from various colleges and universities attached. 3 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Strachan to Magruder RE: a televised campaign ad in Massachusetts. Handwritten response from Magruder included. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From MacGregor to members of the Budget Committee RE: assignments for various campaign officials present at a committee meeting. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Fitzhugh Green to Hullin RE: attached information. Handwritten note involving MacGregor, Haldeman, and Colson added by unknown. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Document from the Faculty for McGovern-Shriver division of the McGovern-Shriver Headquarters laying out plans for a National Teach-In supporting the Democratic candidates. 4 pgs.</td>
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<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a discussion between Magruder and John Mitchell. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: L. HIGBY
SUBJECT: Vice Presidential Ethnic Event

Art Sohmer called me indicating the Vice President asked that he call Bob and get a reading on the feasibility and desirability of the Vice President doing a huge ethnic event in late October involving all different ethnic groups in Michigan at Cobo Hall.

The Vice President is apparently interested in doing this but says it will require a lot of planning and the full-time use of someone at 1701 as a project officer.

He wanted to get Bob's reading on whether or not this would be a good idea.

You may want to get back to Art in Bob's name or mention the whole idea to some in your planning group or surrogate group.

Before you start wondering why he called me instead of you, you should be aware that the Vice President specifically instructed Art to call Haldeman and that's why the call came here.

I'm sure if you want to get back to him in Haldeman's name, that won't be any problem.

cc: H. R. Haldeman

LH:kb
MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

FROM ROSE MARIE MONK

RE: Mrs. Edwin Gazsi

Roger van Dyken, who is the number one staff man for Region II, has talked with Mrs. Gazsi. She is presently working two days a week in the Orange County telephone bank.

She asked Roger what was the most important work in the campaign which he explained was precinct work. She has offered to walk her area or a nearby precinct, if that would be better.

Roger says Orange County will follow up.
MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR
FROM: FRED MALE~1/I1
SUBJECT: Progress in Key Western States

As you know, during the last few days I have reviewed progress on the spot in California, Oregon, Washington, and Texas. This memo summarizes my observations from these visits and future actions planned.

CALIFORNIA

Enormous strides have been made here in the last month, particularly on the voter canvassing efforts. Almost 40% of the state has already been canvassed door-to-door (including 70% of the priority precincts) and 130,000 new supporters have been registered by this activity. By October 7th, the goal is to have canvassed all priority precincts and registered 200,000.

There are 168 storefronts operational, most of which support the canvass effort, and 450 paid canvassers are supplementing volunteer efforts. All 45 telephone centers with 480 phones are now operational in the top 18 counties, and 400,000 calls have been made to date. While recruiting volunteers to fully man these centers remains a problem, I am confident they will approach their goal of 2.5 million calls. We estimate that over 30,000 volunteers are now active in the California campaign.

After October 7th, they will continue with voter identification, contact undecideds and not at homes, and begin preparing for get-out-the-vote drives. We are working closely with them on mounting a massive get-out-the-vote drive utilizing over 100,000 volunteers and including calls to all registered Republicans and pro-Nixon non-Republicans.

There are numerous minor problems (e.g., Los Angeles County GOP resisting turning out non-Republicans), but they can be solved. Los Angeles County is lagging behind, but we are taking steps to strengthen this. The only major problem is recruitment of adequate volunteers, and we have assigned Don Brady of our national staff full time to this and are mounting several
programs that will help. All in all, I am quite pleased with California's performance, and we will definitely out-organize McGovern there. Special credit is due to Marvin Collins, David Packard, Bruce Nestande, and several regional Executive Directors.

OREGON

Oregon is hampered by a non-existent GOP organization, but a reasonably good campaign is being run there. Unfortunately, they have been unable to mount as strong a door-to-door canvass effort as planned, and telephones have been used to take up the slack.

Their goal was to canvass 350,000 households or 50% of all households in the state. They have now canvassed only about 100,000 (60% by telephone) and should reach 300,000 by election day. Nevertheless, this will be by far the largest scale canvass ever done by Republicans in Oregon and far more than McGovern will do.

The only actions I have taken here have been to require that more of their personnel be assigned to work full time on problem counties and to order a more comprehensive get-out-the-vote program than they envisioned. Dick Richards will follow through on this.

WASHINGTON

Everything looks fine in Washington (nice looking storefronts, competent staff, good volunteers, etc) until you get down to the actual numerical results. They simply haven't mounted a strong door-to-door effort and as a result, have canvassed less than 10% of the households.

They aren't capable of doing much in the time left on door-to-door canvassing. Thus, to catch up, we are placing added emphasis on their telephone banks and the hostess telephone program. In addition, I have required them to assign headquarters people to work problem counties full time, have authorized the payment of certain expenses for telephone volunteers, have required Richards to spend more time in Washington, and have assigned a national field representative full time to the state.

With the help of the above actions, I hope to have 300,000 homes or 35% of the state canvassed before election day. As in all states, we are planning a strong get-out-the-vote program.
Texas is currently dead last of the big ten states in both canvassing and telephone progress. However, they are mobilizing fast and should make up some of the lost ground. Briefly, due to extremely late start-ups they have canvassed less than 20,000 households to date and have made only 104,000 telephone contacts vs. a quota of 242,000.

I told the state leadership and assembled regional chairmen that they were last, and they are all responsive and enthusiastic about improving. I believe they can. Adequate storefronts are open in all 8 regions, and most telephone centers are now operational. The key ingredient now is attracting sufficient volunteers to get the job done, and we are particularly pushing this through the Business and Industry and Young Voter Divisions. I have also assigned 3 national field representatives exclusively to Texas to help Tom Reed develop and push the canvass and telephone efforts. I feel they will run a good campaign in the time available, but the late start will result in coverage of only 50-60% of key precincts.

An example of what can be done is Region 2 (Dallas-Fort Worth) which includes 20% of the state's population and which promises to be one of the best organized and most thoroughly canvassed areas in the country. The other big Region (including Houston), on the other hand, is lagging badly.

An additional problem in Texas concerns the Tower situation. Clements, O'Donnell, and other leaders feel that Tower is in weak position (based on his slim lead vs. the President's commanding lead) and will lose without more direct and positive Presidential endorsement. The problem last weekend was that the President's remarks about Tower were not released. Moreover, Tower was not on the President's plane (by his own choice) and Bensten was. These two factors have caused many people to believe Tower was snubbed and does not have the President's support. Therefore, the Texas leadership recommends (and I concur) that the President should make a real campaign stop in Texas where he warmly embraces Tower. The plans you conveyed to me this morning should solve this problem.

bcc: H. R. Haldeman
      Jerry E. Jones
### 1. Funds committed as of 10/2:

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<td>Voter bloc media</td>
<td>$180,700</td>
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<td>Local spot</td>
<td>$555,886</td>
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### 2. Funds for week of 10/9:

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<td>$(301,700)*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local spot</td>
<td>$220,886</td>
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<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>$11,000</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>$231,886</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Committed as of 10/2</td>
<td>$3,008,495</td>
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<tr>
<td>Committed for 10/9</td>
<td>$231,886</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,240,381</strong></td>
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<td>Finance Committee Media Budget</td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>TOTAL REMAINING:</strong></td>
<td><strong>($40,381)</strong></td>
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### 4. Projections:

- Committed through 10/9: $3,240,381
- Local from 10/16 extended at current rate: $662,658
- Local from 10/16 at expanded rate: $2,550,000
- Additional voter bloc: $72,300
- Additional network: $200,000
- Additional special newspaper: $50,000

* * Included in "committed"
AGENDA

BUDGET COMMITTEE MEETING, Monday, October 2, 3:00 p.m.

1. Advertising -- Dailey
2. Presidential and Vice Presidential travel -- Jones/Odle
4. Status of the "Nunn Plan" -- Nunn
5. Targeting of funds to local races -- MacGregor
6. Political Direct Mail costs -- Stans/Barrick

IRS Ruling re:

e.g. on 9110
## Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President

**Budget Comparisons of 10-2-72**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expense Category</th>
<th>Total Budget</th>
<th>Actual Expenditures</th>
<th>Unexpended Balance</th>
<th>Operating Accounts and Departments</th>
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**A** Does not include $605,000-

*for telephone service deposits*
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<th>EXPENSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>TOTAL BUDGET</th>
<th>ACTUAL EXPENDITURES THROUGH</th>
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<th>OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS</th>
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| Scheduling              | 260,000      | 123,400                     | 86,600             | Acct.66500-Spokesmen Res.Support   |
|                         |              |                             |                    | Dept.13-Spokesmen                 |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 89,055                            |
|                         |              |                             |                    | Dept.14-Executive                  |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 77,304                            |

| Executive               | 93,000       | 77,304                      | 15,696             | Acct.51000-Postage                 |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 128,024                           |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 52000-Office Supplies             |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 82,603                            |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 52100-Telephone                   |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 301,777                           |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 53800-Insurance Taxes             |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 26,726                            |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 54000-Rent-Non Fin.Dept.          |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 167,200                           |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 55000-Leasehold Improve-         |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 38,341                            |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 56000-Furn.Equip.Rented           |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 179,760                           |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 57000-Furn.Equip.Purchased        |
|                         |              |                             |                    | 34,241                            |

<p>| Funds Spent prior to 4/7| 3,110,000    | 3,110,000                   |                    | 1,073,555                          |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expense Category</th>
<th>Total Budget</th>
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<td>771,000</td>
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<td>94,575</td>
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<td>RNC - Unallocated Prepayment</td>
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<td>&lt;113,853&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;66,147&gt;</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>35,915,000</td>
<td>24,131,828</td>
<td>11,793,172</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- #113,853 charged to White House Support (Page 1 of this Report)

- Does not reflect budget changes directed by Frank Harris's memo of 9-22-72.

- Operating accounts and departments:
  - Accts: 070100-75000
  - 525,024
  - Dept. 14 - Political
    - 18-Field Operations
      - 68,257
    - 20-Ballot Security
      - 48,172
  - 639,405
  - Transfers of Funds NET
    - Major Gifts
      - Over $100 money retained in states
        - 412,816
  - 7,076,412

- RNC charging:
  - camps Exp $1701
  - No control.
  - Conv. Agm. 40,000 for 1000 banners

- 10/1 - need to raise 10,500 to meet quota
  - All possibly 9,500
  - 550,000 - over 40,000 budget
  - $60,000 - cost ofkeit away of money, $60,000
  - Meg expenditure on abs 2 to 1

- Rens - Corps not in Dec./Jan. op
- H 80p - dun $15,000 & 1,500
October 2, 1972

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

We should have an enormous "get out the vote" effort in the southern states and all of our sure states so as to go for the maximum national margin. This should not be directed towards Republicans, of course. Perhaps radio advertising would be the best route to take on this in the last week or so in all solid, heavy-Nixon states.

HRHxkb
cc: Jeb Magruder
    Fred Malek
POST ELECTION ACTION MEMORANDUM

We should get the advertising agencies in and talk to them about their failure to support SATURDAY EVENING POST and similar publications for being given a bad deal by the liberal media buyers on a planned basis.

HRH
October 2, 1972

HRH:kb
September 30, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK HOWARD

FROM: L. HIGBY

Several things we should get going:

1. Letters to the STAR on the Doyle column night before last. It was really bad.

2. Letters to the NEW YORK TIMES for their myopic view in endorsing George McGovern.

3. Also, we need to set up a program so that anytime a paper endorses us that letters from the reach in the paper circulated in are forwarded to the Editor complimenting him on his excellent decision, etc.

LHrk
October 2, 1972

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

We should still look for the possibility of a Denver campaign stop doing it just as a regional meeting for the Mountain States, or Mountain and Southwest, in the same basis as we do Atlanta as a regional meeting for the South.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 2, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: ZIEGLER, MOORE, SAFIRE, COLSON, CHAPIN, EHRLICHMAN, BUCHANAN

FROM: BRUCE KEHLER

SUBJECT: Presidential Posture During Next Six Weeks

The following are some comments and suggestions on the President's posture during the next six weeks. Your comments and recommendations have been requested by noon on Wednesday, October 4.

"The only thing McGovern has going for him is when he puts on his ministerial robes. When he talks defense, budgets, economics, etc., he unravels. But when he puts on his ministerial robes, and jumps on us about Watergate or the wheat deal, when he talks honesty, integrity, etc., he registers.

"There is a 'vague feeling' that the President would help himself if he would put on his 'ministerial robes' and give an 'uplifting' kind of speech -- not about taxes or the budget or Vietnam, but 'I think that a President, when he gets things flopping around under him like the Watergate, has to let people know that he personally is for honesty, integrity, etc. That kind of uplift speech would be a good thing.'

"It's not at all a necessity that the speech should directly address Watergate, etc. (though it would have been better to have jumped in immediately, and declared, in effect, that that's the sort of thing 'up with which I will not put,' to borrow Churchill's famous phrase -- anyone who runs a big organization is going to have things like that happen, but the important thing, when they do, is to get on the side of the angels, quick).
"This might be handled not in a speech but rather in a press conference, with the TV cameras.

"In general, the only thing the campaign needs now is 'a little spiritual uplift' -- something that shows a real concern for people, for the future, for integrity -- something that goes beyond the programmatic and gets to ideals, to principles, and again, to deep concern."
TALKING PAPER for POLITICAL MEETING

RE: Get Out the Vote Telegram

Telegrams

1) The Get Out the Vote Telegrams which are being mailed to Republicans and favorable Democrats in key states after October 15 are currently designed to carry Calrk MacGregor's signature. Buchanan, Chotiner, and John Andrews of Ohio urge use of the President's signature. Should they be signed by the President or Clark MacGregor?

McGovern-Vietnam

2) McGovern's speech on Vietnam is scheduled for October 4. Yet, the TV Network and local advertising will be using the DFN "Welfare" spots. What is the plan for putting McGovern on the defensive on Vietnam next week? Chapin suggests placing the DFN "Credibility-Turnaround" commercial near McGovern's speech and then using the spot in every local media market McGovern goes to.
Pep Talk

3) Many on the White House Staff should be given a pep talk to obtain maximum performance for the next 33 days. Many have not seen the CRP positive commercials or the DPN attack commercials. Should there be a pep talk given after showing the commercials in the EOB Briefing Room?

Campaign Finances

4) If the campaign's financial situation still such that only 3,200 instead of 11,200 will be spent on advertising?

GS: car
10/5/72
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR
FROM: FRED MALEK
SUBJECT: National Bumper Strip Day

As has been discussed in the past, we are now planning a National Bumper Strip Day. It is scheduled for October 21st. The day will focus on the distribution and the pasting on of bumper strips at shopping centers and other public gathering points across the country. The Youth Division will supply a major part of the impetus of this effort. I will keep you informed as other plans develop and am optimistic that a significant number of bumper strips can be utilized on October 21st.

bcc: H. R. Haldeman
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: L. Higby
SUBJECT: Attack

There has been a definite change in our attack pattern over the past week, something that may be calculated but something I would suggest you want to reconsider. Namely, we are no longer on the attack. McGovern has done, at least during most of this week, exactly what earlier memos from the President warned you shouldn't take place. Namely, he shifted the ground from his issues to our issues. He's turned the battle so that the Vice President and Romney and other surrogates have spent the week answering McGovern's charges rather than attacking him.

For example, in today's News Summary, though the Vice President makes a strong attack, hitting McGovern for gutter politics, he fails to point out those specific proven issues that all our polling indicates McGovern is terribly weak on.

Yesterday, the Vice President spent his time answering McGovern's charges on crime and on permissiveness. But McGovern had already charged us with permissiveness when we should be charging him and pointing to the holes in his program, or nonexistent programs to take care of crime problems.

I may be wrong, but I understood that this week was supposed to be our week of hitting McGovern for his defense policies, but very little, if anything about his defense policies has made the news during the last four days.
RECOMMENDATION:

I think you need to talk to Colson and Buchanan and get them back on the attack. Get the Vice President talking about McGovern's policies on Amnesty, abortion, defense, the thousand dollars, and marijuana. Apparently the networks have made the basic decision that they are going to give us equal or at least somewhat equal time every night. Let's use it to blast McGovern and get him answering us again, rather than the present posture that now exists.

LHkb
October 3, 1972

Dear Peter:

I know of the help you have already given me in this crucial effort, but I am writing this note to ask for your additional cooperation in the closing weeks of the campaign.

If you can give any time for speaking engagements in your State or elsewhere around the country, Sarge Shriver and I will greatly appreciate it. Please have your staff contact Stanley Greigg, Deputy to National Campaign Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien at 1910 K Street, N.W., 20006-872-1479.

With best personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

George McGovern

Honorable Peter H. Dominick
248 Old Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.
October 4, 1972

Honorable George McGovern
McGovern-Shriver '72 Headquarters
1910 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear George:

I certainly appreciate your letter of October 3 thanking me for the help I've given and asking that I give additional time for speaking around the country.

As Chairman of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, I am happy to tell you that I have been in New Mexico, Wyoming, Illinois, Michigan, Oklahoma, Texas, California, Colorado, Virginia, Florida and other states in the past six weeks, and every time I mention your candidacy, it brings quite a reaction - somewhat like the Philadelphia Eagle fans greeting their team after the third consecutive fumble.

It is nice to know that you have me in mind, and although I was not able to respond with financial support to the three letters I've had from Ted Kennedy on your behalf, it is reassuring to know that your staff still does its customary fine investigative work.

Be assured that I'm trying my best to be 100% behind you.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Peter H. Dominick
United States Senator
TALKING PAPER for POLITICAL MEETING

RE: Get Out the Vote Telegram, McGovern-Vietnam, Pep-Talk and Campaign Finances

Telegram

1) The Get Out the Vote Telegrams which are being mailed to Republicans and favorable Democrats in key states after October 15 are currently designed to carry Clark MacGregor's signature. Buchanan, Chotiner, and John Andrews of Ohio urge use of the President's signature. Should they be signed by the President or Clark MacGregor?

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3) Many on the White House Staff should be given a pep talk to obtain maximum performance for the next 33 days. Many have not seen the CRP positive commercials or the DFN attack commercials. Should there be a pep talk given after showing the commercials in the EOB Briefing Room?

Campaign Finances

4) Is the campaign's financial situation still such that only 3,200 instead of 11,200 will be spent on advertising?

10/5/72
CM met w/ MC - 4 note
Will you handle this
some proj's re scheduling

Dailey - not on CBS
Morgan - caught for tape on CBS.

C - 10/9 - Meg spe - a OFO UN AD?
  - Suggests renaming CRP: UN AD
  so people think people
  CUC agrees - Tues before

Joanov - 1. Radio spe this week? - we're
  now Grip to buy time
  2. Corn taping in col - either
     1/2 hr or 5 mins - needs
     notice for better quality buy
  3. Jeff on Handbill Situation - Mac Fisher
MEMORANDUM

September 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman
AGRICULTURE

With McGovern moving his campaign out of the Midwest, the controversy over the grain sale to Russia subsided somewhat. I doubt that his attacks changed very many farm votes, but they undoubtedly changed some. Fortunately, McGovern cannot take away the dollars that the sale placed in the pockets of farmers; nor can he take credit for providing them those dollars. We can, and are, doing so.

We are now organized in 44 states. We are getting a lot of campaign activity out of the state and county organizations and could get a lot more if campaign materials weren’t so scarce.

BLACKS

Black Vote Division reception was held for United Mortgage Bankers/Minority Contractors Association during their Washington meeting to gain endorsements for the re-election of the President. Promotional material was distributed.

We addressed key Pennsylvania Black campaign leadership in Philadelphia. Additional storefronts committed as a result of visit.

Mass mailings of promotional materials continued with key state/cities receiving priority.

The National Federation of Republican Women in Boston were addressed on a voter bloc panel for the Executive Committee and Board of Directors.

Public endorsements received from Archie Moore (former light heavyweight champion) and Johnny Ford (mayor-elect of Tuskegee, Ala. and a Democrat).

CITIZENS

We discussed plans for providing California with volunteers through the Citizens program with Lyn Nofziger and Joel Fisher and outlined plans for a telephone blitz to be held this week to attempt to obtain a great number of volunteers.

A meeting was held with approximately 60 people representing citizens state chairmen and California campaign leadership for the purpose of discussing the various citizen groups. All chairmen were urged to put forth special efforts to accomplish this and the telephone blitz was also outlined. Similar meetings were held in Phoenix and Las Vegas.

We are forming a committee of Editors and Publishers for the President. This committee will be available to Van Shumway for the purpose of disseminating information to nearly 7500 small daily and weekly newspapers throughout the United States.
LAWYERS

Volunteers: The primary activity of the Lawyers Committees during the month of September has been to develop volunteers through our telephone campaign and to refer those volunteers directly to the storefront and telephone operations within their states. This effort, in the target states particularly, has been supervised and will yield a significant number of volunteers and has developed significant involvement within the legal community.

Volunteers - Law Students: We now have law student committees for the President on 46 law school campuses. The primary activity of these committees is to develop within 7 days a petition which identifies volunteers and to forward a copy of that petition directly to the Committee to Re-elect in the area in which the law school is situated.

Local Spokesman Program: We have forwarded to each of our state committees materials including sample speeches and fact sheets on important issues. Thereafter, we have identified for our state chairmen the issues which should be emphasized in connection with the Local Spokesman Program.

Media Activity: The National Advisory Committee, consisting of more than 40 members in some 25 states, will be announced nationally and in each local media market during the coming week. A similar series of press releases is contemplated thereafter for the Young Lawyers National Advisory Committee.

Special Finance Project: The Finance Committee requested that the Lawyers Committee develop liaison with its Industry-by-Industry Special Gifts Program. Mr. David Smith has been asked to serve as the Coordinator of the Lawyers Special Gifts Program under the direction of the Industry-by-Industry Special Gifts Chairman, Buckley Byers. We have provided Mr. Smith with the names of our Lawyers Committee Chairmen and an evaluation of those individuals involved. Mr. Smith has energetically pursued this project during the past week, having contacted representatives within 40 states.

PLANNING AND STRATEGY

Telephone Centers - As of Friday, September 22, 154 telephone centers were reporting out of 257 budgeted. These centers had contacted a cumulative total of 1,007,743 registered voters at a weekly rate in excess of 500,000. While we are calling predominantly non-Republicans (especially in those states where we know party registration), the statewide percentages of voters favorable to the President range from a low of 37% (California - with party registration) to 73% (Texas - no party registration). In terms of the level of activity, we have excellent programs in Maryland and California. Throughout the country, however, our volunteer recruitment efforts have been less successful than anticipated. We are seriously behind in New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Connecticut. We are sending teams of volunteer recruiters and trainers from Washington into as many of the critical areas as possible in the next few weeks.
Polls - National: For the first time since he won the Democratic presidential nomination, Sen. George McGovern has received a glimmer of encouragement from the public opinion polls. The Harris Survey recording a minor shift in favor of McGovern, reported on Sept. 25 that he now trails the President by 28 points, 59-31. The last Harris poll had put Mr. Nixon 35 points ahead.

Adding to the latest flurry of interest in the public opinion readings was still another poll which depicted McGovern trailing by the largest margin of the year. The poll conducted for Time magazine and the New York Times by Daniel Yankelovich reported that Mr. Nixon early this month held a 39 point lead.

The difference in the results of the polls may be in part due to the different time periods in which they were conducted. The Harris Survey was conducted during the week of Sept. 18 and the Yankelovich survey was completed during the week of Sept. 11.

The most dramatic finding was of a Nixon lead among Democrats. The survey showed that Democrats for Nixon now total 43 per cent compared with 40 per cent who said they will remain loyal to their party's nominee. Seventy per cent of the Democrats said they were sure to cross party lines to vote for Mr. Nixon.

Among non-college youths aged 18 to 24, the Nixon lead has risen from 10 to 15 points -- 49 to 34 per cent. McGovern continues to lead among college students, 53 to 40. However, since the non-college group is twice as large as the college group, Mr. Nixon now appears to hold a narrow lead among all young voters.

SPANISH SPEAKING

Puerto Rican Nixon organization set up in New Jersey.

Buses as mobile campaign storefronts have caught on in Connecticut, New Jersey and California. Working with these states to acquire buses.

Texas field organization organized successful airport rally for the President in San Antonio, produced 8,000 people.

Disseminated "Spanish Speaking Petition to the President" project to 25,000 contacts in all states.

Developed briefing material for speeches in Puerto Rican areas and paper regarding lettuce boycott issue.

Spanish language TV spots and radio commercials went on the air in California starting September 25.

Announcements of Spanish speaking State Chairmen were made.
SPECIAL BALLOTS

Don Rumsfeld's campaign tour of Europe was highly successful and was well covered by both the English language and foreign language media. Mr. Rumsfeld visited five countries in three days.

The field staff is in the process of conducting field evaluations of the Special Ballot organization in all first and second priority states. These field evaluations will continue on a regular basis for the duration of the campaign.

The military voter program at 168 target installations is expected to spur servicemen to register and obtain an absentee ballot.

Our advertising in the International Herald Tribune has generated a tremendous response. The ten Re-election Committees in Europe are receiving up to 100 letters a day requesting information on absentee voting procedures and evidencing support for the President. During the past week, the Paris headquarters committee has sent a direct mail piece to each of the 12,000 favorable households identified to date in the canvasses urging a vote for the President.

VETERANS

Don Johnson, VA Administrator, appeared at a Veterans rally in Springfield, Illinois, and an Older Americans forum in Chicago.

The Veterans Committee made arrangements for one table of Congressional Medal of Honor winners to attend a fund-raising dinner in Los Angeles, California, and they were spotlighted during a monologue by Red Skeleton.

Ray Gallagher, veteran and Democrat for Nixon, made two appearances in Nebraska at veteran rallies and received statewide TV and radio coverage.

John Todd appeared on the Barry Farber Show in New York City on Thursday evening, September 28th.

Veteran fieldmen conducted training sessions and coordinated key veterans with storefront directors in New York, Illinois, Missouri, California, Washington, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Iowa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITIZENS GROUPS</th>
<th>NAT'L COMMITTEE APPOINTED-CLEARED</th>
<th>STATE CHAIRMEN APPOINTED-CLEARED</th>
<th>VICE CHAIRMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOTORCYCLISTS</td>
<td>16* 14</td>
<td>46 45</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPTOMETRISTS</td>
<td>13* 13*</td>
<td>50* 50*</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHARMACISTS</td>
<td>12* 12*</td>
<td>49 49</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIFE UNDERWRITERS</td>
<td>13* 13*</td>
<td>50* 49</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECURITIES</td>
<td>13* 12</td>
<td>45 39</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VETERINARIANS</td>
<td>13* 13*</td>
<td>48 48</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAVINGS &amp; LOAN</td>
<td>15* 14</td>
<td>32 31</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGH PERFORMANCE</td>
<td>13* 13*</td>
<td>42 38</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMERCIAL BANK</td>
<td>12* 7</td>
<td>35 27</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONSTRUCTION</td>
<td>13* 13*</td>
<td>45 43</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVIATION **</td>
<td>20* n/a</td>
<td>n/a n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUTUAL SAVINGS</td>
<td>1* 1*</td>
<td>5* 5*</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* completed
** No state chairmen to be selected
EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: RON ZIEGLER
FROM: LH HIGBY

Please talk to Ehrlichman and Safire and arrange for them to see some columnists that will result in the production of some columns for us analysing what the election means.

We should make the point that this is a test of the eastern media, the intellectual elite, such as the NEW YORK TIMES, the WASHINGTON POST, and the academic community. This election is a test of their values and philosophy versus those of President Nixon on the issues.

The point is to make this a mandate on the issues not just the man. We need to pick up the wrong predictions of the media and also build off that in these columns.

This is not something you should be doing directly, but rather should arrange for Ehrlichman and Safire to do.

If you don’t think it is appropriate or if it can’t be done this way, let me know so I can figure out another route.

EYES ONLY

LH:kb:LH:kb
MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

October 2, 1972

FRED MALEK

Tom Houser Debate with Shriver

It is our policy that local CREP officials are not to engage in debate with Democratic candidates. Tom Houser was badly out of line in so doing and obviously got himself clobbered in the process. I have discussed this with Tom, and he now recognizes the mistake. This policy will be re-emphasized to our State Chairmen and to the Regional Directors.

cc: Clark MacGregor
    Jeb Magruder
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MCCREGOR
FROM: LEWIS DALE
SUBJECT: Promotional Materials

Because of reported difficulties in distribution of promotional materials at the local level, the distribution centers will be shipping materials directly to approximately 648 Storefront locations in fifteen states this week. Attachments (1) and (2) show the breakdown of states, number of storefronts and materials to be distributed.

These states were selected because their difficulties with local distribution have been most apparent and because much of the criticism has originated with them. In addition they provide about half of our reported storefronts. Accompanying each shipment will be a brief memo from you. Attachment (3)

The materials will not be charged against state budget allocations. The other 35 states will receive shipments of materials, but their distribution locally will continue to be made by state materials chairmen.

A materials audit of about 100 storefronts, selected at random in every state, will be made from this headquarters by phone. In addition, Ken Rietz has agreed to have some of his Young Voters check storefronts to see where we need to ship additional materials. This audit will be completed by Friday.

The Young Voters have moved their "Bumper Brand" Day from October 21 to October 14. We have set aside 500,000 bumper strips for this effort, which will concentrate on sixteen states.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th># of Storefronts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**: 648
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1C</td>
<td>Slogan Button</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1F</td>
<td>Nixon Now Button</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A</td>
<td>Bumper Strip</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2B</td>
<td>Bumper Strip</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2C</td>
<td>Bumper Strip</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2D</td>
<td>Color Poster</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2E</td>
<td>Large Nixon Poster</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>Large Banner</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2G</td>
<td>Nixon Poster</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2I</td>
<td>Window Poster</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3C</td>
<td>Crime Brochure</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3D</td>
<td>Drugs Brochure</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3E</td>
<td>Economy Brochure</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>Education Brochure</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3G</td>
<td>Environment Brochure</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3H</td>
<td>Foreign Policy Brochure</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3I</td>
<td>Vietnam Brochure</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3J</td>
<td>Health Care Brochure</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>Matchbooks</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>Pencils</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4A</td>
<td>Skimmers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4E</td>
<td>Balloons</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4F</td>
<td>Balloons</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4H</td>
<td>Rally Sign</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6A</td>
<td>&quot;W&quot; Lapel Pin</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7F</td>
<td>Plastic Bags</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7G</td>
<td>Litterbags</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9A</td>
<td>Bumper Strip</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9B</td>
<td>Button</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: Nixon Storefronts
FROM: Clark MacGregor
SUBJECT: Promotional Materials

October 10, 1972

The promotional materials you are now receiving are being shipped direct to you for your use in canvassing and in appreciation of your excellent efforts in behalf of the President. This shipment has not been charged to your state's materials budget. Please use these items in the best possible way.
REMARKS:

Have been notice renewed.

Will be issuing parts of my letter in October 7th issue.

One small note
September 27, 1972

Mr. Raymond Caldiero
Celebrities for the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Caldiero:

Well, yes, you're right on some counts. Perhaps Shirley MacLaine is less credible than James Stewart, less charismatic than John Wayne, less entertaining than Bob Hope, older than Pam Powell (though that point verged on bitchiness, I thought). But what seemed fascinating to us about her was neither her show-biz qualities nor her particular political views but the unusual phenomenon of a movie actress temporarily abandoning her entertainment career entirely and devoting herself full-time to politics. In that respect, at least, I think MacLaine outweighs the other people you mentioned, and that's why we put her on the cover. (Do you honestly believe that we thought a cover story on her would "revive the faltering McGovern candidacy?")

I'm sorry that you feel we gave the Nixon celebrities short shrift--I don't think we did, but that's a matter of judgment. (Your picture count, incidentally, was a little unfair: exclusive of the cover and the boxed story on a day with MacLaine, we showed seven McGovern celebs and five Nixon ones. And in the issue of September 11--page 21--the celebrity score was Nixon 4, McGovern 0.) I don't know, in light of the tone of your letter, whether you'd be willing to accept my thanks for anything. But if so, I do want you to know that we're extremely grateful for the very generous help you and the Nixon celebrities gave us on this story. They offered us a lot of time and good material, and all with great good humor. God knows not every bit of it was used--it never is in any story--but I'm satisfied that the best parts were included. And I cannot believe that any of our readers finished the article without a very strong impression that celebrities have turned out in extraordinary numbers for President Nixon this year.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth Auchincloss
Senior Editor
National Affairs
1. Funds committed as of 10/9:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Network television</td>
<td>$2,271,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voter bloc media</td>
<td>180,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local spot</td>
<td>776,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio (network speech)</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,259,451</strong></td>
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2. Funds for week of 10/16:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Network television*</td>
<td>(303,791)*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local spot</td>
<td>220,886</td>
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<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>33,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voter bloc</td>
<td>72,300</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>$326,186</strong></td>
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3. Total to date:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Committed as of 10/9</td>
<td>$3,259,481</td>
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<tr>
<td>Committed for 10/16</td>
<td>326,186</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,585,667</strong></td>
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Finance Committee Media Budget:

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<tr>
<td>Less committed</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL REMAINING:</strong></td>
<td>(85,667)</td>
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4. Projections:

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Committed through 10/16</td>
<td>$3,555,667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local from 10/23 extended at current rate</td>
<td>441,772</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local from 10/23 at expanded rate</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional network</td>
<td>200,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Additional special newspaper</td>
<td>135,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Additional network radio</td>
<td>75,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Additional misc.</td>
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* Included in "committed"
### ACTUAL EXPENDITURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPENSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>TOTAL BUDGET</th>
<th>ACTUAL EXPENDITURES THROUGH</th>
<th>UNEXPENDED BALANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>5,368,000</td>
<td>2,367,526</td>
<td>3,000,474</td>
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<tr>
<td>Campaign Materials</td>
<td>3,200,000</td>
<td>2,378,966</td>
<td>821,034</td>
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<tr>
<td>Convention</td>
<td>451,000</td>
<td>564,626</td>
<td>113,626</td>
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<tr>
<td>P/R - Media</td>
<td>677,900</td>
<td>571,960</td>
<td>105,940</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polling</td>
<td>510,000</td>
<td>455,401</td>
<td>134,599</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research, Planning, Direct Mail, Telephone Operations</td>
<td>1,725,000</td>
<td>3,353,401</td>
<td>1,628,000</td>
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</table>

**OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acct.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Budget</th>
<th>Expense</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32000</td>
<td>Broadcasting</td>
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<tr>
<td>33000</td>
<td>Billboards</td>
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<td>1,447,700</td>
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<tr>
<td>35000</td>
<td>Broadcast Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>36000</td>
<td>Print Production</td>
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<td>38000</td>
<td>Agency Fees</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Department #17 - Advertising</td>
<td>1,628,000</td>
<td>1,628,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 70 - Personal and 1st Family</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 71 - White House Staff</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 72 - Public Relations</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 73 - The Vice President</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acct. #60000 Expenditures prior to dept. breakout</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
<td>3,128,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acct. #60000 Convention</td>
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<td>Dept. 19 - Convention</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Dept. 16 - Public Relations</td>
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<td>3,128,766</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acct. #67100 Polling &amp; Research</td>
<td>455,401</td>
<td>455,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 15 - Included in Card's Research &amp; Planning Ohs.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acct. #34000 Telephone</td>
<td>455,401</td>
<td>455,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dept. 15 - Political Mail, Telephone Operations</td>
<td>455,401</td>
<td>455,401</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Does not include $600,000 for Telephone Service Deposits.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPENSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>TOTAL BUDGET</th>
<th>TOTAL THROUGH</th>
<th>UNEXPENDED BALANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizens Activity</td>
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<td>1,790,399</td>
<td>343,701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduling</td>
<td>340,000</td>
<td>1,234,000</td>
<td>419,562</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tour Office</td>
<td>974,000</td>
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TOTAL 359,150.00  26,986,554  8,928,646

113,853. CHARGED TO WHITE HOUSE SUPPORT
(PAGE 1 OF THIS REPORT)

D DOES NOT REFLECT BUDGET CHANGES DIRECTED
BY FRANK HERRINGER'S MEMO OF 9-23-72 DUE
TO NEED FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

170,000 FOR FIRST 7 DAYS OF OCTOBER.
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Gordon Strachan
SUBJECT: McGovern's Vietnam Speech

Ed Failor reports that McGovern's speech on Vietnam was written by Dick Goodwin. It will open with his already outlined plan to end the war. Then there will be an emotional appeal about U.S. bombing of children, churches, hospitals, etc. The violence will be compared with crime on U.S. streets. McGovern will conclude by noting that the money wasted in Vietnam could have been spent on domestic issues, had the President not continued the war and vetoed vital domestic bills.
MEMORANDUM

October 10, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEE

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

SUBJECT: Budget Committee Meeting, Monday, October 9

PRESENT: Barrick, Dailey, Evans, Joanou, LaRue, MacGregor, Magruder, Malek, Nunn, Odle, Reisner, Stans, Strachan

1. Barrick is to make certain that sales of campaign materials are properly credited.

2. Malek is to monitor the distribution of campaign materials on a daily basis.

3. Dailey is to review all requests for additional voter bloc campaign materials to see which can be cut back and report at the next Budget Committee meeting.

4. MacGregor is to discuss with Colson the possibility of cutting back on the mailing program by November 1 or sooner.

5. MacGregor and Malek will meet with representatives of Bob Brouse's Direct Selling Association to encourage their assistance in the get-out-the-vote drive. Evans will assist in setting up the meeting.

6. Dailey is authorized to spend during the week of October 16 $303,791 for network television, $220,886 for local spot advertising, $33,000 for newspaper advertising, and $72,300 for voter bloc advertising.
7. Stans has no objection to the substitution of another name for "Finance Committee" at the end of our television commercials.

8. All divisions at 1701/1730 will give maximum support to the Host for the President program. MacGregor will stress this in his telephone calls to state leaders.

The next meeting of the Budget Committee will be Monday, October 16, at 3:00 p.m. in Suite 407.
MEMORANDUM FOR: FOLLOW UP
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Check Steve Bull on Tuesday, October 11 re Fred van Lundell and Bebe financing.
MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR
FROM: H.R. HALDEMAN

October 12, 1972

As a reminder, the President wants to do the Senate and House candidate phone calls and any meetings he has to do with them next week, and also any calls that are needed to surrogates to crank them up. He will not meet with surrogates anymore, but will make some phone calls if necessary.

Also we need to work out the Tower situation - set up the plan for the President making a phone call to his supporters.

cc: Dwight Chapin
    Gordon Strachan
TALKING PAPER

RE: Political Meeting

There is some concern that we haven't established clearly within our own ranks what the major issues are. This arises from the discussion of some rather fringe and esoteric issues at the Cabinet/Leadership meeting the other day.

HRH:
October 12, 1972

HRH: kb
October 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: McGovern's Vietnam Speech

Ed Failor reports that McGovern's speech on Vietnam was written by Dick Goodwin. It will open with his already outlined plan to end the war. Then there will be an emotional appeal about U.S. bombing of children, churches, hospitals, etc. 'The violence will be compared with crime on U.S. streets. McGovern will conclude by noting that the money wasted in Vietnam could have been spent on domestic issues, had the President not continued the war and vetoed vital domestic bills.
TO: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: HARRY DENT

Since the Atlanta trip on October 12 is to center on Southern politics, it would be most helpful if I and Wallace Henley, who assists me on Southern political affairs, could be included on the trip roster.
MEMORANDUM FOR:  GORDON STRACHAN
FROM:     L. HIGBY

So there's no misunderstanding, Magruder is to be told first thing this morning not -- repeat -- not to send the "Get out the Vote Telegrams" until they've been redone over here and they receive specific approval from over here.

Also, on the Congressional endorsement letters, these are not to go out until after -- repeat -- after Congress adjourns. They are to be sent to the Congressmen's home addresses. Copies must be approved by Haldeman and it has not been approved yet.

\[Signature\]  10/6
\[Signature\]  10/6
MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR  
FROM: FRED MALEK  
SUBJECT: Get-Out-The-Vote  

The purpose of this memo is to outline for your review and comments our complete plans and progress for the Get-Out-the-Vote drive. After outlining the basic GOTV activities, the memo will cover support being provided and public relations plans.  

GOTV ACTIVITIES  

Although GOTV will be a major focus in all states, we will target our resources on the 24 states listed in Tab A. These are key states, marginal states, or states where our activity may make the difference in a U.S. Senate race. We further plan on targeting in key states by analyzing counties and precincts in which our GOTV effort might be more productive. We are presently working with Dan Evans of the Polling Operation, who is providing us with rankings of precincts for GOTV operations.  

As you know, there are four basic activities that will be used in the 1972 campaign for GOTV: (1) Pre-election reminder and recruitment calls to all supporters; (2) Election Day Phoning; (3) Poll Checking; and (4) Door-to-Door Victory Squads. Pre-election phone calls will be placed to all favorable voters that have been identified and to known Republicans. In the key states and all other states, a large number of additional phones will be obtained from our Hostess and Loan-A-Phone operations.  

It is generally agreed that the most important campaign phone call is that on election day to try to get the voters to the polls. Therefore, our greatest effort will be on election day phoning. Election day phoning will differ for locations where poll checking is permitted and where poll checking is not permitted as follows:  

1. In Poll Checking Counties we will coordinate phoning with poll checking. We will start phoning supporters who have not voted no
later than noon, using the first copy of the supporter list which a runner brings to the phone center from the poll checker. Phoners then continue calling these supporters up until the polls close, calling from updated lists of those supporters who have voted, brought to phone centers later in the day by runners.

2. In non-Poll Checking Counties we will start phoning all supporters at 10:00 a.m. and continue phoning until the polls close. Two hours before the polls are to close, we will begin recalling all supporters who had not voted as of the first call.

Poll checking, or checking off of our voters as they vote, can be one of the most effective election day activities. It is the only sure way we can determine whether our voters have gone to the polls. This is necessary so we can call our favorable voters that haven't voted and prod them to cast their votes for the President. Advance preparation for poll checking is quite complex and will require a huge number of volunteers. Ideally, we want to cover all precincts if there is adequate manpower.

The final aspect of our GOTV activities will be where our volunteers go door-to-door in a final effort to get all voters to the polls. Victory Squads will assemble at a designated area headquarters at about 4:00 p.m., each volunteer will receive a list of supporters who have not voted, runners deliver lists from poll checkers or in non-poll checking counties, from phone locations, and door-to-door volunteers then call on supporters who have not voted.

SUPPORT

Support will be provided in materials, manpower, and training.

Materials. GOTV materials include pre-election reminder phone conversations, election day phone conversations, poll checking instructions, election day check-off lists, door hangers, and victory squad instructions. All of this material has been prepared and shipped to the states. In addition, a broad-based 6,000 piece mailing to State Campaign Chairmen and Co-Chairmen County Campaign Chairmen, and County and Area Headquarters Chairmen, detailing GOTV plans, has been sent. (See Tab B.)

Manpower. Our GOTV effort will only be as good as our campaign leadership. In essence, we can expect a good voter turnout program where we have had a good canvassing program. The line responsibility of seeing that the states are prepared, and do perform GOTV activities, is that of the Regional Directors. The task of training and assistance on implementation of state leadership and Regional Directors is that of the National Field Representatives.
We plan two methods of providing the additional manpower necessary for our GOTV effort. First, we will join with other Republican candidates where possible and have a combined GOTV effort. Secondly, we will deploy a large number of our Washington staff to the field on October 16th. In order to facilitate the GOTV with other candidates, we will prepare letters from you to Republican House and Senate candidates and state and local CREP committees. In addition, we will prepare a letter from Senator Bob Dole to GOP leadership across the country asking them to join with CREP in voter turnout. After this is done, we will involve other Republican candidates and the GOP in state and county workshops on GOTV. Our campaign staff here in Washington has often been criticized for being top heavy. While this may not be true, it is certainly advisable to mobilize a large number of people here in Washington to the field, since our greatest contribution of planning the campaign here in Washington is over. (See Tab C for mobilization plan.)

Training. Workshop sessions that were held over the last two months on canvassing were most helpful to the states and counties, and the workshop sessions on GOTV should be of even greater assistance. In preparation for the workshops, we have sent out an outline of the GOTV program. In addition, we are in the final stages of production of The Only Poll that Counts, a 17-minute slide presentation on GOTV. This will be used for instructional and motivational purposes in the field. Approximately 400 copies of this video slide and audio cassette presentation will be available for distribution to the states on October 14th. In addition, 2,000 copies of an audio cassette presentation will be available between October 14th and October 18th.

Regional Directors, Field Representatives, and other national staff being sent to the field will receive an intense orientation on GOTV by October 16th. Workshop sessions for state, county, and GOP staff have been scheduled for 23 states between October 16th and October 21st. These sessions will provide a comprehensive explanation of the GOTV program and will include the slide presentation and a verbal presentation by a National Field Representative. After attending the state workshops, county leaders will then schedule countywide workshops in key counties between October 22nd and the 26th. The slide presentation will be available for all target county meetings and enough audio cassette presentations will be distributed to cover every other county meeting in America.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

In order to force the states to start on GOTV activities and promote our voter turnout program, for the present we have launched a GOTV kick-off for October 28th. This should be our single most important campaign event. The
format of the day will be quite similar to that of the successful September 16th Canvass Kick-Off. Top administration spokesmen, celebrities, and athletes will appear in 56 cities in 24 states. (Proposed schedule at Tab D.) The purposes of the Kick-off are as follows:

1. Stress the high priority which must be placed on pre-election and election day activities to get out our vote. Dangers of apathy and overconfidence, etc.

2. Emphasize the massive number of volunteers needed to help the President on election day to ensure a mandate from the voters for the next four years.

3. Survey preparations for election day in the area visited by the surrogates.

4. Recruit and give definite election day assignments to volunteers who come to meet the surrogates.

Each surrogate will visit several headquarters and one phone center in the city he will visit, speaking on the importance of election day turnout and making a public appeal for Nixon election day volunteers, and making pre-election reminder phone calls for PR purposes. Everyone present will be signed up for Get-Out-The-Vote and election day activity.

A memo informing State Chairmen of the GOTV kick-off and giving the location of the place of each GOTV kick-off, has been sent to the 24 states. Although we are only supplying surrogates in 24 states, we are suggesting that the remaining states also plan a GOTV kick-off, and a memo outlining this has been sent to the other states. The RNC is joining with the CREP in dividing the responsibility of the October 28th kick-off.

We are using a press project manager, Dick Nellius, to coordinate other public relations activities as well as the Kick-Off. A tentative PR outline for the GOTV Kick-Off is included at Tab D.

CONCLUSION

The plan for GOTV has been reviewed and approved by many of the top professionals in the field. However, it is really the job of the Regional Directors and the state leadership to implement the GOTV program. Therefore, they must be totally enthusiastic, must understand the program, and should follow the guidelines that have been laid out very closely. Each Regional Director
will work out a formal GOTV plan with each of his state chairmen after state workshops are held. This plan will include priority counties, number of phone banks to be used, number of Loan-A-Phone operators secured, number of volunteers needed, how volunteers will be recruited, lists to be used, etc. Plans should be submitted to me no later than October 25th.

If our GOTV plan is followed and effectively implemented, it could be one of the most successful voter turnout programs in history, both mechanically and PR wise. I will look forward to any comments or directions from you on this plan.

Attachments
## Key and Marginal States and States With Important Senate Races

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MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN AND CO-CHAIRMEN
COUNTY CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN
COUNTY AND AREA HEADQUARTERS CHAIRMEN

FROM: FREDERIC V. MALEK
DEPUTY CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: County "Get-Out-The-Vote" Plans

October 7, 1972

Voter apathy and overconfidence affects millions of the President's supporters this year. Because of widespread complacency, voters will not go to the polls on November 7 as required unless the campaign dramatically shifts focus later in October from voter identification to crucial "Get-Out-The-Vote" activities.

A copy of the recommended county Nixon program for "Get-Out-The-Vote" is enclosed for you. Included is both a County Calendar and County Plan for voter turnout activities. Slight changes in the outlined program may be required in order to fit your state and county needs.

Between now and November 7, please place your highest priority on (1) locating all Nixon supporters through door-to-door and telephone canvassing and (2) preparing to get every supporter to the polls on election day.

Keep up your fine work until every favorable vote is turned out and counted.

Enclosures: 1. County Calendar for "Get-Out-The-Vote" preparations
2. County "Get-Out-The-Vote" Plan
3. Election Day Check-off List
1. Early October - Name a county chairman and also area chairmen for Get-Out-The-Vote (GOTV) activities. Recruit other GOTV leaders: a chairman for volunteer recruitment, GOTV phoning, poll checking, victory squads, ballot security, and chairmen for each phone headquarters. Canvas Chairman and all GOTV leaders need to map out county voter turnout program.

2. October 10 - Determine how many phones you will need to call all supporters. (40 to 50 calls per hour per phone.) Designate area phone headquarters and precincts to be called from each. Arrange to use phones in (1) existing phone centers and headquarters, and (2) facilities loaned by unincorporated businesses.*

3. October 22-26 - Schedule a county Get-Out-The-Vote Workshop. A 15 minute tape presentation prepared by the national campaign, "The Only Poll That Counts," will be available thru state headquarters for use at this workshop.

4. October 23 - Begin preparing in triplicate a master list of supporters. Computerized counties will generally prepare supporter lists in phone centers on computer printout sheets. Non-computerized counties place all supporters on Election Day Check-Off Lists - start this clerical work on October 16. Include on supporter lists names from the door-to-door and phone canvass and all registered Republicans. Non-party registration states add GOP Priority voters. (Where canvassing was not completed, add to the turnout list all voters in high priority precincts.)

5. October 24 - Determine the number of volunteers needed for each activity and BEGIN AN ALL OUT GOTV RECRUITMENT EFFORT.**

   A. Pre-election Day Phoners  E. Runners
   B. Election Day Phoners  F. Clerical Workers
   C. Poll Checkers (where permitted)  G. Drivers (for rides to the polls)
   D. Door-to-Door Victory Squads

6. October 24 - Begin recruiting poll watchers for ballot security in precincts with a record of past irregularities and also in precincts where we consistently receive less than 30% of the vote.

7. November 4-6 - Reminder calls to volunteers committed to help on election day.

* Install additional phones if needed for voter turnout activities. Approval of your State Pre-election Executive Director must be obtained before ordering more phone. In the name of the Nixon campaign to conform with the Campaign Spending Act and stay within the bounds of your state budget.

** See "County 'Get-Out-The-Vote' Plan" outline for specific voter turnout activity dates and guidelines.
1. VOTER TURNOUT ACTIVITIES:
   A. Pre-election reminder and recruitment calls to all supporters:
      October 23 – November 6. (25 calls per hour per phone)
   B. Election Day Reminder Calls – November 7. (40 – 50 calls per hour per phone)
   C. Poll Checking (where permitted): November 7 (2 checkers per precinct)
   D. Door-to-Door Victory Squads: November 7 (1 volunteer per 40 houses, see "B." below)

2. MATERIALS PROVIDED BY THE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT:
   A. Pre-election Phone Conversation Order all materials from your
      State Campaign Headquarters
   B. Election Day Phone Conversation
   C. Instructions for Poll Checkers
   D. Instructions for Victory Squad Volunteers
   E. Election Day Check-Off List (triplicate form for listing all supporters)
   F. Election Day Not-at-Home Doorhanger
   G. Election Day Volunteer Assignment Cards
   H. Nixon Headquarters/Storefront Election Day Master Control Panel
   I. Poll Watchers Guide – Target ’72 (for ballot security use)

3. PREPARATION OF SUPPORTER LIST FOR VOTER TURNOUT USE:
   A. Using clerical volunteers start October 23 or earlier to prepare one master
      supporter list in triplicate by precinct from these sources:
      (1) Canvassing, both door-to-door and phone.
      (2) Registered Republicans or GOP Primary Voters.
      (3) All registered voters in high priority precincts where canvassing has
          not been completed.
   B. Poll checking counties should prepare list in alphabetical order.
      Prepare list in street and block sequence when poll checking is not allowed,
      for convenient use by Victory Squads.
      (1) Non-computerized counties place supporters on Election Day Check-Off
      List.
      (2) Computerized counties will generally prepare master supporter lists in
          phone centers on alphabetical computer printout sheets.

4. VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT FOR VOTER TURNOUT:
   A. Determine the number of volunteers needed for each activity. (See "1." for
      volunteer formulas.)
   B. VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT CHAIRMAN MUST START A MASSIVE DRIVE FOR VOLUN-
      TEERS ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24. Order Election Day Volunteer Assignment
      Cards from your State Campaign Headquarters.
   C. Phone for volunteers from:
      (1) All campaign headquarters and phone centers
      (2) Hostess/Business Telephone Centers (unincorporated businesses only)
      (3) Hostess Phone Centers (houses)
   D. Call these volunteer sources:
      (1) Republican Women’s Clubs members and Young Republicans
      (2) Nixon Citizens Groups and Voter Blocs
      (3) Republican Democratic Chairs and other Party workers
      (4) Young Voters for the President
      (5) All Nixon volunteers
      (6) Registered Republicans and GOP Primary Voters
      (7) Friends, relatives, service club members, etc.

5. PRE-ELECTION REMINDER AND PHONETIC TELEPHONE MESSAGES: OCTOBER 30 – NOVEMBER 6
   A. Use conversation provided by State Campaign Headquarters.
   B. Phone all listees from first copy of supporter list (See "3. A & B")

(End)
6. ELECTION DAY PHONING: (Use Conversation Provided)

A. Poll Checking Counties - coordinate phoning with poll checking: (see "7. B")
   (1) Start phoning supporters, who have not voted, no later than 12:00 noon, using copy of supporter list which runner brings to the phone center from the poll checker. (Supporters who have voted will have been marked off your list by the poll checker.)
   (2) Runner will bring one or two additional updates of supporters who have voted to the phone center. The updates will replace the previous call list.
   (3) Phoneers continue calling supporters until the polls close.

B. Non-Poll Checking Counties:
   (1) Start phoning all supporters at 10:00 a.m.
   (2) Continue phoning until the polls close. Two hours before voting start, begin recalling all supporters who had NOT voted as of the first call.

7. POLL CHECKING/POLL WATCHING (WHERE PERMITTED):

A. Advance Preparations:
   (1) Determine precincts (priority areas) where you will poll check.
   (2) Recruit the number of poll checkers needed, two or more per precinct.
   (3) Obtain legal certification required for poll checkers to enter polls.
   (4) Give each poll checker a copy of "Instructions for Poll Checkers."
   (5) Arrange to have at least one poll checker in each precinct to obtain the bottom two copies of that precinct's Election Day Check-Off List of Nixon supporters.

B. Election Day:
   (1) Poll checkers work through names of supporters as they vote.
   (2) Runner picks up first copy of marked supporter list from poll checker about 11:30 a.m. and delivers it to phone center.
   (3) Runner picks up second copy of marked supporter list from poll checker 4 or 5 hours (no later than 4:00 p.m.) before the polls close & delivers copy to headquarters where Victory Squads are assembling. (If Victory Squads are not used, because list is alphabetical, take copy to phoneers.)
   (4) After runner picks up the final copy of the supporter list, poll checkers start a handwritten list of all who vote from then on. Two hours before the polls close, a runner should pick up your handwritten list to take to the phoneers.

8. BALLOT SECURITY: COORDINATE WITH YOUR STATE BALLOT SECURITY CHAIRMAN

A. Determine precincts where Poll Watchers will be required to insure a fair election and accurate returns. (Precincts with a history of irregularities and those where we consistently receive less than 30% of the vote.)
B. Recruit two or more Poll Watchers for each such precinct. Obtain required LEGAL CERTIFICATIONS for entry to the polls.
C. Give each watcher a copy of "Poll Watchers Guide - Target '72."
D. Hold a Ballot Security School to train Poll Watchers.
E. Watchers must report to the polls 30 minutes before they open and remain until the returns are final and official.
F. Give each watcher a phone number to call for help on election day where an attorney, well versed in the state election law, can be reached all day.

9. DOOR-TO-DOOR VICTORY SQUADS:

A. Victory Squads assemble at a designated area headquarters at a set time in the afternoon (3:00 - 4:00 p.m.) on Election Day.
B. Each volunteer receives an Election Day Check-Off List, or other "favorable" list, with supporters who have already voted marked off. Runner delivers list from poll checker or in non-poll checking counties from phoneers. (Explained in "7. B")
C. Volunteers call on supporters marked as not voting. Each receives a supporter list, 20 Election Day Door Hangers, a name tag, and a copy of "Instructions for Victory Squad Volunteers."

10. COORDINATE WITH VICTORY ACTIVITIES AND DIRECTOR RECRUITMENT WITH STATE AND LOCAL CONV, WRITING OCCASIONAL LETTERS VICTORY LETTERS TO CONSTITUENTS. It's important not to duplicate and waste resources in order for as many precincts as possible to be covered on Election Day.
DEPLOYING NATIONAL RE-ELECTION COMMITTEE
STAFF TO THE FIELD
October 16 - November 7

October 9, 1972

1. Request staff to depart D.C. on Monday evening, October 16. One of their assignments for the week of the 16th will be for the new field staff to attend state Get Out The Vote workshops scheduled for that week.

2. Send staff to key and marginal states and states with important Senate races:

   1. California
   2. New York
   3. Pennsylvania
   4. Michigan
   5. Missouri
   6. Wisconsin
   7. Minnesota
   8. Washington
   9. Oregon
   10. Massachusetts
   11. West Virginia
   12. Illinois
   13. Ohio
   14. Texas
   15. Maryland
   16. Connecticut
   17. Rhode Island
   18. New Jersey
   19. North Carolina
   20. Georgia
   21. Kentucky
   22. Oklahoma
   23. New Mexico
   24. South Dakota
   25. Idaho

3. Arrange to send from 50 to 100 National Committee to Re-elect staff to the field. Staff will be working at the county level in these states on preparations for - and the implementation of our voter turnout program.

4. Week of October 9 select staff members who are to go out to the field.

5. On Monday, October 16, starting at 9:00 A.M., train staff going to the field. Make assignments, introduce to Regional Directors, and Field Representatives in afternoon.

6. Each staff person assigned to a state must work for one of the following (to be determined by Rick Fore) in order for their effort to be well-coordinated and so that our new field staff will be informed on the program leadership and personalities in the particular state.

   (a) Regional Director
   (b) National Field Rep.
   (c) RNC Field Rep.

In the absence of one of the above the contact would be a member of the State CREP Staff. Their first contact before meeting with county or city leaders must be with this staff person.

7. Once in the state each new field staff member reports back to the national campaign through the Political Division staff person to whom they are assigned.

8. Most important - These staff members are to assist local county leaders. THEY DO NOT DIRECT. We cannot superimpose another structure on top of the present organizational layers.
MEMORANDUM FOR: RICK FORE
FROM: DICK NELLIUS
SUBJECT: Media Plan for Get-Out-The-Vote Kick-Off, October 28th

Getting out a massive vote for President Nixon is what the campaign is all about — and the Get-Out-The-Vote Kick-Off on October 28th can be considered the most important single effort in achieving that goal. Making the GOTV Kick-Off an outstanding success will require the biggest press and public relations campaign yet undertaken by the Committee to Re-elect the President.

An effective Kick-Off will underscore the fact that the Nixon Campaign has out-organized McGovern, beating him at his own game, as well as stress the people-to-people aspect of the Nixon campaign, recruit new volunteers and emphasize the importance of voting on Election Day.

If properly coordinated, the Kick-Off should have greater media — and public — impact than the September 16th Canvass Kick-Off. The GOTV Kick-Off will have the same advantage in using prominent Nixon spokesmen and celebrities who in themselves generate news, and have the added impact of being much closer to Election Day when public interest in politics is at a high.

An effective media campaign will require:

1. The combined efforts of the Committee to Re-elect and Republican National Committee press and public relations staffs, as well as regional, state, and local media people.
2. Selection of a full-time coordinator to ride herd on the entire media effort and serve as liaison with the Political Division which has overall responsibility for making the Get-Out-The-Vote campaign a success.

Suggested time-table:

— Immediately schedule meeting of Committee to Re-elect and RNC media staffs to outline program and assign responsibilities; contact state and regional press people in affected states and do likewise.
October 28th Media Plan

Promptly begin preparing background paper on need to get-out-the-vote effort, statistics etc., generous use of scare tactics on how McGovern people are willing to work day and night for their man and we could wake up one morning and find the election has been stolen from us. Also prepare suggested speech material for use of surrogates.

Prepare TV and radio tapes with MacGregor, Malek and surrogate announcing the Kick-Off in as many key communities as possible. Each tape should be geared for the local audience.

MacGregor and Malek have joint press conference on October 17th, in early afternoon, timed for 6 p.m. news. MacGregor should explain the Kick-Off and why; Malek follows with specific details, naming cities and identifying some of the surrogates who will be participating. As teaser for follow-up, Malek should announce date when complete details will be released.

A press release should be prepared as well. Discussion must be limited to the Get-Out-The-Vote Kick-Off; if get in to Watergate etc., that will dominate the news and the Kick-Off will be buried in the bottom of the story.

October 19th, State Chairmen announce heads of Get-Out-The-Vote campaign in each community, where held, time, etc. Release mailed to weeklies.

October 23, joint MacGregor-Malek press conference releasing details on surrogates, who going where, etc. Radio and TV tapes should be enroute to communities for use the following day.

October 25, Kick-Off press team contacts every newspaper, radio, TV station, local wire service representatives, in each community about the Kick-Off. List must be kept of who contacted and supervisory personnel should make spot checks form this list.

October 26th, Kick-Off press team calls back everyone contacted earlier in the week, reminding them of the Kick-Off and insuring local coverage is planned.

This must be checked, checked and checked again. State and local press people should be used as well. However, experience with Canvass Kick-Off shows the bulk of the media effort -- and the work -- must be done at the National level to insure maximum results.
October 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Gordon Strachan
SUBJECT: Turnaround Commercial and Buchanan Attack Post

**Turnaround Commercial**

You have indicated that you were going to talk to John Connally regarding running the "attack McGovern's credibility Turnaround TV ad". Currently, Connally has instructed Magruder not to run any DPN commercials, including the Turnaround scheduled for the week of October 16, because DPN has not raised sufficient funds.

You noted in reviewing the TV schedule for next week that the Turnaround should not be run by CRP. MacGregor feels strongly that the Turnaround must be run next week even if it is to be run by CRP.

The November Group has the spot under both bylines and could shift from the current CRP billing to DPN if the problem with Connally has been resolved.

--- Run Turnaround under CRP byline.
--- Run Turnaround under DPN byline
--- Other.

**Buchanan - Attack Post**

Buchanan has mentioned in the last two Political Media Analyses that a decision must be made as to whether there
is a frontal attack on the Washington Post's reporting of
the campaign sabotage and smears. Buchanan feels strongly
that such an attack on the Post should be launched to pre-
pare the climate against further espionage stories.
Buchanan discounts the danger of having other media rally
to the Post's defense because CBS is hitting us pretty
hard already.

You may want to discuss this at the Political meeting.

GS/jb
October 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB HAGHEDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Election Night Program

The October 6th Ray Caldiero memo on celebrity activity has been read and only one concern expressed. That concerns page 2, paragraph 5, Election Night Program, in which Caldiero discussed the plans to bring top celebrities to be used for alternate TV programming. It was noted that, "Don't con them into thinking they're playing for the President". Will you cover this with Ray and advise me of the results?

GS/jb
MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: RAYMOND CALDERO
SUBJECT: CELEBRITY ACTIVITY

As requested, the attached represents the celebrity activity for the month of October as of October 3, 1972.

In addition, plans are being formulated to utilize the celebrities in the following additional activities:

1) October 28, 1972 - "Get out the Vote Kick-off" in all Key States

2) Three major youth shows:
   October 20, 1972 - Chicago
   October 24, 1972 - Los Angeles
   October 29, 1972 - Washington, D. C.

   These shows will be patterned after the Miami Marine Stadium Rally at the Convention, and will be produced by Mike Viner from NGM, under the auspices of our newly created division: "Performers for the President".

3) October 12, 1972 - Entertainment for Presidential arrival in Atlanta, Georgia. Currently set for entertainment in four key locations along Presidential motorcade route are:
   -- Tommy Roe & Band (for teenage attraction)
   -- The Tams (for Black attraction)
   -- The Classics Four (for 21 - 35 attraction)
   -- The Atlanta Rhythm Section (tentative)
4) Celebrity Media Plan - We are implementing a media plan for all of our celebrities utilizing television, radio, talk shows, newspaper interviews, etc. News releases and press conferences will be set up for our "Big Names" toward the end of the month.

5) Election Night Program - Planning on bringing to Washington approximately ten (10) of our top celebrities to be used for alternate T.V. programming, as well as to participate in a Star Studded Show. Current thinking for entertainment for the evening: Lionel Hampton, Pete Fountain, Rock Band, Local Dixieland Band, Sonny & Cher, "The Carpenters", plus ... (Planning and idea stage only).

Attachment
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Celebrities</th>
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| October 5 | Annual 19th Ward Fund Raising Dinner  
Chicago, Illinois | Cesar Romero                 |
| 6     | Older American Forum Fund Raising Luncheon  
San Francisco, California | Milton Berle                 |
| 7     | CREP Fund Raising Dinner  
New Orleans, Louisiana | Lainie Kazan                 |
| 7/8   | Two Day CREP Outdoor Fund Raising Event  
St. Louis, Missouri (Lee Hunter Farm) | Bob Sterling  
Jane Russell  
Buzz Aldrin  
Anne Jeffries  
Arlene Dahl  
Dale Robertson  
Bob Cummings |
| 8     | Gathering of Republicans in Wolf Pond Park  
Staten Island, New York | Erik Blythe  
Clare Manley  
Bonnie Murray |
| 8     | Columbus Day '72 Italian-American Dinner  
Washington, D. C. | Vice President Agnew  
John Wayne  
Glenn Ford  
Jimmy Stewart  
Ava Gabor  
Rosalind Russell  
Foster Brooks  
Lainie Kazan  
Miere Brothers  
Scat Man Crothers |
| 9     | Orange County CREP Fund Raising Dinner & Show  
New York, New York | Julia Mead  
Dina Merrill |
| 12   | Presidential and Statewide GOP Rally and Fund Raising Dinner  
Macon, Georgia | June Allyson                 |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Celebrities</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13/14/15</td>
<td>Young Voters for the President Campus Tour Lincoln, Omaha, Grand Island &amp; Beatrice, Nebr.</td>
<td>Maureen Reagan Chris Connelly</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>RNC Supported Bob Price for Re-election Fund Raising Barbecue Amarillo, Texas</td>
<td>Mike Landon</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>CREP Evening of Entertainment Midland Michigan</td>
<td>Pat Boone</td>
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<tr>
<td>15-21</td>
<td>CREP Spanish Speaking Blitz Dallas, Texas</td>
<td>Lita Baron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17/18</td>
<td>The Dinah Shore Show Los Angeles, California</td>
<td>Rosalind Russell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Italian-American Fund Raising Dinner Boston, Massachusetts</td>
<td>Connie Francis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Vanderburgh County Republican Central Committee Fund Raising Dinner Evansville, Indiana</td>
<td>Jimmy Stewart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>CREP &amp; Republican State Central Committee Fund Raising Dinner Des Moines, Iowa</td>
<td>Meredith Wilson</td>
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The purpose of this memo is to outline for your review and comments our complete plans and progress for the Get-Out-the-Vote drive. After outlining the basic GOTV activities, the memo will cover support being provided and public relations plans.

**GOTV ACTIVITIES**

Although GOTV will be a major focus in all states, we will target our resources on the 24 states listed in Tab A. These are key states, marginal states, or states where our activity may make the difference in a U.S. Senate race. We further plan on targeting in key states by analyzing counties and precincts in which our GOTV effort might be more productive. We are presently working with Dan Evans of the Polling Operation, who is providing us with rankings of precincts for GOTV operations.

As you know, there are four basic activities that will be used in the 1972 campaign for GOTV: (1) Pre-election reminder and recruitment calls to all supporters; (2) Election Day Phoning; (3) Poll Checking; and (4) Door-to-Door Victory Squads. Pre-election phone calls will be placed to all favorable voters that have been identified and to known Republicans. In the key states and all other states, a large number of additional phones will be obtained from our Hostess and Loan-A-Phone operations.

It is generally agreed that the most important campaign phone call is that on election day to try to get the voters to the polls. Therefore, our greatest effort will be on election day phoning. Election day phoning will differ for locations where poll checking is permitted and where poll checking is not permitted as follows:

1. In Poll Checking Counties we will coordinate phoning with poll checking. We will start phoning supporters who have not voted no
later than noon, using the first copy of the supporter list which a runner brings to the phone center from the poll checker. Phoners then continue calling these supporters up until the polls close, calling from updated lists of those supporters who have voted, brought to phone centers later in the day by runners.

2. In non-Poll Checking Counties we will start phoning all supporters at 10:00 a.m. and continue phoning until the polls close. Two hours before the polls are to close, we will begin recalling all supporters who had not voted as of the first call.

Poll checking, or checking off of our voters as they vote, can be one of the most effective election day activities. It is the only sure way we can determine whether our voters have gone to the polls. This is necessary so we can call our favorable voters that haven't voted and prod them to cast their votes for the President. Advance preparation for poll checking is quite complex and will require a huge number of volunteers. Ideally, we want to cover all precincts if there is adequate manpower.

The final aspect of our GOTV activities will be where our volunteers go door-to-door in a final effort to get all voters to the polls. Victory Squads will assemble at a designated area headquarters at about 4:00 p.m., each volunteer will receive a list of supporters who have not voted, runners deliver lists from poll checkers or in non-poll checking counties, from phone locations, and door-to-door volunteers then call on supporters who have not voted.

**Support**

Support will be provided in materials, manpower, and training.

**Materials.** GOTV materials include pre-election reminder phone conversations, election day phone conversations, poll checking instructions, election day check-off lists, door hangers, and victory squad instructions. All of this material has been prepared and shipped to the states. In addition, a broad-based 6,000 piece mailing to State Campaign Chairmen and Co-Chairmen County Campaign Chairmen, and County and Area Headquarters Chairmen, detailing GOTV plans, has been sent. (See Tab B.)

**Manpower.** Our GOTV effort will only be as good as our campaign leadership. In essence, we can expect a good voter turnout program where we have had a good canvassing program. The line responsibility of seeing that the states are prepared, and do perform GOTV activities, is that of the Regional Directors. The task of training and assistance on implementation of state leadership and Regional Directors is that of the National Field Representatives.
We plan two methods of providing the additional manpower necessary for our GOTV effort. First, we will join with other Republican candidates where possible and have a combined GOTV effort. Secondly, we will deploy a large number of our Washington staff to the field on October 16th. In order to facilitate the GOTV with other candidates, we will prepare letters from you to Republican House and Senate candidates and state and local CREP committees. In addition, we will prepare a letter from Senator Bob Dole to GOP leadership across the country asking them to join with CREP in voter turnout. After this is done, we will involve other Republican candidates and the GOP in state and county workshops on GOTV. Our campaign staff here in Washington has often been criticized for being too heavy. While this may not be true, it is certainly advisable to mobilize a large number of people here in Washington to the field, since our greatest contribution of planning the campaign here in Washington is over. (See Tab C for mobilization plan.)

Training. Workshop sessions that were held over the last two months on canvassing were most helpful to the states and counties, and the workshop sessions on GOTV should be of even greater assistance. In preparation for the workshops, we have sent out an outline of the GOTV program. In addition, we are in the final stages of production of The Only Poll That Counts, a 17-minute slide presentation on GOTV. This will be used for instructional and motivational purposes in the field. Approximately 400 copies of this video slide and audio cassette presentation will be available for distribution to the states on October 14th. In addition, 2,000 copies of an audio cassette presentation will be available between October 14th and October 18th.

Regional Directors, Field Representatives, and other national staff being sent to the field will receive an intense orientation on GOTV by October 16th. Workshop sessions for state, county, and GOP staff have been scheduled for 23 states between October 16th and October 21st. These sessions will provide a comprehensive explanation of the GOTV program and will include the slide presentation and a verbal presentation by a National Field Representative. After attending the state workshops, county leaders will then schedule countywide workshops in key counties between October 22nd and the 26th. The slide presentation will be available for all target county meetings and enough audio cassette presentations will be distributed to cover every other county meeting in America.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

In order to force the states to start on GOTV activities and promote our voter turnout program, for the present we have launched a GOTV kick-off for October 28th. This should be our single most important campaign event. The
format of the day will be quite similar to that of the successful September 16th Canvass Kick-Off. Top administration spokesmen, celebrities, and athletes will appear in 56 cities in 24 states. (Proposed schedule at Tab D.) The purposes of the Kick-off are as follows:

1. Stress the high priority which must be placed on pre-election and election day activities to get out our vote. Dangers of apathy and overconfidence, etc.

2. Emphasize the massive number of volunteers needed to help the President on election day to ensure a mandate from the voters for the next four years.

3. Survey preparations for election day in the area visited by the surrogates.

4. Recruit and give definite election day assignments to volunteers who come to meet the surrogates.

Each surrogate will visit several headquarters and one phone center in the city he will visit, speaking on the importance of election day turnout and making a public appeal for Nixon election day volunteers, and making pre-election reminder phone calls for PR purposes. Everyone present will be signed up for Get-Out-The-Vote and election day activity.

A memo informing State Chairmen of the GOTV kick-off and giving the location of the place of each GOTV kick-off, has been sent to the 24 states. Although we are only supplying surrogates in 24 states, we are suggesting that the remaining states also plan a GOTV kick-off, and a memo outlining this has been sent to the other states. The RNC is joining with the CREP in dividing the responsibility of the October 28th kick-off.

We are using a press project manager, Dick Nellius, to coordinate other public relations activities as well as the Kick-Off. A tentative PR outline for the GOTV Kick-Off is included at Tab D.

CONCLUSION

The plan for GOTV has been reviewed and approved by many of the top professionals in the field. However, it is really the job of the Regional Directors and the state leadership to implement the GOTV program. Therefore, they must be totally enthusiastic, must understand the program, and should follow the guidelines that have been laid out very closely. Each Regional Director
will work out a formal GOTV plan with each of his state chairmen after state workshops are held. This plan will include priority counties, number of phone banks to be used, number of Loan-A-Phone operators secured, number of volunteers needed, how volunteers will be recruited, lists to be used, etc. Plans should be submitted to me no later than October 25th.

If our GOTV plan is followed and effectively implemented, it could be one of the most successful voter turnout programs in history, both mechanically and PR wise. I will look forward to any comments or directions from you on this plan.

Attachments
Key and Marginal States and States With Important Senate Races

1. California
2. New York
3. Pennsylvania
4. Michigan
5. Missouri
6. Wisconsin
7. Minnesota
8. Washington
9. Oregon
10. Massachusetts
11. West Virginia
12. Illinois
13. Ohio
14. Texas
15. Maryland
16. Connecticut
17. Rhode Island
18. New Jersey
19. North Carolina
20. Georgia
21. Kentucky
22. Oklahoma
23. New Mexico
24. South Dakota
25. Idaho
Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN AND CO-CHAIRMEN
COUNTY CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN
COUNTY AND AREA HEADQUARTERS CHAIRMEN

FROM: FREDERIC V. MALEK
DEPUTY CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: County "Get-Out-The-Vote" Plans

October 7, 1972

Voter apathy and overconfidence affects millions of the President's supporters this year. Because of widespread complacency, our voters will not go to the polls on November 7 as required unless the campaign dramatically shifts focus later in October from voter identification to crucial "Get-Out-The-Vote" activities.

A copy of the recommended county Nixon program for "Get-Out-The-Vote" is enclosed for you. Included is both a County Calendar and County Plan for voter turnout activities. Slight changes in the outlined program may be required in order to fit your state and county needs.

Between now and November 7, please place your highest priority on (1) locating all Nixon supporters through door-to-door and telephone canvassing and (2) preparing to get every supporter to the polls on election day.

Keep up your fine work until every favorable vote is turned out and counted.

Enclosures: 1. County Calendar for "Get-Out-The-Vote" preparations
2. County "Get-Out-The-Vote" Plan
3. Election Day Check-off List
1. Early October - Name a county chairman and also area chairmen for Get-Out-The-Vote (GOTV) activities. Recruit other GOTV LEADERS: a chairman for volunteer recruit, GOTV phoning, poll checking, victory squads, ballot security, and chairman for each phone headquarters. Canvas Chairman and all GOTV leaders meet to map out county voter turnout program.

2. October 10 - Determine how many phones you will need to call all supporters. (40 to 50 calls per hour per phone.) Designate area phone headquarters and precincts to be called from each. Arrange to use phones in (1) existing phone centers and headquarters, and (2) facilities loaned by unincorporated businesses.*

3. October 22-26 - Schedule a county Get-Out-The-Vote Workshop. A 15 minute tape presentation prepared by the national campaign, "The Only Poll That Counts," will be available thru state headquarters for use at this workshop.

4. October 23 - Begin preparing in triplicate a master list of supporters. Computerized counties will generally prepare supporter lists in phone centers on computer printout sheets. Non-computerized counties place all supporters on Election Day Check-Off Lists - start this clerical work on October 16. Include on supporter lists names from the door-to-door and phone canvass for all registered Republicans. Non-party registration states add GOTV Priorty Voters. (Where canvassing was not completed, add to the turnout list all voters in high priority precincts.)

5. October 26 - Determine the number of volunteers needed for each activity and BEGIN AN ALL OUT GOTV RECRUITMENT EFFORT.**
   A. Pre-election Day Phoners
   B. Election Day Phoners
   C. Poll Checkers (where permitted)
   D. Door-to-Door Victory Squads
   E. Runners
   F. Clerical Workers
   G. Drivers (for rides to the polls)

6. October 26 - Begin recruiting poll watchers for ballot security in precincts with a record of past irregularities and also in precincts where we consistently receive less than 30% of the vote.

7. November 4-6 - Remind calls to volunteers committed to help on election day.

* Install additional phones if needed for voter turnout activities. Approval of your State Re-election Executive Director must be obtained before ordering more phones. In the name of the Nixon campaign to conform with the Campaign Spending Act and stay within the bounds of your state budget.

** See "County 'Get-Out-The-Vote' Plan" outline for specific voter turnout activity dates and guidelines.
COMMITEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

COUNTY "GET-OUT-THE-VOTE" PLAN

1. VOTER TURNOUT ACTIVITIES:
   A. Pre-election reminder and recruitment calls to all supporters:
      October 12 - November 6 (25 calls per hour per phone)
   B. Election Day Reminder Calls - November 7 (40 - 50 calls per hour per phone)
   C. Poll Checking (where permitted): November 7 (2 checkers per precinct)
   D. Door-to-Door Victory Squads: November 7 (1 volunteer per 40 houses, see "9" below)

2. MATERIALS PROVIDED BY THE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT:
   A. Pre-election Phone Conversation Order all materials from your
   B. Election Day Phone Conversation State Campaign Headquarters
   C. Instructions for Poll Checkers
   D. Instructions for Victory Squad Volunteers
   E. Election Day Check-Off List (triplicate form for listing all supporters)
   F. Election Day Pre-Home Doorhanger
   G. Election Day Volunteer Assignment Cards
   H. Nixon Headquarters/Storefront Election Day Master Control Panel
   I. Poll Watchers Guide - Target '72 (for ballot security use)

3. PREPARATION OF SUPPORTER LIST FOR VOTER TURNOUT USE:
   A. Using clerical volunteers start October 23 or earlier to prepare one master
      supporter list in triplicate by precinct from these sources:
      (1) Canvassing, both door-to-door and phone.
      (2) Registered Republicans or GOP Primary Voters.
      (3) All previous canvassings of precincts where canvassing has
         not been completed.
   B. Poll checking counties should prepare list in alphabetical order.
      Prepare list in street and block sequence when poll checking is not
      allowed, for convenient use by Victory Squads.
      (1) Non-computerized counties place supporters on Election Day Check-Off
         List.
      (2) Computerized counties will generally prepare master supporter lists in
         phone centers on alphabetical computer printout sheets.

4. VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT FOR VOTER TURNOUT:
   A. Determine the number of volunteers needed for each activity. (See "1." for
      volunteer formulas.)
   B. YOUR VOLUNTEERS RECRUITMENT CHAIRMAN MUST START A MASSIVE DRIVE FOR VOLUNTEERS ON OCTOBER 24. Order Election Day Volunteer Assignment
      Cards from your State Campaign Headquarters.
   C. Phone for volunteers from:
      (1) All campaign headquarters and phone centers
      (2) Hostess/Business Telephone Centers (unincorporated businesses only)
      (3) Hostess Phone Centers (homen)
   D. Call these volunteer groups:
      (1) Republican Women's Club members and Young Republicans
      (2) Nixon Citizens Groups and Voter Blocs
      (3) Republican Precinct Chairmen and other Party workers
      (4) Young Voters for the President
      (5) All Nixon volunteer lists
      (6) Registered Republicans and GOP Primary Voters
      (7) Friends, relatives, service club members, etc.

5. PRE-ELECTION REMINDER AND PRECINCT POINTERS: OCTOBER 20 - NOVEMBER 6
   A. Use conversation provided by State Campaign Headquarter.
   B. Phone all favorebles from first copy of supporter list (See "3", A & B)

(01/17/72)
6. ELECTION DAY PHONING: (Use Conversation Provided)

A. Poll Checking Counties - coordinate phoning with poll checking: (See "7. B")
   (1) Start phoning supporters, who have not voted, no later than 12:00 noon.
   Use copy of supporter list which runner brings to the phone center.
   (Supporters who have voted will have been marked off your list by the poll checker.)
   (2) Runner will bring one or two additional updates of supporters who have voted to the phone center.
   The updates will replace the previous call list.
   (3) Phoneers continue calling supporters until the polls close.

B. Non-Poll Checking Counties:
   (1) Start phoning all supporters at 10:00 a.m.
   (2) Continue phoning until the polls close. Two hours before voting stops, begin recalling all supporters who had not voted at the first call.

7. POLL CHECKING/POLL WATCHING (WHERE PERMITTED):

A. Advance Preparations:
   (1) Determine precincts (priority areas) where you will poll check.
   (2) Recruit the number of poll checkers needed, two or more per precinct.
   (3) Obtain legal certification required for poll checkers to enter polls.
   (4) Give each poll checker a copy of "Instructions for Poll Checkers."
   (5) Arrange by November 6 for one poll checker in each precinct to obtain the bottom two copies of that precinct's Election Day Check-Off List of Nixon supporters.

B. Election Day:
   (1) Poll checkers mark through names of supporters as they vote.
   (2) Runner picks up first copy of marked supporter list from poll checker about 11:30 a.m. and delivers it to phone center.
   (3) Runner picks up second copy of marked supporter list from poll checker 2 or 3 hours before the polls close and delivers copy to headquarters where Victory Squads are assembling. (If Victory Squads are not used, because list is alphabetical, take copy to phone center.)
   (4) After runner picks up the final copy of the supporter list, poll checkers start a handwritten list of all who vote from then on. Two hours before the polls close, a runner should pick up your handwritten list to take to the phone center.

8. BALLOT SECURITY: COORDINATE WITH YOUR STATE BALLOT SECURITY CHAIRMAN -

A. Determine precincts where Poll Watchers will be required to insure a fair election and accurate returns. (Precincts with a history of irregularities and those where we consistently receive less than 30% of the vote.)
B. Recruit two or more Poll Watchers for each such precinct. Obtain required legal certification for entry to the polls.
C. Give each watcher a copy of "Poll Watchers Guide - Target '72."
D. Hold a Ballot Security School to train Poll Watchers.
E. Watchers must report to the polls 30 minutes before they open and remain until the returns are final and official. Each watcher also reports on election day where an attorney, well versed in the state election law, can be reached all day.

9. DOOR-TO-DOOR VICTORY SQUADS:

A. Victory Squads assemble at a designated area headquarters at a set time in the afternoon (3:00 - 4:00 p.m.) on Election Day.
B. Each volunteer receives an Election Day Check-Off List, or other "Favorables" list, with supporters who have already voted marked off. Runner delivers list from poll checker or in non-poll checking counties from phone center. (Explain in "3") under "7. B")
C. Volunteer calls on supporters marked as not voting. Each receives a supporter list, 20 Election Day hour tags, a name tag, and a copy of "Instructions For Victory Squad Volunteers."

10. COORDINATE VOTES THROUGH ACTIVITIES AND VOLUNTEER REQUIREMENTS WITH STATE AND LOCAL PARTY HEADQUARTERS AND WITH YOUR COUNTY PARTY EXECUTIVES. Its report must not to duplicate and waste resources in order for an area precincts as possible to be covered on Election Day.
October 9, 1972

DEPLOYING NATIONAL RE-ELECTION COMMITTEE
STAFF TO THE FIELD
October 16 – November 7

1. Request staff to depart D.C. on Monday evening, October 16. One of their
assignments for the week of the 16th will be for the new field staff to
attend state Get Out The Vote workshops scheduled for that week.

2. Send staff to key and marginal states and states with important Senate races:

- 1. California
- 2. New York
- 3. Pennsylvania
- 4. Michigan
- 5. Missouri
- 6. Wisconsin
- 7. Minnesota
- 8. Washington
- 9. Oregon
- 10. Massachusetts
- 11. West Virginia
- 12. Illinois
- 13. Ohio
- 14. Texas
- 15. Maryland
- 16. Connecticut
- 17. Rhode Island
- 18. New Jersey
- 19. North Carolina
- 20. Georgia
- 21. Kentucky
- 22. Oklahoma
- 23. New Mexico
- 24. South Dakota
- 25. Idaho

3. Arrange to send from 50 to 100 National Committee to Re-elect staff to the
field. Staff will be working at the county level in these states on
preparations for – and the implementation of our voter turnout program.

4. Week of October 9 select staff members who are to go out to the field.

5. On Monday, October 16, starting at 9:00 A.M., train staff going to the field.
Make assignments, introduce to Regional Directors, and Field Representatives
in afternoon.

6. Each staff person assigned to a state must work for one of the following
(to be determined by Rick Fore) in order for their effort to be well-
coordinated and so that our new field staff will be informed on the program
leadership and personalities in the particular state.

   (a) Regional Director    (b) National Field Rep.    (c) RNC Field Rep.

   In the absence of one of the above the contact would be a member of the
State CREP Staff. Their first contact before meeting with county or city
leaders must be with this staff person.

7. Once in the state each new field staff member reports back to the national
campaign through the Political Division staff person to whom they are
assigned.

8. Most important - These staff members are to assist local county leaders. THEY
DO NOT DICTATE. We cannot superimpose another structure on top of the present
organizational layers.
MEMORANDUM FOR: RICK FORE
FROM: DICK NELLIUS
SUBJECT: Media Plan for Get-Out-The-Vote Kick-Off, October 23th

Getting out a massive vote for President Nixon is what the campaign is all about -- and the Get-Out-The-Vote Kick-Off on October 23th can be considered the most important single effort in achieving that goal. Making the GOTV Kick-Off an outstanding success will require the biggest press and public relations campaign yet undertaken by the Committee to Re-elect the President.

An effective Kick-Off will underscore the fact that the Nixon Campaign has out-organized McGovern, beating him at his own game, as well as stress the people-to-people aspect of the Nixon campaign, recruit new volunteers and emphasize the importance of voting on Election Day.

If properly coordinated, the Kick-Off should have greater media -- and public -- impact than the September 16th Canvass Kick-Off. The GOTV Kick-Off will have the same advantage in using prominent Nixon spokesmen and celebrities who in themselves generate news, and have the added impact of being much closer to Election Day when public interest in politics is at a high.

An effective media campaign will require:

1. The combined efforts of the Committee to Re-elect and Republican National Committee press and public relations staffs, as well as regional, state, and local media people.
2. Selection of a full-time coordinator to ride herd on the entire media effort and serve as liaison with the Political Division which has overall responsibility for making the Get-Out-The-Vote campaign a success.

Suggested time-table:

-- Immediately schedule meeting of Committee to Re-elect and RNC media staffs to outline program and assign responsibilities; contact state and regional press people in affected states and do likewise.
October 28th Media Plan

Promptly begin preparing background paper on need to get-out-the-vote effort, statistics etc., generous use of scare tactics on how McGovern people are willing to work day and night for their man and we could wake up one morning and find the election has been stolen from us. Also prepare suggested speech material for use of surrogates.

Prepare TV and radio tapes with MacGregor, Malek and surrogate announcing the Kick-Off in as many key communities as possible. Each tape should be geared for the local audience.

MacGregor and Malek have joint press conference on October 17th, in early afternoon, timed for 6 p.m. news. MacGregor should explain the Kick-Off and why; Malek follows with specific details, naming cities and identifying some of the surrogates who will be participating. As teaser for follow-up, Malek should announce date when complete details will be released.

A press release should be prepared as well. Discussion must be limited to the Get-Out-The-Vote Kick-Off; if get in to Watergate etc., that will dominate the news and the Kick-Off will be buried in the bottom of the story.

October 19th, State Chairmen announce heads of Get-Out-The-Vote campaign in each community. Where held, time, etc. Release mailed to weeklies.

October 23, joint MacGregor-Malek press conference releasing details on surrogates, who going where, etc. Radio and TV tapes should be enroute to communities for use the following day.

October 25, Kick-Off press team contacts every newspaper, radio, TV station, local wire service representatives, in each community about the Kick-Off. List must be kept of who contacted and supervisory personnel should make spot checks form this list.

October 26th, Kick-Off press team calls back everyone contacted earlier in the week, reminding them of the Kick-Off and insuring local coverage is planned.

This must be checked, checked and checked again. State and local press people should be used as well. However, experience with Canvass Kick-Off shows the bulk of the media effort -- and the work -- must be done at the National level to insure maximum results.
Joan -

I talked w/ Gordon yesterday and told him of a screw-up I had made in a Malek to MacGregor memo of which you got a copy. The memo is October 11th and the subject is "Get-Out-The-Vote."

On page 4, first paragraph, it refers to a proposed spokesmen schedule at Tab D. My mistake was that I didn't notice this tab. Therefore, I made the mistake of calling the tab mentioned in the next to the last paragraph on page 4 Tab D.

Therefore, would you please do the following things to rectify my error:

1. Insert the attached surrogate list at the Tab D that you have in the package.

2. Change the letter D (in the next to the last paragraph on page 4) to the letter E.

3. Change from D to E the Tab letter in the upper right hand corner of the material you have in your package which is entitled Media Plan.

4. Insert the attached Tab E sheet in front in the new Tab E.

Thanks a million - I'm really sorry I screwed this up so badly.

Judy Licata
OCTOBER 28, 1972
GET OUT THE VOTE KICK-OFF

CALIFORNIA
Los Angeles
San Francisco
Sacramento
San Diego
Fresno
Irvine

NEW YORK
New York City
Buffalo
Albany
Syracuse

MICHIGAN
Detroit
Grand Rapids
Flint
Lansing

PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
Pittsburgh

Buckley
Scott
Dunn
Armstrong
Bentley (plus celebrity)
Reagan

Julie Eisenhower
Perk
Keating (plus celebrity)
Rockefeller

Mrs. Nixon, Governor Milliken
Mrs. Hodgson, Mrs. Flanigan,
Mrs. Rogers (plus celebrity)
Sargent
Lugar

Volpe
Ford
PENNSYLVANIA (cont.)

Harrisburg - York - Lancaster - Lebanon

Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Brooks, Mrs. Klein (plus celebrity)

NEW JERSEY

Bergen County

Javits

Newark

Mrs. Agnew

Atlantic City

Klein

Evans

ILLINOIS

Chicago

MacGregor

Springfield

Kemp

Peoria

Mrs. Rumsfeld, Miss Franklin

Rockford

Percy

OHIO

Cleveland

Brock

Cincinnati

Rumsfeld

Columbus

Richardson

Dayton

Mrs. Butz, Mrs. Mitt (plus celebrity)

TEXAS

Dallas

Secretary Peterson

Houston

Bolto

San Antonio

Gallegos (Sanchez if available)

El Paso

Mrs. Bonales

Austin

Blatchford
October GOTV Kick-Off

NORTH CAROLINA
Greensboro
Raleigh

GEORGIA
Atlanta

KENTUCKY
Louisville

OKLAHOMA
Oklahoma City

NEW MEXICO
Albuquerque

SOUTH DAKOTA
Sioux Falls

RHODES ISLAND
Providence

WISCONSIN
Milwaukee

Coldwater

Maureen Reagan (plus athlete)

Sen. Belmon

Butz

Knaur

Mrs. Buckelasaus, Mrs. Weinberger,
Mrs. Ehrlichman (plus celebrity)
October GOTV Kick-Off

MARYLAND
Rockville
Towson (Baltimore County)

CONNECTICUT
Hartford
New Haven

MISSOURI
St. Louis
Kansas City

MASSACHUSETTS
Boston

MINNESOTA
Minneapolis

WASHINGTON
Seattle
Spokane

OREGON
Portland

WEST VIRGINIA
Wheeling
Charleston

Ruckelshaus (plus celebrity)
Mrs. Schultz, Mrs. Train
Mrs. Romney (plus celebrity)

Mrs. Richardson, Mrs. Stein
Mrs. Bush (plus celebrity)

Ed Cox

Tricia Nixon

Shultz

Hartford
Mrs. Bush (plus celebrity)

Ed Cox

Tricia Nixon

Shultz

Hartford
Mrs. Bush (plus celebrity)

Ed Cox

Tricia Nixon

Shultz

Hartford
Mrs. Bush (plus celebrity)
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 11, 1972

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: LEONARD GARMENT

The attached is for the record, and is filed at Max's request. It outlines the results of his and Taft's fund-raising efforts, and has a couple of interesting points about the impact of that effort on McGovern's efforts. At any rate it's fair to say that Max and Taft kept their campaign promises.
The Honorable Leonard Garment
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Len:

Just a note of thanks for your help in setting up the very wonderful meeting at the Waldorf.

In going over the campaign results thus far, I have a few observations to make on the matter of finance. As I have told you, we probably will raise about $5 million from the community for the campaign, which, in my opinion, has two disastrous effects on the financing of the McGovern operation:

1. A substantial portion of the contributions came from large contributors formerly identified with the Democratic Party. As a result, these sources have been denied to the McGovern operation.

2. I have had interesting conversations with a number of supporters of the Democratic Party who have been called by Senator McGovern, personally. One in particular is the largest financial supporter in the Baltimore area, who called me following McGovern's conversation. He indicated that though he could not support us financially or politically, he was "sitting this one out" by not giving any political or financial support to the opposition.

I have had several calls like this from around the country, so our total effort has been one of gaining votes as well as contributing a substantial impact on our finance committees' operations. This all has had a negative effect on the opposition.
On my last six visits to Ohio, New Jersey and Virginia, I have come in contact with a number of Democratic officials who have attended my meetings. They have told me that, though they are remaining loyal to their party locally, under no circumstances would they vote for McGovern, and that they will support President Nixon in their own quiet way.

Looking forward to seeing you soon.

Kindest regards,

[Signature]

October 9, 1972
Buchanan has mentioned in the last two Political Media Analyses that a decision must be made as to whether there is a frontal attack on the Washington Post's reporting of the campaign sabotage and smears. Buchanan feels strongly that such an attack on the Post should be launched to prepare the climate against further espionage stories. Buchanan discounts the danger of having other media rally to the Post's defense because CBS is hitting us pretty hard already.

____ Buchanan to prepare attack Post plan.
____ Drop idea.

GS
10/13/72
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: FRED MALEK
SUBJECT: Mock Elections

I thought you would be interested in the attached mock election results.

Attachment
## POST-CONVENTION HOCK ELECTIONS

### COLORADO
- **9/1/72**
  - Northeastern Junior College, Sterling, Colorado
    - (Used IBM Cards-924 returned-1/2 student body)
    - RN: 59.0%
    - McGovern: 21.0%
    - Undecided: 20.0%

- **9/2/72**
  - Denver University, Denver, Colorado
    - (IBM Cards-1,106 returned)
    - RN: 45.0%
    - McGovern: 41.0%
    - Undecided: 14.0%

### ILLINOIS
- **9/1/72**
  - Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, Illinois
    - (Poli.Sci. Dept. Poll - 3,000 voting)
    - RN: 51.0%
    - McGovern: 25.0%
    - Undecided: 24.0%

### KANSAS
- **9/1/72**
  - Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas
    - RN: 37.0%
    - McGovern: 27.0%
    - Undecided: 26.0%

### OHIO
- **9/1/72**
  - Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio
    - (2/3 of students)
    - RN: 649 votes
    - McGovern: 479 votes
    - Undecided: 139 votes

### OKLAHOMA
- **9/1/72**
  - Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma
    - (Random Poll taken by the Oklahoma City Times)
    - RN: 35 votes
    - McGovern: 10 votes
    - Undecided: 4 votes

### SOUTH CAROLINA
- **9/15/72**
  - University of South Carolina, Aiken, South Carolina
    - RN: 63.0%
    - McGovern: 14.0%
    - Undecided: 23.0%

### TENNESSEE
- **9/15/72**
  - Belmont College, Nashville, Tennessee
    - RN: 86.0%
    - McGovern: 13.0%
    - Other: 1/2 %

### TEXAS
- **9/15/72**
  - Southwest Texas State Univ., San Marcos, Texas
    - (Poll conducted by Student Coalition for Good Gov't. 900 students)
    - RN: 74.0%
    - McGovern: 15.0%
    - Undecided: 11.0%
### Washington

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<td></td>
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</table>
MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Defense Spot

In light of our discussion on October 9 regarding Dailey's memo about purchasing local television time in Massachusetts for the Defense spot, would you please advise me when the Defense spot will be run in Massachusetts?
MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEE

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

SUBJECT: Budget Committee Meeting, Monday, October 16, 1972

PRESENT: Barrick, Dailey, Evans, Joanou, LaRue, MacGregor, Magruder, Malek, Muller, Odle, Reisner, Stans, Strachan

1. A budget of $98,130 is approved for election night activities. A separate budget category will be set up by Barrick under the Tour Office budget. Stan Anderson is responsible for keeping expenditures at the approved level.

2. MacGregor will ask Colson to cut off all mailings as soon as possible and also reduce other expenditures in his area. Odle will tell Abrahams to cut off 1701 mailings.

3. Odle is to urge Division directors to cut back on group lunches, dinners, and entertainment.

4. Odle is to discuss with Sedam whether the damage to the Arizona Re-elect Committee office is covered by 1701's insurance policy.

5. MacGregor is to call Arch Moore with regard to the West Virginia quota.

6. Evans and Malek are to meet to discuss the possibility of certain Administration officials resigning and moving to 1701 for three weeks to assist in fund raising.

7. Dailey is authorized to spend for the week of October 23 $414,142 for network television, $5,000 for Alabama television, $16,000 for network radio, $9,000 for Massachusetts local advertising, $20,000 for additional radio, $220,000 for local spot advertising, and $325,000 for the Connally half hour. Democrats for Nixon will be urged to pay for the Connally half hour.
October 13, 1972

Mr. Hullin:

I send you the attached for your consideration and planning purposes.

Copies:  
Mark  
Witt  
Colson
Faculty for McGovern-Shriver is calling for a Nationwide Teach-in on October 25th. Supporters of George McGovern and Sargent Shriver are hereby urged to join with the McGovern-Shriver organization on their campus, or to create such an organization if none exists, in order to organize a Teach-in that will insure that their campus is not left out of this national day of demonstration of campus support for the ticket. If your campus, like others in all parts of the country, organizes an effective Teach-in on the 25th, it will:

1. raise the level of debate about the issues,
2. motivate and mobilize McGovern-Shriver supporters for work in the crucial final weeks of the campaign,
3. persuade undecided voters to support the ticket.

Teach-ins have worked before and can work again. Nowhere else are there so many able to speak eloquently for McGovern-Shriver as on the campus. Nowhere else are there so many politically sensitive people who are within walking distance of an auditorium.

The Teach-ins need to be organized. They will realize their potential only if they are organized on many campuses in all parts of the country. They will be useful only if they are well designed and geared to the undecided voter as well as the McGovern-Shriver partisans. They will have a resonance that is heard across the nation only if whenever practicable campuses hold their Teach-ins on the same day — Wednesday, October 25th.

Some Things to Do at a Teach-in

The Teach-ins can take whatever form is most appropriate to the campus at issue. In addition to talks by professors (or professors and students) who can make particularly eloquent, erudite, and persuasive speeches on the campaign issues, there are a variety of other interesting possibilities:

1) Hear outside speakers:

A) State and local personalities, such as candidates for office, or local off-campus authorities (like a lawyer who could speak well on lawlessness in the Nixon Administration).
B) Expert outside speakers on current issues and McGovern programs. For help in getting such speakers, write: Ms. Page Wilson
600 W. Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

C) Prominent persons such as Shirley MacLaine or Pierre Salinger -- write: Ms. Judy Oldham
Secondary Speakers
1910 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

D) Distinguished Senators, such as Humphrey, Kennedy, and Muskie -- request them directly through their Senate offices.

E) If you want George McGovern, Sargent Shriver, Eleanor McGovern, or Eunice Kennedy Shriver, do not hesitate to put in a request. They might be available because they are passing through (or over) your state. But write immediately to:
Mr. Tony Podesta (McGoverns)
Mr. Bill Heckman (Shrivers)
McGovern-Shriver Headquarters
1910 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

2) Have a Teach-in with a special theme, such as "Corruption" or "Ethics in Government." Several good speeches, and even an entire Teach-in, could be devoted to the wheat deal, the ITT case, the Watergate bugging, the Flanigan shipping affair, the milk fund, Warner-Lambert and El Paso Natural Gas, etc.

3) Organize debates among professors of a variety of persuasions or with local Republicans. A debate or other non-partisan format may be the only acceptable one on some campuses. Pro-Nixon forces do not, however, have a right to demand debates at forums provided by Faculty for McGovern-Shriver; there is nothing stopping Republicans from organizing their own Teach-ins (unless it be the lack of candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency who can command the enthusiasm of thinking people).

4) Listen to a recording of a speech by Senator McGovern, or (if demand is sufficient) Senator McGovern might speak to many campuses at once by a telephone hookup. In any event, a special statement by Senator McGovern will be available (from Adele Schultz, National McGovern-
Shriver Headquarters) that should be read at the start of each Teach-in.

(Position papers stating Senator McGovern's views on the major campaign issues are also available from your state McGovern-Shriver coordinator or from Claire White, National McGovern-Shriver Headquarters).

5) Have a Teach-in of particular interest to the community in which your campus is located; or a gathering sponsored jointly with some off-campus organizations supporting McGovern-Shriver in your area.

6) Movies. A slideshow (also available in filmstrip) is available on Vietnam ($15 for slides, $5 for filmstrip) from: McGovern Slideshow Vietnam Desk Seventh Floor 1910 K Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006 Last minute requests can be made by telephone at 202-333-4900, ext. 218.

7) Discussions or organizing sessions to mobilize volunteer effort (and collect money) for the last two weeks of the campaign and for getting out the vote. Most Teach-ins should end with this, so that those who attended could find out how to act effectively in accordance with their convictions.

Some Things NOT to Do at a Teach-in

1) Don't do anything contrary to the rules and administrative policies of the institution. Faculty for McGovern-Shriver deplors any campaign activity that in any way lessens the decorum of any campus. Inconsiderate use of loudspeakers should always be avoided. It would be well even to avoid campus locations that have become associated with disruptions of normal campus activity.

2) Don't encourage cutting of classes. The Teach-in should be held late in the afternoon or evening (or both) or at some other time when there are few if any classes, to minimize conflict with academic obligations, and no one should be asked to cut classes to come.

3) Don't mix up Teach-in activities with class lectures or assignments. Faculty for McGovern-Shriver opposes any use of classes for political indoctrination, but recognizes the importance of campus debate about the campaign issues, and offers the Teach-in as a proper forum for that debate.
4) Don't provide a forum for monomaniacs. Seek out speakers who can command the respect of those who have not yet decided how to vote, and whom the majority that is needed to elect Senator McGovern might find persuasive.

How to Get a Crowd

1) National Faculty for McGovern-Shriver can help with:

   A) Posters -- Some "National Teach-in, McGovern-Shriver" posters, with space for writing in the location and hour of your campus Teach-in, may be available from Adele Schultz, McGovern-Shriver Headquarters.

   B) Letterhead stationery -- a limited amount of stationery headed "National McGovern-Shriver Teach-in," is available for press releases, etc. from Claire White, McGovern-Shriver Headquarters.

2) What must be done locally:

   A) Issue press releases to both the campus and local media whenever there is something specific to report, such as the organizers and place of the meeting, the speakers, etc.

   B) Distribute flyers in every dormitory room and office.

   C) Place advertisements in the campus newspapers, etc. Pass the hat to get the money.

   D) Assign someone to ask everyone in each department, dormitory floor, or the like to come.

What Will Make It Work

If a few people on each campus will do the work needed to organize and promote a Teach-in, the Teach-ins will be successful. If not, they won't be. This won't be the first time in history, or even in the McGovern campaign for the Presidency, where an outcome has depended on a small number of dedicated people. Let's get it together again. Good luck!
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Gordon Strachan
SUBJECT: Magruder Discussion with John Mitchell

October 13, 1972

Jeb Magruder talked with John Mitchell this morning. Mitchell believes that stories about "Black advance/Dick Tuck"-type activities against the Republicans should be collected for release to the press. Dean, Moore, and Chapin this morning, after you and Ehrlichman left, decided to recommend that nothing be released to the press. Instead, materials would be collected and held depending on how the expected Sunday Post story plays. You may want to discuss this entire matter with John Mitchell.

Second, Mitchell has asked Magruder for the Gallup figures expected for release Sunday. You will recall that I advised you that John Davies expected them to be "around 60-35-5". You may want to cover these with Mitchell also.