

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
 Contested Materials Collection
 Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
38	8	11/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Khachigian to Haldeman RE: campaign plans for the last few days before the election. Proposed remarks for RN to give in a televised address attached. 11 pgs.
38	8	10/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: political races in North Carolina. 1 pg.
38	8	10/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: a proposal to film RN with Senator Boggs. 1 pg.
38	8	10/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Timmons to Strachan RE: questions on various Senate elections. Handwritten responses included. 2 pgs.
38	8	10/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: campaign information on the South. 2 pgs.
38	8	10/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Chapin RE: attached information. 1 pg.
38	8	10/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: RN radio endorsements for Congressional and gubernatorial candidates. 1 pg.
38	8	10/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: campaigner James Gill's proposed telegram from RN endorsing Governor Bartlett for Senator from Oklahoma. Draft of telegram attached. 2 pgs.

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38	8	10/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: Congressman Lujan and the "deadly dozen." 1 pg.
38	8	10/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: polling results from South Carolina's sixth congressional district. 1 pg.
38	8	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: the congressional race in South Carolina's sixth district. 1 pg.
38	8	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article from "The State" titled "Move Under Way To Draft Young To Oppose Jenrette." Article authored by Lee Bandy. 1 pg.
38	8	9/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Kehrli to Strachan RE: attached information. 1 pg.
38	8	9/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to RN RE: Republican Senate prospects in 1972. Detailed, state-by-state breakdown of races attached. 6 pgs.
38	8	9/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Stan Anderson to MacGregor RE: support from the Committee for the Re-election of the President for various Senate and House candidates. Detailed report and memo from Timmons to MacGregor on same subject attached. 30 pgs.
38	8	10/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Financial Records	Budget Comparison and Projection chart of the Committee for the Re-election of the President generated by Odle. 1 pg.
38	8	10/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Joanou to Odle RE: the advertising budget status. Detailed analysis of various budget categories attached. 3 pgs.

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38	8	10/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: an attached item related to Catholic voters. 1 pg.
38	8	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article by William Tuohy of the "Los Angeles Times" titled "Vatican Press Branching Out in World News." 1 pg.
38	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes related to campaign finances. 2 pgs.
38	8	10/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle to Paul E. Barrick RE: budget transfers. Notes taken by Odle during a budget meeting attached. 3 pgs.
38	8	10/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Stans to Woods RE: Lauris Norstad's attempts to contact RN. 1 pg.
38	8	10/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to members of the Budget Committee RE: tasks for various members of the Committee. 2 pgs.
38	8	10/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle to Martha Duncan RE: cutbacks in administrative areas due to budget constraints. 2 pgs.
38	8	10/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Chapin RE: attached information. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
38	8	10/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Rietz, through MacGregor, to Haldeman RE: the last major youth campaign event. 1 pg.
38	8	10/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE" attached information. 1 pg.
38	8	10/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Rietz, through MacGregor, to Haldeman RE: the last major youth campaign event. 1 pg.

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38	8	10/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: polling for New Hampshire political races. 1 pg.
38	8	10/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.
38	8	10/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Telegram from Pete V. Domenici to Dent RE: campaign information from New Mexico. 2 pgs.
38	8	10/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: campaign information on Louisiana and Georgia. 3 pgs.
38	8	10/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: extensive political information on North Carolina. 2 pgs.
38	8	10/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From George Collins to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.
38	8	10/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Chapin RE: handling matters in an attached document. 1 pg.
38	8	10/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: polling information on political races in New Hampshire. 1 pg.
38	8	9/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Hainsworth to Dent RE: the political climate of Mississippi. 3 pgs.
38	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to campaign information from Evans, Dent, and Joanou. 1 pg.
38	8	10/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: polling results from North Carolina. 1 pg.
38	8	10/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Strachan RE: attached documents. 1 pg.

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38	8	10/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From George Champion, Jr. to Dent RE: campaign problems in the South. 3 pgs.
38	8	9/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor and Reisner to Strachan RE: attached information. 1 pg.
38	8	9/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From G. Andrew Lawrence to Barry F. Mountain RE: campaign mailings. Draft of letter from MacGregor attached. Handwritten information added by unknown. 2 pgs.
38	8	10/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: Ben Toledano, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate from Louisiana, and his Spanish roots. 1 pg.
38	8	10/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: an enclosed document. 1 pg.
38	8	10/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	News Release from the National News-Resarch Syndicate titled "Ethics, Democratic Financing, and the Taxpayer." Document written by Ralph de Toledano. 2 pgs.
38	8	10/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: campaign material from the "Detroit Free Press" and the "Detroit News." 1 pg.
38	8	10/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: enclosed information from Worth Brown. 1 pg.
38	8	10/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Worth A. Brown to Chotiner RE: California's political climate during the campaign season. 1 pg.
38	8	10/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: information from Herschel Shosteck. 1 pg.

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38	8	9/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Campaign analysis from the Herschel Shosteck Associates. 2 pgs.
38	8	10/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: the important points of a report from Charles Van Wagenen on upstate New York. 1 pg.
38	8	10/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: attached information on California. 1 pg.
38	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	"Republican Truth Squad Report No. 43C-N" on RN's financial history. 1 pg.
38	8	10/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Helen Delich Bentley to MacGregor and Haldeman RE: political information from individuals in Illinois and Minnesota. 2 pgs.
38	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: attached information. 1 pg.
38	8	10/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Dole to Haldeman RE: RNC activities to promote voter turnout. 3 pgs.
38	8	10/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Bob Dole to RN RE: an attached letter from George Champion, Jr. 1 pg.
38	8	10/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From George Champion, Jr. to Dole RE: recent problems with RN's campaign. 4 pgs.
38	8	10/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to campaign information from Malek and Anderson. 1 pg.
38	8	10/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From "ke" to "L" RE: Tower's campaign. 1 pg.
38	8	10/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jerry Jones to Strachan RE: a statement that RN supposedly made about Senator Tower's re-election. 1 pg.

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38	8	10/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Malek RE: attached information on Michigan. 1 pg.
38	8	10/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Frank Daniel "To Whom It May Concern" summarizing campaign activities in Michigan. 3 pgs.
38	8	10/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From George Wallace to Richard H. Austin RE: removal of the former's photograph from the American Independent Party section of the Michigan ballot. 1 pg.
38	8	9/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Dwight H. Vincent to Ted Bates RE: the logistics of a scheduled conference. 1 pg.
38	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Copy of the Michigan ballot. 1 pg.
38	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Art Cullers to former Wallace supporters RE: support for RN. Handwritten note added by unknown. 3 pgs.
38	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Various polls collected by "The Detroit News" during September and October. 4 pgs.
38	8	10/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article from "The Detroit News" titled "Wallace wants his picture off ballot." Piece written by Robert A. Popa. 1 pg.
38	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article titled "State 'Democrats For Nixon' Set for Drive." Written by Art Sills. 1 pg.
38	8	10/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to MacGregor RE: an attached report. 1 pg.
38	8	10/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Rietz to Malek RE: endorsements of RN from vocational student leaders. List of leaders attached. 3 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HALDEMAN

FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN 

I don't believe that any votes will be determined in the last days by trying to move out via the President any more of the McGovern record. If we have succeeded in anything, it is the tarring of McGovern with his radical positions.

What is needed, I believe, in the President's last appearances is to draw the line against what are the weak links in the McGovern campaign technique -- which technique has most likely served to turn off as many voters as his radical positions. Namely, his shrillness; his excessive moralism; his arrogance in thinking he represents good while RN represents evil; his hot rhetoric; and, the bottom line of it all, the implied imputation of low motives to the millions of Americans who can't buy his extremism.

I would hope that the election eve speech could deal with these matters primarily, and secondarily with some of the substantive issues. We are dealing with an interesting situation in that I think RN has been overplayed by the media and by the opposition as an unloved, divisive figure in America. Rather, I think the situation is much like the one in 1966 where LBJ took a cheap shot at RN and where RN responded in one of his most effective television speeches ever.

Frankly, the American public must be tired of the preacher and the harsh language he has used. Let's use this opportunity to turn it all against him by drawing the issue that McGovern is not maligning RN, but is really maligning America.

Have attached some language that might be used to this effect the basic purpose of which is to motivate people to stand up against McGovern and to get out to the polls.

cc: Ray Price

Attachment

November 1, 1972

(Khachigian)

SUGGESTED REMARKS -- CAMPAIGN TELEVISION ADDRESS

My fellow Americans:

Tomorrow you vote in what I believe to be the most important presidential election in which I have participated. The choice you will make is a choice which will determine the direction of our nation in the years ahead.

Tonight, I wish to discuss the choice which lies before you. But more than that, I want to look beyond the narrow partisan concern of who will win tomorrow to the question of whether America will win in the years ahead.

In this campaign, my first responsibility has been the fulfillment of my duties as your President. When time has allowed, I have traveled the country to bring my candidacy to the people.

I think you will agree with me that as leader of his party, it is in the best American tradition for the President to defend what he believes to be right in his Administration, and, where the situation warrants, to caution against that which he believes to be wrong in the positions of his opponent.

I thank you for allowing me the honor of serving you these last four years and want to express to you the deep pride I have in representing the greatest and most powerful country on this earth. With the most profound respect, I ask you to let me complete a task only just begun.

Four years ago, Americans suffered from a crisis of the spirit. We were deep in a war without victory or resolution thousands of miles from our shores. There appeared to be no end in sight.

Our cities were seen too often in the smoke of riot and crime. Our relations with allies were strained and uncertain, and the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Republic of China appeared always to be the potential parties of confrontation rather than the necessary partners in negotiation.

There were, indeed, problems almost unbearable to face, but nevertheless we had to face them. On dozens of fronts we moved into action to resolve the crisis of the spirit and mobilize the forces of peace instead of the armies of war.

But America had another face four years ago, because we know America has never been the country which a few vocal cynics have sought to make it out to be.

Four years ago, millions of citizens across the United States were engaged in a productive life. They went to work, raised their families, paid their taxes, and believed, as I think the vast majority of Americans do, that America is a great and good country.

Four years ago, the greatness of the American people was not crushed; it was merely hidden -- hidden by a strain of self-doubt, fed by many who believed we were sick and unworthy.

We have begun to resolve that crisis of the spirit, but our work is not yet done.

As we near our nation's 200th birthday, we still see self-doubt and a questioning of America's will.

There are still those who proclaim our country is sick and decadent -- that our goals are unmet and our problems unsolved.

Others say that America has lost her way, that our society is repressive and racist or imperialistic and reactionary. It is said that we are so tainted by national illness that we have lost our will to be great.

And still others look at America as corrupt and rotten, our values distorted, our institutions crumbling, and our determination defeated.

This is all nonsense. What a waste it is to wallow in guilt and self-flagellation, to tear at our confidence and stain our resolve.

My fellow Americans, the United States of America did not come all this way on the energy of defeatism and despair.

For too many, the wish is father to the thought. If they speak long enough and loudly enough of decadence, we will believe ourselves to be decadent. If they tell us often enough that we are sick, we truly may think so.

Weep for America? I can't agree. We have too much to do to indulge such weakness.

Consider this for a moment; if we had but half our wealth; if our cities did not gleam with tall buildings and our farms produce in full abundance; if we did not have high technology and sophisticated machinery; if we did not

have all these, we would still have our most precious asset -- the will and tenacity of the American people to take themselves beyond limiting boundaries.

If we lose our will or weaken our resolve, we do not deserve the mantle of greatness.

But if we retain our self-confidence -- the confidence that sustained us from a hot summer's day in Independence Hall to the marvel of Apollo XVI -- the future will hold still more promises of majesty for this great and good nation of ours.

I recall the last conversation I had with President DeGaulle of France, not long before his death. He said this to me: "France was her true self only when she was engaged in a great enterprise." General DeGaulle, a patriot, and a great leader of his country had also spoken words which are apt for America for we are our true self only when we are engaged in a great enterprise.

I must report to you in all candor that in the last few weeks too much has been said to divide America instead of uniting it in a great enterprise.

In the past weeks, our country has suffered one of the most abusive and reckless assaults ever waged in a presidential campaign.

More than a generation ago, we fought to keep our freedom and the world's peace against the most hated and feared dictator in our memory -- Adolph Hitler. Today, the opposition insults the American people by comparing

what we do to the hated regime of Nazi Germany. Such a lack of respect for the American people is, I believe, symptomatic of a philosophy which arrogates unto itself a moral superiority.

The President of the United States is not like Adolph Hitler. Americans are not the "barbarians" that we have been portrayed to be for assisting in the defense of a small nation whose only sin is that it does not wish to be destroyed by aggression.

I regret the divisiveness which has been introduced into this campaign. We should be able to listen without being shouted at. We do not need the deplorable name-calling and reckless charges. The nation is not venal, corrupt, and immoral.

Such charges have impugned the integrity of good men. The half-truths have diminished the good name of honorable public servants. And the broad overstatement has undeservedly imputed low motives to the American people.

I would not be concerned if these attacks were directed only at Richard Nixon. After all, I have made politics my career, and I am accustomed to be the recipient of political attack.

But when the assault is on the very decency and sensibilities of the American public, we must all be concerned. I firmly believe that such excesses of rhetoric are aimed at the millions of Americans who have steadfastly rejected surrender abroad and retreat from stability at home.

I am proud of the American political system. It is without equal in the world for its honesty and goodwill. But heated and excessive language cheapens our political tradition and puts it under severe stress.

Excessive moralism and zealousness has tainted politics this year.

You are not war-mongers if you believe in our commitment to Southeast Asia and in a strong national defense.

You are not racist if you want your child to have the best quality of education without having to be bussed miles to a strange neighborhood.

You are not repressive if you believe that we must have strong and effective law enforcement that respects the rights of victims and society every bit as much as those of the criminal.

You are not sick if you believe that America is a strong and good country.

You are not heartless and unconcerned if you believe that we have a welfare system which needs drastic reform, or if you believe that there is more dignity in work than there ever can be in welfare payments.

No, my fellow Americans, I have a faith in America that is not lessened by irresponsible charges upon my motives or upon the motives of millions of my fellow citizens. We must be able today to have strong convictions without being called names, without being attacked as corrupt or sick or racist or murderous.

I have made many difficult and painful decisions as your President. It has not been easy, but I did not ask for a term of ease. Nevertheless, I believe I made the right decisions for America. Whether it was my decision to order the mining of the harbors of North Vietnam, or to ask for sweeping governmental reform -- I made the decision which I held in firm conviction to be the right course for the United States.

My motives often came under the most direct of attacks. I can say in confidence tonight that it was the strength of the American people -- the great silent majority of Americans -- which carried me through in the times of difficulty.

Each time I was guided by a central principle -- to think more of my country than myself. And tonight I do not doubt for a moment that when we are confronted with adversity, Americans always think more of their country than they think of themselves.

Thus, I am troubled by those who wish to impose their rigid philosophies on all Americans. This campaign is not between good and evil as some have asserted in a broad claim on moral rectitude. It is not between those who are moral and those who are immoral. I do not claim superior morality, but I will not descend to an attack on the motives of anyone who holds his opinions firmly.

At the core of your decision tomorrow is the question of whether those who insult and impugn Americans and their motives will succeed in diverting you from the most important issues ever raised in a presidential campaign.

So my fellow Americans, I believe that the most important message I have for you tonight is a commitment. The Vice President and I ask you not to love America because she is perfect; but to love her because she is perfectable.

We ask for the votes of the millions of Americans who work hard and pay taxes and raise their children, and we say to you: "Let us keep going for there is work to be done."

We ask those who have built this country with their sweat and their hands and their prayers: "Come with us; our work must continue."

We ask the young and the old and people of every heritage: "If we do not work for America now, when will we ever work for her?"

We ask all Americans regardless of their political affiliation: "Come join us; our work is not partisan; it is America's work."

We ask that the New Majority come together in a beacon from coast to coast and border to border because the work we will do is for tomorrow, the day after, and for the history which generations from now may judge us as gracious and good, but humble and kind.

Let us resolve to put our doubts on the run. Let us not be satisfied with where we are, but concerned about where we are going. And on our way let us proceed with confidence, compassion, fortitude and love.

Each time I leave America to visit a foreign country, I meet thousands of children; often they are the children or grandchildren of the leaders with whom I conduct business. And always we discuss the future that will be shaped for our children and their children. Whether those young people be in Moscow and Peking or in California and New York; what we do is ultimately for their sake.

The stakes will not diminish tomorrow, and there can be no apathy. The choice is too clear and too important. Consequently, I am asking that all Americans get out to vote. Each vote is a precious personal hand on the levers of power. In many respects the vote you cast tomorrow is a vote to preserve not one man or his political party; rather it is a vote for the direction of our nation. We can either rest in the satisfaction of things as they will be or we can rise up in larger numbers than ever before and reaffirm America's greatness by voting to reaffirm the blessings of her values.

November 1, 1972

(Khachigian)

QUOTATION ON THE PROBLEM OF APATHY

For those who are willing to submit to apathy, they should be mindful of the words of the French political philosopher, Montesquieu:

"The tyranny of a prince in an oligarchy is not so dangerous to the public welfare as the apathy of a citizen in a democracy."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY S. DENT

HRD

The Helms senate race in North Carolina is looking better and better. The Democrat poll now shows Helms running two points ahead of Galifianakis, and the Republican poll shows Helms running several points ahead--all of this coming from the state GOP chairman. Also, Holshouser is very close in the governor's race but running slightly behind. I suggest again that North Carolina would be a good stop for the President, if this is at all possible.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT



I urge approval of the proposal on your desk for filming of the President with Senator Boggs. John Rollins and Tom Evans are both pushing hard for this. Their latest poll information shows Boggs ahead by only 6.

Here are the figures:

	<u>October</u>
RN	54
McGovern	31
Undecided	15

	<u>August</u>	<u>September</u>	<u>October</u>
Boggs	63	41	46
Biden	18	29	40
Undecided	19	30	14

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: WILLIAM TIMMONS *HT*
SUBJECT: Senate Control

Do you agree with this analysis, based on polling data?

I. MUST WIN GOP "OPEN" SEATS:

- A. Louie Nunn (KY)
- B. Bob Hirsch (S. D.)
- C. Jim McClure (IDAHO)

yes

II. WILL PROBABLY WIN NEW SEATS:

- A. Pete Domenici (NM)
- B. John Chafee (RI)

yes

III. ASSUMING ABOVE, HAVE TO WIN 3 of BEST BETS:

- A. Fletcher Thompson (GA)
- B. Dewey Bartlett (OKLA)
- C. Wes Powell (NH)
- D. Jesse Helms (NC)

yes

IV. TOO FAR BEHIND TO WIN:

- A. Bill Scott (VA)
- B. Red Blount (ALA)
- C. Ben Toladano (LA)
- D. Henry Hibbard (MONT)

*add to incumbents who need help - (Touss, Griffin)
Boyers - Del.*

V. LOST CAUSES:

- A. Phil Hansen (MINN)
- B. Gil Carmichael (MISS)
- C. Wayne Babbitt (ARK)
- D. Louise Leonard (W. VA)

yes

October 13, 1972

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

For what it is worth -- here is a report from someone who is knowledgeable and travelling through the South.

I can give you the name orally by phone if it matters.

Alabama

Based on a sample of registered voters, Sparkman has 55%, Blount has 31% with 14% undecided.

John LeFlore, the candidate of the predominantly Black National Democratic Party of Alabama could cut deeply into Sparkman votes if he can increase his exposure in the next few weeks. It appears that Wallace will set this one out due to health, disdain for Sparkman and his possible Democratic position in 1976.

One of only two actions could cause a traumatic impact to Blount's election: (1) a visit to Alabama by President Nixon endorsing Blount with expectant statewide TV exposure, (2) a George Wallace endorsement (not likely).

Georgia

Superficial indications are for a close race; however, Nunn (D) has support from the Blacks and George Wallace people that worked with him for the governor in the state of Georgia. Voting procedures in Georgia will also enhance Nunn in that the presidential election is a separate ballot.

October 13, 1972

Louisiana

Looks bleak for Ben Toledano (R). He currently polls 20% and needs financing. Balance of votes appear split between John J. McKeithen (Ind.) with good financial sources and Bennett Johnson (D) who was a state senator and lost governor's race by five thousand votes.

Mississippi

Jim Eastland appears strong and impregnable.

Overall issues in the foregoing states in order of voiced priority are:

1. Cost of living (basic fundamental)
2. Employment and minority quota systems
3. Crime
4. Welfare handouts
5. Vietnam.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "H. R. Haldeman", is written in black ink to the right of the list of issues.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 10/13

TO: *Chapin*

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Please handle for

Bob.

thanks

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY S. DENT 

You and the President suggested I remind you approximately three weeks in advance of the election to reconsider the request for some brief radio endorsement tapes for key U. S. Senate, Congressional and Gubernatorial races. The candidates are very interested and would need to have these done right away in order to get them appropriately placed and used prior to election day.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 11, 1972

TO: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Murray Chotiner

James Gill, campaign manager for Gov. Bartlett, our nominee to the Senate from Oklahoma, wants to send out a mailing in the form of a telegram. Enclosed is a copy of the proposed telegram.

He needs an okay to use the President's name. Can he have it?

They need an answer immediately in order to print the "telegram" and get it in the mail. There will be 150,000 mailed, primarily in what is known as the "little Dixie" section of Oklahoma.

A recent poll showed 1,454 votes. The President received 1,101 and McGovern 353. The mailing contains a boost from the President and should guarantee Bartlett winning the seat.



Enclosure

TELEGRAM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MR. JAMES SMITH
333 W. THIRD
OKLA. CITY, OKLA. 73456

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 7, IS ELECTION DAY. IN 1970 DEWEY BARTLETT LOST BY LESS THAN ONE VOTE PER PRECINCT. YOUR VOTE COULD BE THE ONE TO ELECT US THIS TUESDAY.

IN THE LAST THREE YEARS I HAVE SUBMITTED FIVE GREAT DOMESTIC PROGRAMS TO THE CONGRESS - NONE HAVE BEEN PASSED. IN 1971 202 REQUESTS WERE MADE TO THE U.S. HOUSE AND SENATE. ONLY 20% WERE APPROVED. - A RECORD LOW.

I NEED DEWEY BARTLETT IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE TO HELP ME ACCOMPLISH THE GOALS IN WHICH WE ALL BELIEVE. PLEASE DO YOUR PART TUESDAY FOR THE FUTURE OF AMERICA.

RICHARD NIXON

NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE. PAID FOR BY BARTLETT FOR SENATE COMMITTEE, JAMES R. GILL, CHAIRMAN.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 11, 1972

TO: H. R. Haldeman

FROM: Murray Chotiner

Just heard from Bob Davidson of New Mexico. He was the State Chairman and is now Finance Chairman.

Congressman Lujan is one of the "deadly dozen" the opposition is trying to purge.

The story is floating around that the White House thinks Lujan is "home safe".

Bob tells me this is not true. Ted Kennedy and his associates are raising money to support the opposition to the "deadly dozen."

Anything that can be done to correct the impression that people seem to have that Lujan is safe, will be most helpful. I have alerted Jack Calkins to this problem.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: HARRY DENT *HD*
SUBJECT: S. C. POLL RESULTS

Central Surveys has just completed a poll in South Carolina's 6th congressional district (the McMillan seat covering primarily a rural area) where we have just nominated a first rate candidate in a late bid to upset the man who upset McMillan. We factored in 32% black vote, which makes it difficult for any Republican to win.

Here are the results:

RN 64
McGovern 22

Jenrette (D) 50
Young (R) 35 (Just as he was announcing)

Thurmond (R) 48
Zeigler (D) 36

"Would the country be better off if the majority of the Congress were of the same party as the President?"

Yes 48 No 38

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY S. DENT



The GOP in South Carolina is grooming a good candidate for the Sixth Congressional District seat of defeated incumbent John McMillan. This seat should be added to the list of the top ten potential pickups.

The GOP candidate is Ed Young, of Florence. He is a former Democrat, member of the State House, and is "Farmer of the Year." Young has been doing a daily television program for farmers, and is an executive with the Federal Land Bank System. He is South Carolina chairman of Farmers for President Nixon. Young is associated with Coble dairies and would be a good friend to the dairies nationally.

Move Under Way To Draft Young To Oppose Jenrette

By LEE BANDY
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A move is under way to draft Ed Young of Florence as the Republican to oppose State Rep. John Jenrette, D-Horry, for the Sixth Congressional District seat in November.

Jenrette defeated Rep. John L. McMillan, D-S.C., dean of the S.C. congressional delegation, in a run-off primary Tuesday.

McMillan has indicated he will request a recount. Jenrette had an 839-vote edge over the incumbent, according to unofficial tallies which showed 35,549 for Jenrette and 34,653 for McMillan. The loser may request a recount if the margin of victory is less than three per cent.

Republicans had a ghost candidate in Bruce Gause of Seranton, but he's expected to withdraw once the S.C. Republicans select a candidate.

Young, a former Democratic member of the S.C. House "Farmer of the Year" in South Carolina, is the leading choice, according to reliable sources.

"Ed Young is the kind of guy we dream of as a candidate," remarked a key Nixon Administration official.

It's known that Young for some time has wanted to run for ... but has consist-

ently refused to enter for personal reasons, and because he felt McMillan could not be had.

Upon McMillan's demise, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee immediately picked the sixth District as a prime target area.

An official contacted Young and promised him all the campaign funds the committee could legally offer the Florence native in a race against Jenrette. That would be about \$10,000.

In addition to that, House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., phoned Young and urged him to run. Some encouragement also came from the White House.

A couple of other names have been mentioned — former U.S. Attorney Joseph O. Rogers of Manning and former state GOP chairman Ray Harris of Darlington who lost to McMillan four years ago.

However, word is neither is giving it serious consideration. In fact, one source indicated that Harris would within the next day or so launch a "Draft Ed Young" movement.

Young is considered popular among farmers in the rural Sixth District, having a daily television program and being an executive in the area Federal Land Bank system.

He also is the South Carolina Chairman of the Farmers for President Nixon Committee.

Several McMillan supporters, bitter about defeat at the hands of Jenrette, reportedly have contacted Young promising quiet support throughout the district.

Another thing in Young's favor is sentiment among Florence citizens wishing to keep the congressional seat in their

home town. Jenrette is from Horry County.

Also, Young is generally recognized across the district, having served as the area GOP chairman and managed Harris' campaign against McMillan.

A Clemson University graduate, Young is also a prominent figure with Coble Dairy and a businessman with interest in a couple of motels and a golf course.



ED YOUNG
Reported Leading Choice

THE STATE
Columbia, South Carolina
September 14, 1972
FRONT PAGE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 9/29/72

TO: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI ~~BAC~~

Did H ask for this, rather than the
President?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HS*
SUBJECT: Senate Races

Our Senate prospects have not improved because our southern candidates are not showing up as well as they should with the coattail opportunity. If the coattails work, they could come through. The state Democrat leaders are putting everything on these races and screaming about southern chairmanships. Also, they're trying to get Wallace campaigning for them. Labor help is coming through too, and our people are short on funds.

We should not lose any present seats except South Dakota, where we can win. Help is needed there to elect a good conservative and keep out another McGovern. Also, Griffin needs constant care in Michigan.

Our best pickup possibilities are Rhode Island, New Mexico, Oklahoma, North Carolina and Alabama -- in that order. Montana is a long shot.

SENATE RACES

Alabama: Sen. John Sparkman (D) is favored, but scared. Republican Winton Blount is closing the gap with good momentum. The National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA) has a black candidate and a list of McGovern electors on the ballots enabling voters to vote a straight NDPA ticket. This will help if this gets known to blacks. Blount has some black vote. If coattails help enough, Blount can win.

Alaska: Sen. Ted Stevens (R) won an impressive primary and should win. Democrat Gene Guess is not showing the strength that was expected.

Arkansas: Sen. John McClellan (D) should win. Republican Wayne Babbitt, ex-HUD director, is gaining in the polls but has poor organization and slow campaign effort. The issue of age appears to have strong appeal, but will not be enough.

Colorado: Sen. Gordon Allott (R) should win. However, Democrat Floyd Haskell is a good and determined candidate.

Delaware: Sen. J. Caleb Boggs (R) is favored but could have trouble. His campaign is slow and state GOP officials are concerned. Democrat Joseph Biden is proving to be an effective, aggressive campaigner with a good organization. He stays away from McGovern.

Georgia: Sen. David Gambrell (D) was unseated in a run-off election by Sam Nunn, a young wealthy state legislator whom Maddox and black leaders LeRoy Johnson and Julian Bond endorsed in primary. Republican Cong. Fletcher Thompson drew tougher opponent. However, Maddox now supposedly for Thompson covertly. This one rated less likely than North Carolina and Alabama. Thompson trying to hang McGovern on Nunn and being charged with running on race.

Idaho: Sen. Len B. Jordan (R) is retiring. Cong. Jim McClure has won the GOP nomination receiving 46,500 votes out of 127,000 in a four-way race. The Democrat is state university president Bud Davis who won strong in a primary. McClure is favored, but this is going to be harder than expected.

Illinois: Sen. Charles H. Percy (R) is showing increasing strength and should win. The state GOP is stressing the unity of the Republican ticket. Nixon, Ogilvie, Percy and Scott are pictured as a winning combination. The Democrat is Cong. Roman Pucinski.

Iowa: Sen. Jack Miller (R) won the primary with little difficulty and should win the election. The Democrat is Dick Clark.

Kansas: Sen. James Pearson (R) should win. Democrat Dr. Arch Tetzlaff is expected to be little more than a nuisance candidate.

Kentucky: Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R) is not seeking re-election. The state Democrat administration is putting its effort on the Senate race, and Dee Huddleston has a good media campaign. However, Republican Louie Nunn is favored with good campaign tied into our Re-elect operation.

Louisiana: Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D) deceased. Conservative Democrat Bennett Johnston, who just missed governor nomination, should win. Ex-governor John McKeithen is attempting to qualify as an Independent (he needs 1,500 signatures of registered Independents by September 30), but he may not succeed because there are so few registered Independents. The A.I.P. candidate is Hall Lyons (son of Charlton Lyons). Republican Ben Toledano is behind with little name recognition outside of New Orleans. His only chance lies with coattails and a big media campaign which he can't afford.

Maine: Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R) is running a low-key campaign and showing high in the polls. She should win. Democrat William Hathaway is not running as strong a campaign as expected.

Massachusetts: Sen. Edward Brooke (R) is walking away with it. Democrat John Droney has little name recognition, and his campaign has had little effect as yet.

Michigan: Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R) is favored, but this could develop into a very close race. The Democrat is Attorney General Frank Kelley. The difference should be RN coattails and anti-busing.

Minnesota: Sen. Walter Mondale (D) should win. His popularity is high, even among Republicans. Republican Phil Hansen, a Lutheran minister, who is known for his work with drug addicts and alcoholics, could do better than expected.

Mississippi: Sen. James O. Eastland (D) should win. Republican Gil Carmichael is a good candidate in an impossible situation. He cannot expect more than 40% with all of the breaks.

Montana: Sen. Lee Metcalf (D) is favored. Republican Henry S. Hibbard is expected to make this a close race, but his campaign has been slow in starting. The busing issue could hurt Metcalf. May be a sleeper for us.

Nebraska: Sen. Carl Curtis (R) has problems, but he is favored. Democrat Terry Carpenter is coming on strong with labor support and a good media campaign. He has good name recognition and could make this a close race. Recent poll results indicate a lack of RN coattails.

New Hampshire: Sen. Thomas McIntyre (D) is favored. Republican Wesley Powell is behind in poll, but this could be close. Loeb is going all out.

New Jersey: Sen. Clifford P. Case (R) should win. Democrat Paul Krebs is not proving to be an effective candidate.

New Mexico: Sen. Clinton Anderson (D) is retiring. Democrat Jack Daniels and Republican Pete Domenici are very close -- 50-50. Domenici is a viable candidate who could make it with coattails. Lost for governor in 1970. One of our best hopes.

North Carolina: Sen. Everett Jordan (D) was upset by Cong. Nick Galifianakis who is conducting a strong campaign and is now favored. Republican Jesse Helms is getting good exposure with national figures and could win. However, it's been tough getting him from far right to center, where Galifianakis is appearing to be. Our man not as good a politician. Coattails could do it for us.

Oklahoma: Sen. Fred Harris (D) is not seeking re-election. Congressman Ed Edmondson handily won the Democrat primary. Republican Dewey Bartlett has come from behind to 50-50. Coattails could do it, and Bartlett is seeking them in every way.

Oregon: Sen. Mark Hatfield (R) is favored but his campaign is poorly organized and there is much resentment towards him among GOP voters for not helping RN on Vietnam. Democrat Wayne Morse is conducting a low visibility campaign but is closing on Hatfield.

Rhode Island: Sen. Claiborne Pell (D) has been trailing badly in the polls but is starting to show strength. Republican John Chafee is conducting an aggressive and effective campaign, but this could be closer than expected. Chafee favored for our No. 1 pickup.

South Carolina: Sen. Strom Thurmond (R) should win. Democrat Nick Ziegler is aggressive and attacks Thurmond every day, especially for going into North Carolina to help Helms.

South Dakota: Sen. Karl Mundt (R) retiring. The Republican is Bob Hirsch who is running an aggressive campaign and will make this a close race. The Democrat is Cong. James Abourezk, to left of McGovern. Recent poll showed RN 2-1 and Hirsch four points behind. This can be won with coattails and help.

Tennessee: Sen. Howard H. Baker (R) is favored, but this will be closer than expected. He has an excellent organization and RN will win big. Democrat Cong. Ray Blanton has gotten to the right of Baker and is rallying point for Democrats disaffected by McGovern. Democrats are desperate for one of three big offices. Also, our busing judges hurt Baker.

Texas: Sen. John Tower (R) is favored and should win. He is conducting an aggressive campaign to win Democrat votes. Democrat Barefoot Sanders is having money problems, but he is hitting Tower's voting record with some effect. Poll shows Tower +5 and moving.

Virginia: Sen. William Spong, Jr. (D) could be whipped but Republican Bill Scott doesn't seem to be the man. Scott's campaign is now taking shape, but he has poor organization and lacks enthusiastic support among GOP and many Byrd people. However, Stets Coleman and others now trying hard to pull it out.

West Virginia: Sen. Jennings Randolph (D) should win. Republican Louise Leonard is having financial problems and needs a landslide Presidential vote to win.

Wyoming: Sen. Clifford Hansen (R) should win. His popularity is holding up, but biggest problem is apathy among Republicans. Democrat Mike Vinich is not getting off the ground and appears to have poor organization.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

September 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

STAN ANDERSON

SUBJECT:

Senate and House Races
Planning Paper

At the strategy meeting on September 7th. I was asked to pull together a series of recommendations on what candidates for the Senate and House should be supported by the Re-election Committee. I was also asked to analyze the resources which might be available to aid these target candidates if decisions were made to support local candidates.

Attached at Tab A is a memorandum analyzing target Senate seats. This memorandum also analyzes a number of resources that may be available to aid local candidates. Attached at Tab B is a copy of a memorandum from Bill Timmons outlining target House seats and recommending certain activities on behalf of certain target candidates.

10a - mtg - financial resources - no
if away pr/camp - only if
we wouldn't get
9/29
~~9/29~~
Review
pr/cm.
- no change in Dir Mail or Telex
- to extent of coop canvass OK
- VP + Suris - gradually to Sen races OK
- nothing dramatic
- no change in P. school
- Anderson is the Proj Manager.

MEMORANDUM
SENATE AND HOUSE RACES
PLANNING PAPER

The purpose of this memorandum is to generally analyze Senate and House races, to make tentative recommendations on target Senate races and to identify and examine the resources which are available to allocate to those target races.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is based upon the assumption that decisions concerning the extent of Presidential, White House and campaign involvement in Senate and House races will be made in late September or early October when polling data and field reports reveal the extent of the President's lead at that time. Between now and early October, two separate projects should be completed; one, analyze Senate and House races to determine those which merit some degree of involvement from Washington and second, analyze the resources available which can be brought to bear in those races identified in step one above.

The analysis of available resources should not be viewed as a commitment that these resources will in fact be used. Rather this analysis should be done if a White House decision is made to become involved, to one degree or another, in Senate and House races.

Once a determination has been made as to which races should be targeted and an inventory conducted of the various kinds of resources which can be directed to these target races then a decision can be made on the level or degree of support for each candidate. Once the level of commitment for each race has been determined the process of allocating the resources can begin.

ANALYSIS OF SENATE RACES

The best opportunity for capturing one House of the Congress lies in the Senate. There are currently 45 Republican Senators (Buckley votes on organization as a Republican). A net increase of five seats will allow the Republicans to organize the Senate. There is some talk that with a net gain of four seats Senator Byrd of Virginia would vote to organize with the Republicans. On the basis of information available to me I do not think Senator Byrd would vote to organize with the Republicans.

The Republicans need at least 39 seats in the House in order to organize. As indicated in the analysis at Tab B, such a gain will be extremely difficult.

Senate. As a result of the changes of organizing the Senate, I recommend that a majority of time, effort and resources be channeled into selected Senate races. I feel that all of the available resources be first allocated

into the target Senate races. However, the recommendations for House races at Tab B should be undertaken if at all possible.

In the Senate there are two seats held by incumbent Senators which are now rated as close, Michigan (Griffin) and Texas (Tower). The Senate race in Oregon (Hatfield) is rated as close but Hatfield seems to be leading and is slated to win. I would recommend no overt help in this race. There are also three seats which are Republican seats where the incumbent is not running for reelection; Kentucky (Cooper) where Nunn is running, South Dakota (Mundt) where Hirsch is the candidate and Idaho (Jordan) where McClure is the Republican candidate. Each of these three races are also rated as close.

In order to have any chance to win a majority in the Senate each of these seats must be held. These races must not be overlooked or underplayed in the process of identifying other races, which if won would result in a net gain. If any of these current Republican seats are lost, the odds against gaining a Republican Senate are greatly increased as discussed below.

On the basis of available polling data, field reports from CREP Regional Directors and fieldmen, and from a number of other sources such as AmPac, BiPac and Chamber of Commerce, I rate the following net gain Senate races

in three categories: 1) "even or better" chance of a Republican victory - Chaffee in Rhode Island and Domenici in New Mexico; 2) "possible" if the President does very well in the state - Thompson in Georgia, Helms in North Carolina, and Bartlett in Oklahoma; and, 3) "long-shot possibilities" - Blount in Alabama, Hibbard in Montana, Toledano in Louisiana and Scott in Virginia.

There are a total of five races in the "even or better" and "possible" categories. This is the number of seats needed to insure that the Republicans can organize the Senate. However, if even one seat now held by a Republican is not held then the task of winning a Republican majority rests on winning a "long-shot possibility."

Consequently, I would propose a two pronged approach to the Senate races, a) apply maximum effort towards saving the five close races now held by Republicans (Texas, Michigan, Kentucky, South Dakota and Idaho); and, b) apply maximum effort on the five seats categorized as "even or better" and "possible", categories 1 and 2 above. "Long-shot possibilities" should receive assistance but only if it does not dissipate our efforts toward incumbent seats and categories 1 and 2. Any action taken on these races should also be prioritized. I would rate the "long-shot possibilities" in the following order; Montana (Hibbard), Alabama (Blount), Virginia (Scott), Louisiana (Toledano). Both Montana and Alabama would be a much higher than Virginia or Louisiana.

House. As we pointed out in the memorandum on House seats at Tab B, there are a number of incumbent^{ent} Republicans facing stiff re-election battles and because of retirements, a substantial number of races where the Republican incumbent is not running. This means that substantial effort must be made just to stay even.

The attached memorandum divides target races into three categories, those races deserving maximum support, those races deserving moderate support and those races deserving little support. The type of resource that should be expended in each category is also outlined.

AVAILABLE RESOURCES

This section deals with the types and kinds of resources which may be made available to targeted races if a decision is made to actively support local races.

State Campaign Activities. There are a number of activities currently being carried on by the Nixon organization in the various states which could be transferable to local candidates to one degree or another.

The most obvious general activity is the intensity of the Nixon campaign itself in each state. If there is a well organized, ~~and~~ efficient and effective Nixon organization operating in a state, it will help all Republican candidates. The degree of help an effective Presidential campaign will furnish is difficult to judge but I think it is safe to assume that the higher the President's margin of victory in a state the better the chance of other Republicans on the ticket. In other words, by increasing the intensity of the Nixon effort through more advertising, more telephone banks, or more door-to-door canvassing, we increase the chances of local Republican candidates.

The state campaigns are also composed of a number of separate elements, many of which can also be adapted to aiding local races. First is the door-to--door canvassing and "get out the vote" activity. In some

states this activity has already been combined with certain Senatorial races, (Michigan, Texas and Kentucky). It is not too late to combine our door-to-door efforts in other Senate races as well. This combination does two things - it brings in a large surge of new workers for the local candidate and second it embraces the local candidate in the Nixon aura and increases the coattail possibilities. I recommend that a joint door-to-door canvass effort be undertaken with the Senate candidates in New Mexico, Georgia, North Carolina and Oklahoma.

Direct mail is another element in the state campaigns even though it is directed from Washington, The mailing ensembles are already printed and can't be changed to include target candidates at this late date; however, lists of printed mailing labels (in key states) can be made available to Senate and House candidates.

Telephone banks are still another element in the state campaigns. In selected areas (Texas and Michigan) these banks are now being used to assist Senate candidates. Unfortunately, none of the other target Senate races are in states where telephone banks are currently operating.

However, xerox copies of identified Nixon voters could be made available to local target Congressional candidates. These xerox sheets would represent target voters for the local candidate. This proposal is also recommended in the memorandum at Tab B.

Finances. Money is the life blood of politics and accordingly campaigns can always use more money. The need for money in local races may be more severe than normal this year because of our intense fund raising efforts and because most of the normal Democratic funding sources are funnelling money into State races instead of the McGovern effort. However, in an early field analysis of some key House and Senate races our analysis revealed that money was not always the most needed item. In many cases, money was not mentioned as "the" factor in the election. This is important in that money that is raised nationally for the purpose of aiding local candidates can be channelled on a limited basis to those candidates who really need the help, thus increasing its effectiveness. Another factor that is extremely important is the timing of the delivery of additional campaign funds. Money can most effectively be spent in early October with a deminishing return as each week passes. Money delivered in late October and early November is normally used to pay post campaign bills.

The method of distribution of any monies raised is also an issue. Basically, there seem to be four methods of distribution available to us. First, directly from 1701 to the targeted candidates. Second, from 1701 to the Senate or House Campaign Committee for distribution to our targeted candidates. Third, the formation by us of a separate committee to distribute funds directly to targeted candidates. Fourth, 1701 can give indications of support for targeted candidates to selected donors who would contribute

directly to the targeted candidates. Whatever vehicle is finally selected it should be remembered that there are outside funds available for House and Senate races and that going after that money will not dissipate or interfere with the main fund raising activity of the Committee.

It should also be remembered that any indication of support for target candidates by the Committee and the White House will result in a ripple effect. A number of private donors and private political groups, like BiPac, are waiting for guidance before putting additional money into state races.

Any funds which are raised or reallocated for Congressional purposes should be strictly distributed on a priority basis so that each dollar will have maximum effectiveness. Money should be allocated first to target Senate races then to the maximum support House races listed in the memorandum at Tab B.

Presidential Activities. Presidential involvement in target races is another available resource. The most obvious Presidential involvement is, of course, travel to the various states where target races are being held. This activity, in my view, is the most important single resource available and accordingly should be used sparingly. The President, by coming into a state and endorsing a candidate is putting his prestige on the line. He also runs the risk of alienating Democratic voters who

support him but won't vote Republican on state races. However, a Presidential visit to endorse a Senate candidate is the single most effective activity that can be undertaken to aid the candidate. Since personal Presidential involvement in Congressional races should be kept to a minimum I propose that the President make three campaign trips in October for the purpose of directly aiding Senate races. One trip would be to Michigan to aid Griffin. This trip could be combined with a trip to Chicago. Even though South Dakota is in category 1, I would not send the President into McGovern's home state. A second trip would be a ceremonial trip to the South. One trip should be made to the South since it will be solidly in the President's camp. I would propose going to Atlanta, the regional center of the South where press and media coverage is excellent. I would ask Blount, Thompson, Nunn and Helms to meet with the President in Atlanta. This negates the necessity of other stops in Southern states (which could cause problems with Democratic incumbents in Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas) and still allow these Senate candidates to meet with and be associated with the President. I purposely would not invite Senator Thurmond. By doing so you then could explain to Senate candidates in Mississippi and Arkansas that not all Senate candidates were invited. The third trip would be to California, via Oklahoma and New Mexico. These two candidates, Bartlett and Domenici, more than any Senate candidates, will benefit from a Presidential visit.

Under this proposal all of the first and second priority Senate races ~~when-the-President-sh~~ where the President should go will be visited. Tower has already received the President's personal endorsement. I do not think the President should go into South Dakota and Rhode Island to endorse candidates.

Most of the candidates in target Senate races have already been invited to the White House for picture sessions. In addition, a proposal has already been submitted for Presidential endorsement letters.

Presidential TV and radio spots endorsing local candidates will be covered later.

Vice Presidential Activities. The Vice President basically has the same options available as the President. However, the President should commit a substantial amount of time in October to target Senate and House races. I recommend the Vice President endorse our target Senate candidates in North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Oklahoma, New Mexico, South Dakota, Idaho and Montana. I would not send the Vice President into Michigan or Rhode Island to endorse local candidates. The ~~Vice~~ Vice President has already visited a number of these states and the Senatorial candidates received, to one degree or another, some assistance from these visits. The October visits, however, should be for the express

purpose of endorsing and aiding the candidacy of these target Senate candidates.

If the President's position vis-a-vis McGovern is as strong in mid-October as it is today, I would also schedule the Vice President into a number of target Congressional races.

The Vice President should also make himself available for photo opportunities with target Senate and House races.

First Family. Members of the First Family can also be effectively used in aiding target Senate and House races. For example, Mrs. Nixon could provide great assistance to the candidacy of John Caffee in Rhode Island by providing "The Nixon Aura" and at the same time not raise substantive issue problems where Caffee and the President may disagree. Julie and Tricia also can give significant assistance to our target candidates.

In each instance, however, members of the First Family should seek to identify themselves with our target candidates. Several problems have occurred lately where members of the First Family were in a target state and our candidate was not able to obtain maximum exposure with the Family member.

Surrogates. The Committee's surrogate program provides a very flexible resource. The surrogates can be scheduled into target Senate races without great disruption to the existing schedule. Scheduling a surrogate for the benefit of a Senate candidate will show Presidential support and will give a lift to the local campaign. It could also be used for local fund raising if approved by the Finance Committee. The scheduling of surrogates into target Senate races could start immediately.

Advertising. Advertising and the Committee's advertising expertise is another resource which should be used. Counsel advises, however, that any advertising in which the President appears, even if it is only to endorse the candidacy of a local candidate, must be allocated towards the President's media allowance to the extent it benefits the President. The President's picture or voice endorsing other candidates would be considered a benefit. Consequently, any use of the President must be closely coordinated with the November Group. Indications are that the full media allocation for the President's campaign will not be used and if local funding can be provided Presidential endorsement of target candidates through TV and radio advertising should be undertaken.

Specifically, I recommend that the President prepare ten voice tapes for our ten target Senate candidates. Each tape would be 30 to 45 seconds in length and would be individualized for each candidate. We

would ask each candidate for an initial draft and the November Group would edit for consistency and Presidential tone. This voice tape would then be supplied to each candidate, who would then provide video coverage of the Senate candidate to go along with the President's taped message. This would require approximately 1/2 hour of the President time. The tapes can be reproduced easily and distributed.

I also recommend that a standard one minute TV tape be prepared for distribution to our target Senate races and maximum support House races. This tape would show various film clips of the President dealing with the Congress, a shot of a state of the Union, returning to the Capital from Moscow, leadership breakfasts, etc. An off-camera announcer talking about the President and how much he needs a Republican Congress. The proposal would not require any of the President's time.

Miscellaneous. There are also a number of miscellaneous resources that can be brought to bear on identified target races.

Campaign Management - It would be possible, on a limited basis, to supply selected Senate races with campaign management or campaign consultants. There appears to be real need for such services in several of our key Senate races, particularly North Carolina, Georgia, Oklahoma, and Montana.

Issue Research - Information on issues both positive and negative is badly needed in most of the target races.

Issue information could easily be distributed to target races through sample press releases and issue papers.

Different subjects could be stressed in different geographical locations throughout the country.

McGovern Record - Ed Failor's program of supplying press releases on McGovern can be greatly expanded.

Voting Record - The voting records on all incumbent Democrats could be supplied to our target races. This information is very useful particularly if McGovern's voting record is also included and our target candidates can use this information to tie their opponent into McGovern.

Supplies - Campaign supplies are always in short supply in a campaign, especially state campaigns. If straight financial contributions are not possible, contributions of supplies such as bumper stickers, pins, canvass sheets, etc. could be supplied to our target races.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SENSITIVE - EYES ONLY

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS

SUBJECT:

Target Congressional Candidates

As you requested, this memorandum sets forth three categories for 84 Congressional races which deserve special attention and discusses the various types of support which may be undertaken for each group. Stan Anderson and Harry Flemming agree in these recommendations.

We have rated the target districts in three categories:

Category A - Maximum Support (30)

Category B - Moderate Support (15)

Category C - Little Support (39)

We also created three Divisions within each category:

Division I - Incumbent Republican (22)

Division II - Open Republicans* (21)

Division III - Net gain opportunity (41)

It was our feeling that incumbent Republicans facing stiff reelection challenges should receive maximum support if it appears they have any opportunity to win. We also feel that priority consideration should be given to Republican challengers in districts where the Republican incumbent is not seeking reelection.

Tab A contains our recommendations for Category A - Maximum Support - races.
Tab B contains our recommendations for Category B - Moderate Support - races.
Tab C contains our recommendations for Category C - Little Support - races.

* The Republican incumbent is not seeking reelection.

We also recommend specific types of support for each Category:

Category A (7 incumbents, 6 Republicans open, 17 net gain opportunities)
This group represents the tightest House races where maximum effort should be most helpful.

Finance - We recommend \$5,000 for each candidate.
This would total \$150,000.

Speakers - We recommend that a member of the First Family or the Vice President visit each district.

Endorsements - We recommend an endorsement letter from the President and a still photo of each candidate with the President.

Organization - We recommend a joint canvassing effort with the Nixon organization for each candidate. We also recommend joint telephone canvassing in those areas where telephone banks are located and a combined ballot security operation with the Nixon organization in each district. We also recommend that we make available lists of Republicans (where party registration is known) and identified Nixon supporters (at no cost) taken from our computer mailing tapes (in key states) and make available the list of contributors in each target district derived from our finance mailings. Campaign literature of each target candidate should also be allowed in each Nixon storefront.

Advertising - We recommend providing each candidate with a uniform television and radio tape of the President endorsing the need for a Republican Congress. A tag line then could be added to this tape by each candidate.

Category B (3 incumbents, 1 Republican open, 11 net gain opportunities)
This group represents moderately difficult races for incumbents and GOP open seat candidates as well as challengers who are "outside chances."

Finance - We recommend \$3,000 for each candidate. This would total \$45,000.

Speakers - We recommend scheduling at least one surrogate into each district.

Endorsements - We recommend an endorsement letter from the President and a still photo of each candidate with the President.

Organization - We recommend a combined ballot security operation and that we provide computer print-outs as explained above. We also recommend that we allow campaign materiel of each target candidate to be placed in Nixon storefronts.

Advertising - We recommend providing a uniform radio tape by the President for each candidate. This tape would be general in nature and each candidate would provide his own tag line.

Category C (12 incumbents, 12 Republicans open, 13 net gain opportunities)
This group represents districts that are apparent winners or losers and extra effort will have only marginal effect on the outcome.

Finances - None

Speakers - We recommend scheduling the surrogates if they are available after meeting the requirements of Category B.

Endorsements - We recommend an endorsement letter from the President and a still photo of each candidate with the President.

Organization - We recommend a combined ballot security operation and allow the target candidates to place their campaign literature in Nixon storefronts.

Advertising - None

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend strongly that a final decision on the above recommendations be made as soon as possible. We feel that money distributed in early October can be much more efficiently spent than money distributed in late October or early November. It will also require two to three weeks to produce the TV and radio tapes described above thus making the speedy approval of these recommendations mandatory.

CATEGORY A

Maximum Support .

STATE	DISTRICT	CANDIDATE
<u>Division I (Incumbents)</u>		
California	6th	Mailliard
Connecticut	2nd	Steele
Indiana	10th	Dennis
Iowa	1st	Schwengel
Michigan	2nd	Esch
Minnesota	6th	Zwach
Texas	13th	Price *
<u>Division II (Republicans Open)</u>		
Georgia	5th	Cook
Illinois	21st	Madigan
Massachusetts	5th	Cronin
Massachusetts	12th	Weeks
North Carolina	9th	Martin
Oklahoma	1st	Hewgley
<u>Division III (Net Gains)</u>		
California	38th	Snider
Colorado	4th	Johnson
Connecticut	5th	Sarasin

* EXCEPTION: Should not have Presidential tapes and endorsements should be tailored.

CATEGORY A

Maximum Support (Continued)

STATE DISTRICT CANDIDATE

Division III (Net Gains) Continued

Indiana	11th	Hudnutt
Illinois	10th	Young
Illinois	11th	Hoellen
Kentucky	6th	Jackson
Maine	2nd	Cohen
Maryland	4th	Hold
Minnesota	7th	Haaven
Missouri	6th	Sloan
New Jersey	13th	Maraziti
New York	26th	Gilman
New York	32nd	Koldin
North Carolina	4th	Hawke
South Dakota	2nd	Abdnor
Tennessee	6th	Beard

T
A
B

B

CATEGORY B

Moderate Support

STATE DISTRICT CANDIDATE

Division I (Incumbents)

Indiana	2nd	Landgrebe
New York	23rd	Peysen
Wisconsin	3rd	Thomson

Division II (Republicans Open)

Wisconsin	8th	Froelich
-----------	-----	----------

Division III (Net Gains)

Connecticut	1st	Rittenband
Mississippi	2nd	Butler
Mississippi	4th	Cochran
New Jersey	3rd	Dowd
New York	24th	Vergari
South Carolina	1st	Limehouse
South Dakota	1st	Vickerman
Texas	5th	Steelman *
Washington	4th	Bledsoe
Wisconsin	3rd	Thompson
Wyoming	AL	Kidd

* EXCEPTION: Should not have Presidential tapes and endorsements.

CATEGORY C

Little Support

STATE DISTRICT CANDIDATE

Division I (Incumbents)

Alabama	2nd	Dickerson
California	43rd	Veysey
Colorado	1st	McKevitt
Indiana	8th	Zion
Iowa	4th	Kyl
Maryland	1st	Mills
New York	36th	Smith
Ohio	8th	Powell
Tennessee	3rd	Baker
Tennessee	8th	Kuykendall
Utah	2nd	Lloyd

Division II (Republicans Open)

California	20th	Moorhead
California	39th	Hinshaw
Idaho	1st	Symms
Michigan	18th	Huber
Missouri	7th	Taylor
New Jersey	12th	Rinaldo

CATEGORY C

Little Support (Continued)

STATE DISTRICT CANDIDATE

Division II (Republicans Open) Continued

New York	31st	Mitchell
New York	33rd	Walsh
Ohio	4th	Guyer
Ohio	16th	Regula
Pennsylvania	9th	Shuster
Virginia	6th	Butler
Virginia	8th	Parris
Washington	1st	Pritchard

Division III (Net Gains)

Arizona	4th	Conlan
California	36th	Ketchum
California	42nd	Burgener
Colorado	5th	Armstrong
Florida	5th	Insco
Florida	10th	Bafalis
Illinois	3rd	Hanrahan
Illinois	17th	O'Brien

CATEGORY C

Little Support (Continued)

STATE	DISTRICT	CANDIDATE
<hr/>		
<u>Division III (Net Gains) Continued</u>		
Lousiana	3rd	Treen
Massachusettes	4th	Linsky
Mississippi	5th	Lott
New York	3rd	Roncallo
Pennsylvania	20th	Hunt

CONFIDENTIAL/SENSITIVE

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Budget Comparison and Projection

Robert C. Odle, Jr., October 23, 1972

<u>Division</u>	<u>Approved Budget (1)</u>	<u>Expenditures As of 10/16 (2)</u>	<u>Unexpended Balance (3)</u>	<u>Estimated Costs 10/16 - 11/15 (4)</u>	<u>Over/Under Budget (5)</u>	<u>Total Estimated Cost (6)</u>
Administration	594,000	612,585	(18,585)	5,000	(23,585)	617,585
Advertising	5,368,000	3,202,131	2,165,869	3,378,551	(1,212,682)	6,580,682
Campaign Materials	2,344,000	2,506,000	(162,000)	0	(162,000)	2,506,000
Candidate Support	1,347,000	1,196,735	150,265	603,265	(453,000)	1,800,000
Citizens	1,712,000	1,505,000	207,000	207,000	0	1,712,000
Convention	451,000	554,577	(103,577)	25,000 due-refunds	(78,577)	529,577
Executive	93,000	100,487	(7,487)	1,000	(8,487)	101,487
Finance Committee	865,000	659,204	205,796	205,796	0	865,000
Office Administration	1,068,520	1,200,377	(131,857)	150,000	(281,857)	1,350,377
Political Division	11,698,500	10,275,326	1,423,174	1,323,174	100,000	11,598,500
Polling	590,000	459,964	130,036	140,036	(10,000)	600,000
Press Office	677,000	673,421	3,579	40,000	(36,421)	713,421
Direct Mail and Telephone	4,785,000	3,657,706	1,127,294	1,127,294	0	4,785,000
Scheduling & Tour	1,234,000	495,075	738,925	297,000	441,925	792,075
Youth	298,000	597,508	(299,508)	50,000	(349,508)	647,508
Pre-payments	4,672,980					4,672,980
Funds spent prior to 4/7 by all Divisions	3,110,000					3,110,000
TOTALS	40,908,000					42,982,192

CONFIDENTIAL/SENSITIVE

October 20, 1972

TO: ROB ODLE
FROM: PHIL JOANOU
SUBJECT: Advertising Budget Status

The status of the budget as of 10/20 is as follows:

November Group Fee	\$1,294,000
Production	<u>1,490,000</u>
TOTAL:	<u>\$2,784,000</u>
Media:	
Network television	\$1,546,177
Local advertising	1,223,536
Voter bloc	253,220
Radio speeches	<u>64,455</u>
TOTAL:	<u>\$3,096,388</u>

Additional funds required are estimated as follows:

Network television:	\$569,294 (1)
½ hour speech	300,000
Network radio	150,000
Local spot 10/30-11/6	506,000
Contingency	<u>100,000</u>
TOTAL:	<u>\$1,625,294</u>

(1) Included in committed budget

The preceding \$1,625,294 is based on the assumption that:

1. A moderately heavy local advertising effort will be employed during the last week.
2. Several additional network radio speeches will be requested.
3. A major half-hour network schedule will be ordered.
4. That \$100,000 will be required to meet unpredictable additional "must do" requests.

Therefore, the budget status is as follows:

	<u>Budget</u>	<u>Forecast</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Production & Fee	\$2,784,000	\$2,784,000	-
Media	<u>3,509,000</u>	<u>4,721,682</u>	<u>\$1,212,682</u>
	<u>\$6,293,000</u>	<u>\$7,505,682</u>	<u>\$1,212,682</u>

Note:

The \$7,505,682 represents the total cost of November Group and Advertising to 1701. Minus the \$925,000 pre-payment, the total cost is \$6,580,682, which is the figure shown on the budget comparison sheet.

R.C.O.

Notes:

- (1) "Approved Budget" For the period April 7 - November 15. Approved by Budget Committee on September 13. These figures do not include pre-payments.
- (2) "Expenditures As of 10/16" From Budget Comparison provided by Finance Committee Treasurer at Budget Meeting October 16. Includes all salaries and payroll burden through November 15.
- (3) "Unexpended Balance" As of October 16, these amounts remained unexpended from the approved budgets. Do not include salaries (see above).
- (4) "Estimated Costs 10/16 - 11/15" These amounts represent what Division directors need to carry out their programs in this period.
- (5) "Over/Under Budget" This represents a comparison between (3) and (4)
- (6) "Total Estimated Cost" Entire cost of each Division from April 7 to November 15. Represents a comparison to (1).

Campaign Materials: Approved Budget increased \$144,000 from Citizens; \$17,000 in expenditures transferred to November Group research, \$15,000 credited to expenditures.

Candidate Support: Figure of \$1.8 million based on (a) \$600,000 for Presidential and First Family travel which is \$100,000 under budget; (b) \$150,000 for staff which is \$50,000 over budget; (c) \$450,000 for public relations and mailings which is \$100,000 under budget; and (d) \$600,000 for the Vice President which is \$550,000 over budget due to the fact that the Vice President's post-convention expenses were expressly excluded from the original White House budget.

Citizens: Approved Budget decreased \$144,000 for campaign materials and \$298,000 for youth. Expenses added under expenditures for cost of Ballot Security program through October 16, \$60,000. Youth expenses deducted.

Office Administration: The \$150,000 is a necessarily rough estimate since it depends on unascertainable costs.

Political Division: \$140,000 added to Approved Budget for approved increases in three states; Ballot Security expenses of \$60,000 deducted from expenditures.

Polling: Extra polling which may be requested in the amount of \$20,000 on October 28 has been added under Estimated Costs. The Polling Budget does not include any post-election analyses which may be requested later.

Press Office: The \$40,000 under Estimated Costs represents \$25,000 for the final issue of The Re-Elector and \$15,000 for mailings, telegrams, and miscellaneous programs.

Scheduling and Tour: The \$792,075 budget, which is under budget by \$441,925, includes total costs of the women's surrogate program and \$140,000 for Election Night, although Election Night should be held to \$100,000.

Youth: New category. Over budget due to convention-related expenses in the amount of \$65,000, advertising-related expenses in the amount of \$110,000, and field expenses (California) in the amount of \$122,000.

October 23, 1972

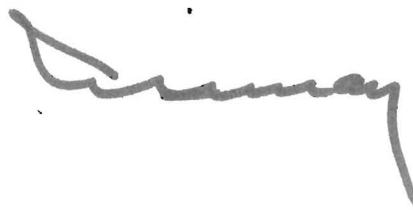
TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

Has someone made the material referred to in the attached news item available to Catholic voters.

A simple reprint of the editorial without any comment from the campaign should suffice.

The campaign here says it has no Catholic operation.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Murray Chotiner". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping tail on the right side.

MMC:a
Encl.

BROADER FORMAT

Part one, p. 1
Vatican Press
Branching Out
in World News

BY WILLIAM TUOHY

Times Staff Writer *Page 1*

VATICAN CITY—A recent edition of the afternoon daily L'Osservatore Romano, carried front-page stories about President Nixon, Northern Ireland, and the Paris peace talks, while inside columns were devoted to the Olympic Games.

For most publications, such news selection would be routine, but for the influential, closely read, unofficial Vatican newspaper, it reflects new editorial departures.

L'Osservatore Romano is aiming to increase and broaden its coverage of world events, and in the process may well become less a document whose nuances are understood only by Vaticanologists in world capitals.

"We are trying to modernize the paper and make it more journalistic," says Editor Raimondo Manzini. "We will still carry official religious news, of course, but the rest of the paper really wants to become a paper."

Political News Widened

Thus political news which used to be pretty much restricted to Italian affairs is being widened. And nonreligious subjects like the Angela Davis trial are being reported neutrally.

And at the same time, L'Osservatore Romano and its sister Sunday supplement, L'Osservatore Della Domenica, are also broadening the area — both religious and nonreligious—for pointed editorial comment.

L'Osservatore Della Domenica, for instance, recently carried an editorial declaring that Sen. George S. McGovern's presidential campaign was helping North Vietnam and the Viet Cong, and therefore hindering President Nixon's efforts to disengage in Southeast Asia.

Since the editorial was signed by Federico Alessandrini, the Vatican press spokesman, it was taken to represent a certain coolness toward McGovern on the part of the highest levels of the Vatican.

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Political Matters

Finances

① Formal Budget Meetings no longer occur because of the animosity apparent at the Oct. 16 meeting. (Peter Bailey ~~met with~~ ^{met with} Maury Slans if they after the meeting, ~~mutus~~ apologized, and agreed to a post-election lunch). ~~Now~~ Budget decisions are now made at ad hoc meetings. The most recent was on Oct 20 when Slans and Mac Gregor decided the 1972 Campaign Budget ceiling would

021
be 43,000. The projected expense sheet through Nov 15, prepared by Rob Odde, is attached at Tab A.

② Transfers have been made within the budget to reflect allocation decisions. The Citizens activities have been cut

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 18, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. PAUL E. BARRICK
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.
SUBJECT: Budget Transfers

With respect to the budget transfers discussed in last Monday's meeting, the following transfers and changes should be made before next week's session:

1. Campaign materials. (See attached memo)
 - a. Decrease the citizens budget by \$84,100 and transfer these funds to the campaign materials budget for voter group materials.
 - b. Decrease the citizens budget by \$60,000 and transfer these funds to the campaign materials budget for voter group distribution.
 - c. Transfer \$17,000 in expenses for poster research from campaign materials to November Group research, leaving campaign materials with \$17,000 less in expenses.
 - d. There is also \$15,609 in miscellaneous credits to campaign materials.
2. Youth - We will not make any transfers from the youth budget. However, to more accurately reflect our citizens budget vs. expenditures, we should (a) deduct the original youth budget of \$298,000 from the citizens budget of \$2,154,000; and (b) create a separate youth expense category with its \$298,000 budget. Obviously, youth will be over its budget, but this has been caused by certain convention, advertising, and field-related costs which we have agreed to leave in youth rather than attempt to transfer them elsewhere and put those budgets over.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

3. Election Night - The election night budget of \$98,130 is to be a new department under the Scheduling and Tour Office budget.

4. Credits - Andy Lawrence will be in touch with you regarding certain expenses which should be charged out of the convention account and also some deposits which will reduce convention expenditures by more than \$25,000. Hopefully, these deposits will be received in time to credit them on next week's budget comparison.

5. All the Newell Weed insurance costs should be transferred out of the Administrative budget. They were never budgeted, planned for, or approved, and should not be charged to my budget without my approval -- which you do not have. If the Political or the Finance Division wishes to absorb them, fine. If not, and you wish to cancel the policies, fine. But they should not be charged to my budget under any circumstances.

Can you effect the changes mentioned above for next week's budget comparison?

Thanks.

cc: Members of the Budget Committee

Mr. Gordon C. Strachan ✓

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

7-6-013

BUDGET MEETING

10/16/72

Campaign Materials Budget.

An additional \$175,000 is required to meet demands for campaign materials and to continue shipments for the next three weeks.

Reasons for this request are:

1. Increase in ordering of materials because of greater emphasis on field organizational activities.
2. Increase in freight costs because of air freight shipping demands.
3. Increased cost of Washington headquarters office (\$95,248).
4. Budget reductions from the original budget which was realistic.

As of 10/16 the materials costs are as follows:

Paid to date	\$2,328,969
Committed	204,794
Balance of freight needed	80,000
	<u>\$2,613,760</u>
Budget	2,200,000
Difference	<u>\$413,760</u>

This will be adjusted as follows:

Voter group materials to Political Division	\$84,100
Voter group distribution to Political Division	60,000
Poster Research to November Group research	17,000
Convention materials to convention	63,000
Miscellaneous covered by credit due	15,609
	<u>\$239,815</u>

Value Bloes

Value Bloes

The resultant budget will be as follows:

Current balance	\$2,613,760
Less adjustments	<u>239,815</u>
NEW TOTAL:	\$2,373,945
New Cost	\$2,373,945
Less Budget	<u>2,200,000</u>
Additional Funds Required	<u>\$173,945</u>

FINANCE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

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

MAURICE H. STANS
CHAIRMAN

October 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MISS ROSE WOODS

FROM:

MAURICE H. STANS

I understand that General Lauris Norstad is particularly turned off because he has been unable to get a call through to the President.

If the President is not able to talk to him, I suggest that some high level person make a call to smooth over his feathers.

Norstad is part of a group including Walter Thayer and Jock Whitney to whom we are looking for substantial contributions.

Maurice H. Stans

cc: H. R. Haldeman

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 3, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEE

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

SUBJECT: Budget Committee Meeting, Monday, October 2

PRESENT: Barrick, Dailey, Evans, Joanou, Kehrli, La Rue,
MacGregor, Magruder, Malek, Nunn, Odle, Stans,
✓ Strachan

1. Barrick is to instruct the Donnelly Company to pay authorized bills to other vendors out of the funds Donnelly presently has on hand.
2. Barrick is to examine the youth budget to determine why it has increased so rapidly and report back to Malek and Odle.
3. Malek/Jones are to attempt to save as much money as possible in the state budgets.
4. MacGregor is to telephone Charles Ross in Ohio and suggest that the Ohio budget will be cut unless the Ohio Finance Chairman raises more money and attempts to meet his quota.
5. Dailey is authorized to spend for the week of October 9 \$220,886 for local television spot advertising, \$11,000 for newspaper advertising, and \$301,700 of the \$2,271,909 previously budgeted for network television.
6. Malek is to ask the Illinois campaign people to finance certain Clem Stone requests out of the Illinois budget.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7. Odle is to make certain that reporters on campaign trips are billed for their airfare. (Subsequent to the meeting, Odle talked with Bruce Kehrli of the President's staff and Roy Goodearle of the Vice President's staff, and will report at the next Budget Committee Meeting.)

8. Since telephone use and postage has increased drastically during September, Odle is to cut back in other administrative areas in order to keep the administrative budget in line. (See attached memo.)

The next meeting of the Budget Committee is Monday, October 9, at 3:00 p.m. in Suite 407.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MISS MARTHA DUNCAN
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

A recent budget analysis shows that certain administrative areas over which we have little control (e.g., telephone use and postage) have increased dramatically. Consequently, it will be necessary to cut back in those areas where we do have some control.

1. Effective immediately, at both 1701 and 1730 we should cancel the extra hours air conditioning and heating. Both buildings should operate according to normal air conditioning and heating schedules during the week and on the weekends. We will not pay for any additional air conditioning or heating.
2. We should not rent or purchase any additional furniture. We'll just have to make do, and you can direct any appeals by staff members to me.
3. All requests for changing telephone systems, adding lines, adding additional service, etc., must be directed to me. There will be no changes made at all in any area in either building without my express approval in advance. Please make certain that the telephone company personnel understand this.
4. The Committee no longer will provide donuts, sandwiches, liquor or any kind of food at meetings, including the Strategy Meetings.
5. Please crack down on requests for office supplies and see what you can do to get the Stott bill down. Order no more business cards for anyone. Order no more memo pads of any kind -- if we run out we can use plain paper.

6. Divisions requesting large numbers of things beyond what is normal will be required to finance them out of their budgets. For example, if a certain division wishes to mail 10,000 charts to the field, that division should purchase and pay for the 10,000 mailing tubes.

7. Order no more hot chocolate, soup, or tea.

8. Order no more of the smaller size stationery.

9. No work of any kind is to be performed by building personnel without my express approval -- no more doors cut, walls built, pictures hung, boxes moved, etc.

10. Stress to the girls who run the xerox machines that big jobs should be done on the Press Office's multilith or mimeograph -- not on the xeroxes. Put a sign on each xerox to this effect.

Parler

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Hm
10/11

Date: 10/6

TO: DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Would you please handle this
schedule request for Bob?

Thank you.

Parler
Cancelled
see memo
\$ per item

Young
Voters
FOR THE PRESIDENT

October 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
THROUGH: CLARK MacGREGOR *CM*
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KR*

We have scheduled our last major youth event for October 29th in Washington, D. C. This event will begin at 7:30 P.M. at the Washington Hilton and will feature the New Seekers, the Mike Curb Congregation and a lineup of other stars. It will be modeled after the Miami Marine stadium event and aimed at maximum media coverage of enthusiastic young people supporting the President.

This event could be the capstone of the youth campaign and have major impact if the President made a surprise appearance and thanked the young voters of America for their support and assistance during the campaign. If we build the entire event around a thank you to the young voters and have a surprise appearance by the President, it is our feeling that it would add just the right touch to our appeal for the youth vote.

1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005 (202) 872-1430

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 10/6

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

A copy of this has been
sent to Chapin for handling.

**Young
Voters**
FOR THE PRESIDENT

C

October 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
THROUGH: CLARK MacGREGOR *CM*
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KR*

We have scheduled our last major youth event for October 29th in Washington, D. C. This event will begin at 7:30 P.M. at the Washington Hilton and will feature the New Seekers, the Mike Curb Congregation and a lineup of other stars. It will be modeled after the Miami Marine stadium event and aimed at maximum media coverage of enthusiastic young people supporting the President.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. Haldeman

FROM: Harry S. Dent 

New Hampshire GOP Chairman Whalen reports a random telephone survey statewide of 2,000 calls resulted in the following:

Governor's Race

Thomson (R)	55%
Crowley (D)	16%
McLean (I)	12%
Undecided	17%

Senate Race

Powell (R)	58%
McIntyre (D)	28%
Undecided	14%

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date : October 6, 1972

To: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT

Please handle _____

For your information _____

This is getting to be our
best prospect for a Senate
pickup. He is really
screaming for help.

The White House
Washington

1
2
3 WHB031(1400)(1-026523A279007)PD 10/05/72 1355

4 ICS IPMAYKA ABQ

1972 OCT 5 PM 3 04

5 ZCZC129 SM PDF ALBUQUERQUE NM 5 1224P MDT

6 PMS HARRY S DENT

7 EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF PRES 600 PENNSYLVANIA AVE

8 WHITE HOUSE DC 20500

9
10 ALL RELIABLE POLLS SHOW ME WITH 16 POINT LEAD BUT STILL
11 UNDER 50 PERCENT IN MY US SENATE RACE WITH 25 PERCENT UNDECIDED.
12 CURRENT FINANCE BUDGET PROJECTED TO BE \$66,000.00 SHORT WITH
13 ALL NEW MEXICO RESOURCES EXHAUSTED. IF YOU CAN MAKE IMMEDIATE
14 CONTRIBUTION OR FIRM COMMITMENT BY NOT LATER THAN OCTOBER 11TH,
15 WE WILL BE ABLE TO MEET ALL PLANNED MEDIA AND VOTER DELIVERY EFFORTS
16 ON A TIMELY BASIS OTHERWISE NECESSARY CUTBACKS MAY RESULT IN
17 LOSS OF MOMENTUM AND LOSING ELECTION. ANY OF THE FOLLOWING CAN
18 GIVE FULL INFORMATION AS TO PRESENT STATUS OF CAMPAIGN YOU
19 MAY CONTACT: CHUCK COLL CAMPAIGN FINANCE DIRECTOR 505-2667781,
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FORM 0805 PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER COMPANY, U.S.A.

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BUEL BERENTSEN DIRECTOR GOP SENATORIAL COMMITTEE 202-2252351,
HARRY FLEMING, COMMITTEE TO REELECT THE PRESIDENT 202-3330920,
TOM REED, REGIONAL DIRECTOR PO BOX 371 SAN RAFAEL CALIFORNIA
94902 415-4567310, MARTIN HAMBURGER, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO
SENATOR HUGH SCOTT 202-2256324

KINDEST PERSONAL REGARDS

PETE V DOMENICI BOX 25323 ALBUQUERQUE NEW MEXICO 87125

16 50 25 \$66,000.00 11 505-2667781 202-2252351 202-3330920 371
94902 415-4567310 202-2256324

FORM 0805 PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER COMPANY, U. S.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HSD*

LOUISIANA

The campaign organization of Louisiana GOP Senate candidate Ben Toledano has just completed a statewide poll. The work was done by Kennedy, Rockefeller and Ellsing, a firm with which I'm not familiar. Following are some of the results:

Presidential Vote

RN	McG	Schmitz	Undecided
68.2	16.4	.8	12.8

Interviewees were asked if a Democrat other than McGovern had been nominated, would they have voted for the Democrat. 5.6% said yes, 41% no and 12.9% said they would have voted for Wallace.

Issues

To the question of rating top to bottom issues considered most important nationally and locally, the respondents replied:

<u>Nationally</u>	<u>Louisiana</u>
Vietnam	Corruption
Economy	Jobs
Crime	Crime
Drugs	Education
Moral Decay	Cost of Living
Race	Taxes
Welfare	Drugs
Education	Roads and Bridges
Taxes	Moral Decay

Page Two
H. R. Haldeman
October 5, 1972

The Senate

Toledano's pollsters felt his statewide identity was so weak they didn't include him a head-on with Democrat Bennett Johnston and Independent John McKeithen. McKeithen polled only 22% with Johnston registering in the 60s and the rest undecided. 12% of Louisianans said McKeithen is a liar, and 8% said he was corrupt, based on problems he had as governor.

The Toledano people have decided to focus on Johnston. Their primary thrust is to try to link him with McGovern.

Toledano put up billboards across the state this week. He has television spots produced, but lacks the money to buy time.

Conclusion: A win here would be a surprise.

GEORGIA SENATE

The only poll data available at this point is a statewide name recognition poll taken by Fletcher Thompson's people. It shows Thompson leading Democrat Sam Nunn in name recognition 44% to 38%. Thompson expects reports on a head-to-head poll sometime this week.

Thompson's problems at this point are fourfold:

1. Herman Talmadge: Talmadge has begun an intensive effort to get across the line that Nunn must be elected because if the Republicans take over the Senate, Talmadge will lose "Georgia's chairmanship" of the Agricultural and Forestry Committee. Talmadge is doing this through a public and telephone campaign.

Page Three
H. R. Haldeman
October 5, 1972

2. Fletcher Thompson himself: Thompson has always been adamant about maintaining a good voting record in the Congress. Consequently, he has spent little time in Georgia, while Nunn has been there constantly. Thompson has now agreed to spend five days a week in Georgia.

Thompson is getting criticized for relying too much on generalities like Jane Fonda and Communism, and not getting down to Georgia issues.

Thompson wants to be the guy in the white hat. Nunn has a really shallow Congressional record, but Thompson is not attacking him.

3. Money: Thompson refuses to make any commitments until he knows where the money is coming from. Consequently, he has made no commitments for the best radio and television time. The money shortage is improving somewhat.

4. The Democrat coalition: The Thompson-Nunn race proves that politics does make strange bedfellows. Democrats from Lester Maddox to Julian Bond are supposedly backing Nunn, because they want to keep the Senate seat for the Democrats. Maddox has said his support for Nunn was for the Democrat primary, and that he might vote for Thompson in the end. But there has been no sign from Maddox or his organization to indicate there's anything substantial to this.

Conclusion: This one is winnable. Thompson is a good campaigner, and he can take it if he will get visible and get on the issues.

Recommendation: Close identification between the President and Thompson when the President goes to Atlanta. Gerry Ford has influence on Thompson, and should advise him along the lines suggested above.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Harry S. Dent *HSD*
SUBJECT: North Carolina

In the Senate and Gubernatorial races in North Carolina, the situation remains fuzzy and often contradictory. However, I am beginning to piece together something of a pattern. Following is a compilation of the most recent polls, and my conclusions at this point.

The President

1. Telephone poll conducted by GOP Gubernatorial candidate Jim Holshouser's organization, in Raleigh area, shows:

Nixon	64.0%
McGovern	20.7%
Undecided	15.3%

2. High Point Enterprise (which also includes Greensboro) poll of Guilford County, published Sunday, found:

Nixon	82%
McGovern	17%

Conclusion: Only a major disaster would prevent the President from winning with at least 60%.

The Senate

1. In the Holshouser poll, which I understand was done by his own people, without supervision, Nick Galifianakis is ahead of Republican Jesse Helms 50.2% to 32.3%, with 17.5% undecided.

2. The High Point Enterprise poll, showed Helms ahead 51.2% to Nick's 47.6%.

3. A Walter DeVries statewide poll completed 10 days ago shows Nick with 35%. Helms with 33% and the rest undecided.

4. I have learned that two Democrat polls show Helms within 4 points of Nick. Even the Democrats were surprised.

Conclusion: Cliff White is now on the scene with the Helms campaign. He found management problems, no media plan and no concept of proper scheduling. He believes his people are now on top of those technical problems. Beyond that, Helms had a lot less statewide recognition than he apparently assumed. Sixty miles beyond Raleigh - the limit of the coverage of the television station where he was a broadcaster - his recognition factor diminishes. White has now developed a media plan, revamped Helms' campaign schedule and generally broadening recognition. This week Helms' campaign initiated a radio-television blitz that will have 20 to 25 spots on 14 stations. The Helms people say they need \$120,000 but on balance White believes it is winnable. Helms has a GOP base in the west and conservative Democrat support in the east. No one can beat him by much. He is better off than recent reports have indicated. This is winnable.

The Governor

1. The poll Holshouser took for himself - Skipper Bowles, the Democrat, beating Holshouser 44.5% to 39%.

2. The Enterprise poll showed Bowles with 54% and Holshouser with 43.5%.

Conclusion: Holshouser is closing and doing better than we expected. He could win.

The Congress

We have a close fight to hold Jonas' seat in Charlotte. We can win one more seat - the Galifianakis open seat in Raleigh.

Recommendation: RN visit to North Carolina before November 7.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 10/5

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GEORGE COLLINS

A copy of this has been
sent to Chapin for staffing.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 10/5

TO: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

PLEASE HANDLE THIS FOR
Bob.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Harry S. Dent *HS*
SUBJECT: NEW HAMPSHIRE

The candidate picture for the big races in New Hampshire is clear now. Perennial candidate Wes Powell has the GOP Senate nomination against McIntyre and Mel Thomson, who was the AIP candidate for Governor in 1970, won the GOP primary for Governor this time. Bill Loeb is interested in both of these conservative candidates.

A Manchester Union Leader poll last week, sampling 2,500 homes in 29 cities, gives the President a 3 to 1 edge.

The Senate race:

McIntyre	1,009
Powell	935
Undecided	635

The Governor's race:

Thomson	926
Crowley	835
McLean (Ind)	98
Undecided	781

No other reliable polling is available at present, to our knowledge.

The vote analysts say two significant things are working for us in these two races: (1) voter turnout historically is considerably higher in Republican New Hampshire in Presidential election years, and (2) Presidential coat-tails are usually fairly strong in this region...and the President is expected to win big in New Hampshire.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: Harry S. Dent

FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth

RE: ATTITUDES AND PREFERENCES
OF MISSISSIPPI VOTERS

1. General: The Mississippi surveys presents the results of the first two surveys planned to help guide the GOP campaigns for re-election of the President and election of Gil Carmichael for U.S. Senator. The survey was conducted August 5-16, 1972, with 550 voters representing a cross section of the Mississippi electorate.

Mississippi voters are currently inclined to vote a split ticket -- to re-elect President Nixon and Senator Eastland.

In the Presidential race, RN starts with a better than four-to-one lead over McGovern, 72 to 16, with 12% undecided. The President's support appears to be relatively firm.

In the Senatorial race, Eastland holds almost the same magnitude of lead over Carmichael -- 66 to 16, with 18% undecided -- but evidence indicates it is not so secure as Nixon's. Carmichael -- though yet unknown to most voters -- has made a good impression on most of those who have heard about him. There is a lot of sentiment for change. Only 52% definitely go on record in favor of re-electing Eastland, and only 50% think it is a good idea to keep Senators in office a long period of time.

To close the gap and win, Carmichael must mount a massive campaign to weaken public confidence in Eastland and build his own image as a competent leader.

Eastland is most vulnerable on the charge that he has used his office to maximize farm payments to himself and his family. Also, he is beyond the normal age of retirement and can be expected to be less effective each succeeding year.

Statewide results show 75% quite satisfied with Nixon and almost half of them (35%) say they are completely satisfied. Dissatisfaction with Congress runs 49%.

2. Party Affiliation: White voters make up 73% and blacks 27% of the effective electorate. Most blacks classify themselves as Democrats. However, as many or more whites now consider themselves Republicans (25%) as Democrats (23%) with the majority (52%) being independent or unclassified.

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>All Voters</u>
Republican	25%	6%	20%
Loyalist National Democrat	.1	22	7
Regular Mississippi Democrat	22	36	25
Independent	45	25	40
Unclassified	7	11	8
	-----	-----	-----
	100%	100%	100%

3. <u>Issues:</u>	<u>Strongly favor</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Non-committal</u>
U.S. aid to foreign countries should be greatly reduced	66%	12%	22%
U.S. should continue bombing and block-aiding North Vietnam until they agree to a cease fire and return U.S. prisoners.	57	18	25
Congress should pass a law prohibiting use of U.S. troops to fight in other countries without a declaration of war	55	18	27

	<u>Strongly favor</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Non-committal</u>
Congress should increase defense spending to assure superior strength	49%	16%	35%
Federal spending for most purposes, including public welfare, should be greatly reduced.	49	24	27
President should order immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from South Vietnam	27	46	27
Congress should pass the family income plan to guarantee every family a minimum income	21	54	25

4. Comparative Popularities:

	<u>Favorability Ratio</u>
John Stennis	94%
Richard Nixon	91
William Winter	89
Bill Waller	88
James Eastland	87
George Wallace	84
Spiro Agnew	77
Thomas Eagleton	47
George McGovern	36

DFN - ~~There in?~~ FCU

Tom Evans - RAC -
wants to go to NY

~~sent~~ La - McKeithen - may win
w/ the Indict - grand
jury by local atty

Check Joannee re all DFN Buys

→ 1030?: 95% chance of CBS, NBC,
Mutual.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 18, 1972

MEMO TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: Harry S. Dent

The organization of Jim Holshouser, GOP candidate for governor in North Carolina, has just completed a poll. I cannot vouch for its accuracy, since they have set up their own firm to do polling. The poll was done last week, by telephone. Some 800 calls were made state-wide, working with what they claimed to be a "perfect universe."

Results:

Presidential race

Nixon	65.5%
McGovern	23.3%
Undecided	11.2%

Senate race

Helms (R)	47.3%
Galifianakis	37.5%

Gubernatorial race

Holshouser	41.3%
Bowles	40.7%
AIP	2.5%
Undecided	16.2%

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: HARRY DENT

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'H. Dent', written over the printed name 'HARRY DENT'.

This is a very sincere man and a very hard
worker. You might show this to Bob.

CHAMPION COMPANIES

POST OFFICE BOX 16213
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA 32216

GEORGE CHAMPION, JR.
PRESIDENT

October 18, 1972

Mr. Harry Dent
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harry:

For the first time in the campaign, we are running into big problems here in the South. The President's following seems to be eroding dramatically. Our fund raising sources are drying up because they claim we are not using the money for the campaign. They see no campaign and it disturbs them greatly.

During the last week at fund raising events, instead of picking up checks after my talk, I have been given a barrage of complaints about the lack of a campaign on the part of the President and the shift in voter sentiment that the potential contributors have noticed among their employees and acquaintances. The universal complaint seems to revolve around the fact that the President isn't on television and isn't actively campaigning while McGovern is doing both vigorously.

Two weeks ago at fund raising meetings, I got checks, promises to work, and an enthusiastic, helpful response from those present. This week it is a completely different story. The comments below are typical.

A potential contributor, Ocala, Florida - "The President better get out and campaign. I polled my employees and five out of seven are now for McGovern. Two months ago, they were all for Nixon."

A contributor, Tampa, Florida - "I'm worried. We can't get volunteers to man the telephones at headquarters. The party line is that the election is in the bag so no one wants to work."

A major contributor, Jacksonville, Florida - "The President has got to provide positive leadership for the campaign. Any organization reflects the actions of the boss. The campaign workers are staying away from headquarters in droves. Surrogates are out campaigning, but the press doesn't cover them unless they commit some blunder."

October 18, 1972

A telephone campaign worker and contributor, Greenwich, Connecticut - "A lot of people I call on the phone tell me they are going to watch their television sets, find out what the issues are, and then decide. I'm worried sick because the President isn't on television."

A potential contributor, Miami, Florida - "The President is not spending money on the campaign. He isn't traveling and he isn't on TV, so why does he need my money."

A contributor, Miami, Florida, who gave 10% of what he should have - "They are keeping the President off TV and that is the worst thing possible. McGovern's commercials are saturating our area and they are effective."

The country rallied around the President after the wonderful way he handled those very difficult press conferences. He did a great job on television, and could be doing a better job now without the hostile reporters."

A contributor, Gainesville, Florida - "People understood when the President didn't campaign the last two months. He said he was going to spend his time running the country. Now they expect him to be out campaigning and asking for their vote. If he doesn't ask for it, he won't get it."

A campaign worker and contributor, Orlando, Florida - "You can't get anyone to work. Clark McGregor announced at a press conference at the Miami convention that the President would probably win all states except South Dakota. Now no one feels they will get any credit for turning out the Orlando vote. It is supposed to be in the bag anyway."

A potential contributor, Orlando, Florida - "McGovern is on TV ten times for every appearance of the President. If you don't know anything about him, he sounds good. He's winning a lot of votes in Florida."

A Raleigh, North Carolina contributor - "McGovern is supposed to have written off the South, but he is spending a fortune on TV here and he is getting votes."

October 18, 1972

The only people I have found who aren't worried are some of the campaign chairmen who are delighted to be on the winning team and are still reading last month's polls.

I am not writing because I have run into a few worried people. The concern is almost universal this week. Things have changed dramatically and all seem to feel that the President and only the President can turn it around by an active and vigorous campaign.

If the Nixon South is beginning to talk this way, the sentiment must be present in other parts of the country.

This letter is in no way an excuse for a lack of personal performance. I am Finance Chairman for the State of Florida. Florida exceeded its assigned quota for fund raising three weeks ago and is one of only three states to enjoy that distinction. Only twenty five states on the last report had achieved even 50% of their assigned quotas. In addition, I have personally contributed \$25,000 to the President's campaign. I am in all the way, and look for nothing more than a victory.

I hope you can tell the President of this change. He can easily turn it around in the next two weeks if he campaigns.

With best and warmest wishes, I am,

Your sincerely,



George Champion, Jr.

GC/vb

FYI

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

Date Sept. 29, 1972

TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR /Bob Reisner

____ Please Handle ____ FYI
____ File ____ Hold

Per our conversation -

the Woods/Chotiner letter.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

*Maguadan
FYI
- Rob*

September 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. BARRY F. MOUNTAIN
FROM: G. ANDREW LAWRENCE
SUBJECT: Clark MacGregor - Rose Mary Woods' letter

Enclosed are:

1. Draft of letter to be signed by Clark MacGregor's name-signing machine.
2. First batch of names.

There will be approximately 30,000 letters altogether.

They should be processed on the MTST.

The men should be addressed by first name. The women should be addressed as "Dear Mrs.," etc. Pay no attention to the fact that the list of names shows the women are being addressed by their first names - that is the salutation used by the President when writing to them.

Please return the name list to this office with each finished batch.

*RR
I hope you're
aware of this.
Bm 9/28*

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

Did Rose agree

Date

Dear _____:

In discussing our plans for the campaign with the President, he mentioned how grateful he is for the many loyal supporters he has had over the years. As I am sure you know, he values your friendship and hopes he can count on your continued assistance in the crucial battle for his re-election this year.

If you are not now participating actively in this campaign, it would be greatly appreciated if you would write a letter to the President, The White House (mark the envelope for the attention of Miss Rose Mary Woods, his personal secretary) pledging your support and listing your telephone number. Also, it would be most helpful if you would indicate any special way in which you would like to participate in the campaign.

You may be sure the President would want me to extend his best wishes to you.

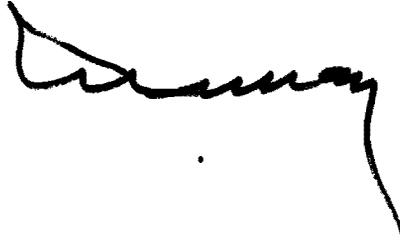
Sincerely,

Clark MacGregor
Campaign Director

October 16, 1972

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

Ben Toledano, GOP nominee for the U. S. Senate in Louisiana, is of Spanish extraction. That can be used effectively in states where there are many Spanish-American and Mexican-American voters.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Murray", is written over the right side of the typed text.

MMC:a

Committee for the Re-election of the President

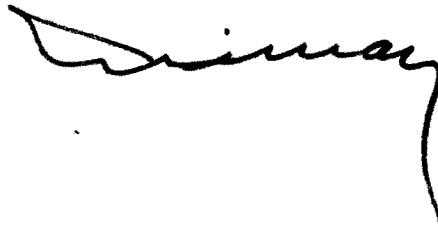
MEMORANDUM

October 13, 1972

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

The enclosed should be used. I
sent one to Ed Failor.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Murray", with a long, sweeping tail that extends downwards and to the right.

MMC:a
Encl.

NATIONAL NEWS-RESEARCH SYNDICATE

1052A NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004

FOR RELEASE: Friday, 14 October 1972

In Washington

ETHICS, DEMOCRATIC FINANCING, AND THE TAXPAYER

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

If Chairman Wright Patman is really concerned about the ethics of campaign financing, he should begin an immediate investigation of two Democratic practices which so far have failed to evoke comment from press and politicians. Investigators for Patman's House Banking and Currency Committee would have to take no more than a short cab ride to get the facts.

Involved is the use of loans from banks and individuals to finance Senator George McGovern's Presidential bid. The propriety and even the legality of some of these "loans" is open to serious question. That the taxpayer may, in the long-run be stuck for part of the McGovern tab makes official inquiry that much more vital.

In the first of these practices, the National Bank of Washington is a participant. The NBW, owned by the United Mine Workers of America whose president W. A. (Tony)Boyle is going the route in the Federal courts for illegal use of union funds for political purposes, has been making secured loans to individuals. They, in turn, either give or "lend" the money to the McGovern campaign or the Democratic National Committee.

In a telephone interview with this writer, True Davis, president of the NBW, frankly stated that such loans were being made. (Davis, who himself has lent the McGovern campaign \$25,000, will be remembered as the source for columnist Jack Anderson's unsubstantiated "drunken driving" allegations against Senator Thomas Eagleton, then Senator George McGovern's running mate.) Davis asserted that making bank loans for political purposes had been declared legal by the Supreme Court. What happens to the money, he said, was none of his business.

(MORE)

It is, however, the taxpayer's business. For the interest on those political loans is tax deductible. This means that the United States Treasury is hit to the extent of that interest, which means in turn that the Internal Revenue Service must dig deeper into the pockets of the taxpayer to make up the loss. Or the Federal deficit is increased.

But the whole practice of making "loans" to political campaigns should be considered suspect. It should be recalled that debts incurred by the Democratic National Committee ^{in 1968}, running into the millions of dollars, have yet to be honored. "Loans" made this year will run into the multiple millions, and the chances that they will ever be repaid are very doubtful indeed. In the latest McGovern report on contributions alone, \$2.085 was listed as "loans"--which presumably will be written off as "bad debts" at the expense of the taxpayer and the Treasury.

The extent of these "loans to the McGovern campaign can be measured by digging into that latest report. There were eleven "loans" ranging from \$100,000 to \$200,000 each, eight "loans" ranging from \$35,000 to \$80,000, and thirteen "loans" from \$2,000 to \$20,000. The United Auto Workers "lent" \$200,000 to the McGovern campaign, the Communications Workers union "lent" \$100,000. Direct contributions from union funds violate the Corrupt Practices Act--but does a "loan" which will never be repaid? Is this an evasion of the law?

The individuals who made "loans" in the \$100,000-\$200,000 bracket are people of great wealth. A "bad debt" of that magnitude allows them to write-off much of their taxes. Senator McGovern has strenuously objected to this kind of "loophole" and ascribed its use only to fat-cat Republicans. But he is willing to be the beneficiary.

As Public Moralist Number One, McGovern might well ask himself: Is it ethical to accept money which comes from a bank controlled by the UMW, deeply implicated in the Yablonski murder, and Tony Boyle, whose election to the UMW presidency has been set aside by the courts for its irregularities? Is it ethical to condone the subsidies to those who "lend" the money--a subsidy in tax deductions for interest and write-offs?

Perhaps McGovern is too busy impugning the Nixon Administration to know what goes on in his own headquarters. But Lawrence F. O'Brien is no babe in the woods, and he cannot plead ignorance. Perhaps Representative Patman will show them both the light. But I am not holding my breath until this happens.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 12, 1972

TO: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Murray Chotiner

Someone might want to use the interview material from the Detroit Free Press of October 11.

I assume you know the Detroit News endorsed the President.

TO
Khaedigen 10/13 Murray

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 11, 1972

TO: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Murray Chotiner

For what it is worth (and his opinions are worthy), enclosed is a copy of a letter from Worth Brown. He was President of the California Republican Assembly in the 40's.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Murray".

Enclosure

OFFICE:
408/475-1313
RESIDENCE:
408/426-3531

WORTH A. BROWN
BOX 67
CAPITOLA, CALIFORNIA
95010

October 4, 1972

Mr. Murray Chotiner
Suite 500
1701 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Murray:

Since I seem to have assumed the role of your necromancy ^{LOGY} committee I am writing to be sure you know of the death of Harrison McCall of Leukemia at the age of 84. His daughter is Mrs. Robert Stipel, 1625 Laurel St., So. Pasadena, Calif. 91030.

I understand the President called him several times during his illness.

I have an uneasy feeling about California on November seventh. There seems to be a lack of emotional drive. The machinery is apparently set up but no zest. This is typified by practically no "Nixon" bumper strips but a surprising number of McGovern's.

The State office holders are concerned with only their own problems with the exception of Reagan and he is usually out of state. The practical politicians who are working are more concerned with giving recognition to local people who will be of help in the next gubernatorial campaign.

Perhaps I am pessimistic but I have lost almost as many as I've won and that goes for the campaigns I've worked on for Dick Nixon.

The thinking people are for him and the opposition is illogical and emotional which may account for their being more vocal. I do think the number of controversial propositions on the ballot will bring out a large vote and this will help.

Best regards,


WORTH A. BROWN

WAB:dp

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

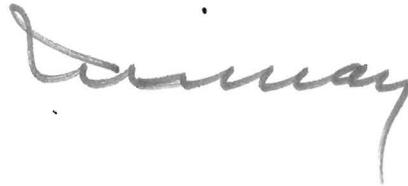
MEMORANDUM

October 3, 1972

TO: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Murray Chotiner

Enclosed is a memo from Herschel Shosteck Associates.

Although I do not subscribe to his conclusions, it is worth reading.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Murray".

Herschel Shosteck Associates
10 Old Post Office Road
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910
301/589-2259

September 30, 1972

Presidential Race
Still in Question

The current Gallup Poll showing President Nixon with a seemingly insurmountable 34 point lead over Senator McGovern does not mean that the President is a certain winner. Review of the current political situation together with careful analysis of the Gallup findings, Gallup's expectation that the gap will narrow, and our own parallel research points to a possible repeat of the 1968 photo finish.

Overall, the President has reached his peak in popularity. Senator McGovern could close the lead from now until November 7.

From a political viewpoint, three factors favor McGovern strengthening his position.

First, the President can do little more to enhance his image as a foreign affairs statesman, the image he has chosen to present for the current campaign. Conversely, McGovern is unlikely again to damage his campaign to the extent done by the Eagleton Affair. Thus, McGovern's popularity is bound to go up.

Second, predictions of widescale desertions by the party regulars are patently absurd. Labor leaders can afford the luxury of leaving McGovern; political leaders cannot. Whether the latter like it or not, much of their survival hangs on McGovern's coat tails. Thus, a Presidential disaster for the Democratic Party would take thousands of lesser officials with it; to save their skins, this group must support the Presidential ticket.

Finally, there is the possibility of a classical Nixon "panic." In late October, the gap between the President and McGovern will be closing. While the President's staff will do everything to prevent a smudge of his carefully honed statesman image neither the President nor the Vice-President are that containable. Thus, there is the possibility of a reemergence of the "Old Nixon" image and with it a return of apostating democrats to the party fold.

Carefully examining the opinion poll data, indicates how the above scenario is possible.

From this polling viewpoint, two factors are key.

Presidential Race
Still in Question

First, the widely publicized 64-30 lead of Nixon over McGovern (Gallup's August 25-28 poll, released September 10) is "soft." Most papers failed to emphasize Gallup's careful observations that 30 percent of the respondents making a candidate choice are "not solidly committed." This "softness" arises from the fact that Gallup interviewers encourage undecided respondents to make a clear candidate choice. At this early stage of the campaign, such encouragement is unrealistic. Many voters are undecided and shall not choose a candidate until the final weeks of the campaign.

This "soft" part of the President's vote equals 19 points ($.30 \times 64 = 19$). When we discount this from the 64 points the President receives in the latest Gallup poll, we reduce his standing to 45 percent of the votes -- five points under what he needs to win.

This reformulated 45 percent approximates our own findings in a bell-weather congressional district. Here, a week after Gallup's national survey, we found the approximate split of 45% Nixon, 25% McGovern, and 30% undecided. Note, that when the undecided are not forced to choose, Nixon drops almost 20 points (from 64 to 45), McGovern only 5 (from 30 to 25). The reasons for Nixon's sharp drop brings to the surface the second key factor which will enable McGovern to close the present gap even to the extent of winning in November.

This second factor, based on our own data, is that almost all of the presently undecided voters are Democrats or Independents. Realistically, those of these groups who haven't yet committed themselves to Nixon are open for McGovern. McGovern can win almost all of these waivering Democrats and half of the waivering independents. Should he do so, he would capture 22 to 23 of the 30 undecided points. Added to his present 25 percent, McGovern would have 47 to 48 points -- within striking distance of victory. And should McGovern's campaign "catch fire," and McGovern draw more than half of the still uncommitted independents, we have every chance to anticipate a repeat of the 1968 photo finish.

In summary, the 1972 Presidential race is not yet over. Politically, McGovern's strength relative to the President's can only go up. Analytically, a reading of the unreported poll results shows that the popularly reported 64 points which the President allegedly enjoys includes many undecided voters. Our own data show that almost all of these are Democrats and Independents. We believe enough of these can return to the McGovern column to make 1972 a much closer race than anyone has yet anticipated.

WORLDWIDE SHOSTECK

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

October 6, 1972

TO: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Murray Chotiner

For what it is worth, here is a report from Charles Van Wagenen of Auburn, New York. He writes me from time to time giving reports as he finds them. He has been moving around in upstate New York. This is what he says:

1. Many voters are still undecided.
2. Many voters will not vote.
3. Neither candidate has turned many on.
4. Republicans think it's all over now.
5. Republicans forget how Truman won.
6. Republicans need a fire under them.



October 2, 1972

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

I need a policy decision of whether we should have someone in California pursue this. It could be someone not identified with the GOP or the President's committee.

It is clearly a violation of law. You will note the circular does not show who is responsible for it.

The objection to doing anything about it is that we may inadvertently help publicize the libels.

What's the answer?

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Murray".

MMC:a
Encl.

P.S. The circular came to me from Earl Carraway who ran against Schmitz in the primary. He lost.



Federal Maritime Commission
Washington, D.C. 20573

October 20, 1972

Office of the Chairman

MEMO FOR: Mr. Clark Mac Gregor
Mr. H. R. Haldeman

FROM: Helen Delich Bentley

For the past week I have been traveling in Illinois and Minnesota. The following are some points I have picked up along the way, talking to party workers and audiences of "little guys."

We have been beset with questions from party workers and others as to why the President, to the extent security permits, does not set out on an intensive campaign tour. Now that Congress has adjourned they query the necessity of his remaining in Washington. This mounting concern results from the impact of the increased activities of the opposition.

McGovern and Shriver are dominating the television newscast. These appearances, along with those five minute spots of McGovern talking to the "little guy," are having a very definite effect. Even "dyed-in-the-wool" Republicans say they are making them think. In other words, the old pros from the Kennedy-Madison Avenue machine are penetrating with their plans and their programs coupled with the charges of corruption.

Eagleton -- a hero in reverse -- also is hurting us, especially with senior citizens. He is using his Special Committee on Aging very effectively.

I cannot help but recall that one of the reasons Dewey lost was his inability and failure to reach the "little guy" -- all in the last two weeks.

Would it in any way be possible for the President to embark upon an airplane tour, making at least one stop,

Mr. Clark Mac Gregor
Mr. H. R. Haldeman

October 20, 1972
Page 2

(not necessarily in the largest city, but rather in crossroad cities) in each of the critical states.

I repeat that my personal concern and that expressed by all our dedicated grassroots workers, is motivated by the desire that the President wins and by the greatest plurality ever achieved.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date _____

TO: *AS*

FROM: L. HIGBY

*We need staffing here
+ a reply for H*



Republican
National
Committee.

October 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: The Honorable H. R. Haldeman
Assistant to the President of the United States

FROM: Bob Dole *BD*
Chairman, Republican National Committee

SUBJECT: Voter Turnout Activity

I have put together this memorandum as a result of our meeting on voter turnout. It is basically a report on current activities already being implemented, with some additional recommendations which I feel should be considered.

1. We are working with the Committee for the Re-Election of the President for joint sponsorship of an October 28, "PREPARE FOR VOTER TURNOUT" day. It is expected that nearly 60 surrogates will be visiting at least that many cities and as many as 200 to 300 storefront headquarters to demonstrate the commitment to and appreciation of the Nixon team to turnout activities.

Following up the October 28 event, we should plan on well-publicized, fact-finding tours by myself, Tom Evans and Clark MacGregor to check on turnout activity in progress.

2. There will be a total commitment by the RNC Political Division to insure that the millions of Nixon supporters uncovered in the registration canvass activities have their doors knocked on, receive a phone call and/or a piece of mail, urging their turnout on November 7.

We are re-assigning all personnel who have been working in advance, research, campaign education, etc., to specific states and cities for the sole purpose of assisting Nixon and Party leadership in their "60 Days to Victory/Target '72" turnout programs. In addition to existing personnel, several dozen more are being hired in states such as New Mexico, Virginia, Rhode Island, Minnesota and other marginal states, especially where we have a close senatorial race.

3. Major emphasis in all publicity, publications, speeches and media contact during the last 10 days of the campaign will be placed on the importance and the mechanics of voting and the reasons why each vote is important.

The final editions of all party-oriented publications, and direct mailings, with an ultimate readership of over a million Republican opinion leaders, will be scheduled to arrive in the hands of our readers during the last ten days. Theme and content will be heavily focused on the necessity for voting and the need to offer services and support to precinct or county chairmen, prior to and on election day.

4. On Thursday and Friday, November 2 and 3, RNC Communications staff will call all identified state and local party publicity chairmen to encourage their final efforts on developing news, identifying possible problem areas, and emphasizing turnout.

5. Our weekly mailing to county chairmen will include a very straight, clear, direct letter signed by the Chairman. The letter will simply and dramatically urge the highest possible commitment to turnout activity.

6. We are making heavy utilization of Anne Armstrong's "Nixon-Agnew New Majority Voting Machine" bus trip to emphasize voter turnout.

7. A draft of a possible telegram, from the President to all county and state leadership has been submitted to Harry Dent for use during the last ten days. The wire reminds each chairman of his individual responsibility, and of the fact that the President is looking to each of them for a successful operation.

The following recommendations are suggested for consideration:

1. The reservation of time and funds for a possible five minute spot by the President four or five days prior to election day, addressed to all Americans, and emphasizing the importance of their vote.

2. The appointment by the President of a celebrity/sports figure as national "voter turnout chairman" on November 1, to emphasize the importance placed on this activity by the President and the campaign. Follow this up by naming 50 state turnout chairmen.

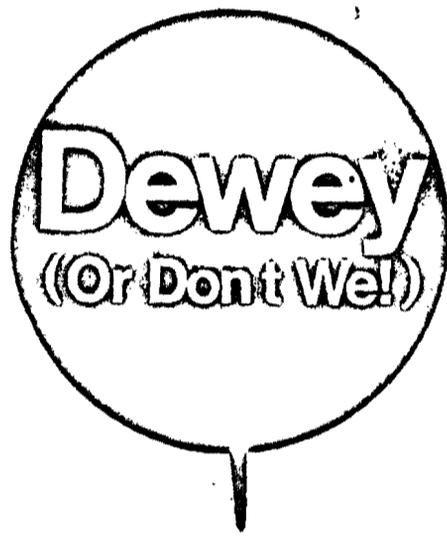
3. Telephone calls by the President to turnout chairmen, to large meetings of Republican groups, and to joint meetings of the CRP/RNC/DFN. These could be set up for the calls to come in on a P.A. system. Arranging of meetings of 50 to 150 for this purpose, plus media coverage, is practical and possible. Approximately one week's advance notification would help.

** 4. We are considering sending a reprint of the Chicago Tribune edition announcing a Dewey victory to each of our county chairmen, along with a special Dewey button. (Attached)

Bob, after you have had an opportunity to review this, it might be worthwhile for us to discuss the entire program once again.

cc: John Ehrlichman
Clark MacGregor

** This is a rather poor idea, in my opinion.





Republican
National
Committee.

Bob Dole, Chairman

October 20, 1972

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter I have just received from our mutual friend, George Champion, Jr., of Jacksonville, Florida.

He has requested that I forward it to your attention.

Sincerely yours,


BOB DOLE

BD:cbs
Enclosure

CHAMPION COMPANIES

POST OFFICE BOX 16213
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA 32216

OCT 20 1972

GEORGE CHAMPION, JR.
PRESIDENT

October 18, 1972

Mr. Bob Dole
310 First Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Bob:

For the first time in the campaign, we are running into big problems here in the South. The President's following seems to be eroding dramatically. Our fund raising sources are drying up because they claim we are not using the money for the campaign. They see no campaign and it disturbs them greatly.

During the last week at fund raising events, instead of picking up checks after my talk, I have been given a barrage of complaints about the lack of a campaign on the part of the President and the shift in voter sentiment that the potential contributors have noticed among their employees and acquaintances. The universal complaint seems to revolve around the fact that the President isn't on television and isn't actively campaigning while McGovern is doing both vigorously.

Two weeks ago at fund raising meetings, I got checks, promises to work, and an enthusiastic, helpful response from those present. This week it is a completely different story. The comments below are typical.

A potential contributor, Ocala, Florida - "The President better get out and campaign. I polled my employees and five out of seven are now for McGovern. Two months ago, they were all for Nixon."

A contributor, Tampa, Florida - "I'm worried. We can't get volunteers to man the telephones at headquarters. The party line is that the election is in the bag so no one wants to work."

A major contributor, Jacksonville, Florida - "The President has got to provide positive leadership for the campaign. Any organization reflects the actions of the boss. The campaign workers are staying away from headquarters in droves. Surrogates are out campaigning, but the press doesn't cover them unless they commit some blunder."

October 18, 1972

A telephone campaign worker and contributor, Greenwich, Connecticut - "A lot of people I call on the phone tell me they are going to watch their television sets, find out what the issues are, and then decide. I'm worried sick because the President isn't on television."

A potential substantial contributor, Miami, Florida - "The President is not spending money on the campaign. He isn't traveling and he isn't on TV, so why does he need my money."

A contributor, Miami, Florida, who gave 10% of what he should have - "They are keeping the President off television and that is the worst thing possible. McGovern's commercials are saturating our area and they are effective."

The country rallied around the President after the wonderful way he handled those very difficult press conferences. He did a great job on television, and could be doing a better job now without the hostile reporters."

A contributor, Gainesville, Florida - "People understood when the President didn't campaign the last two months. He said he was going to spend his time running the country. Now they expect him to be out campaigning and asking for their vote. If he doesn't ask for it, he won't get it."

A campaign worker and contributor, Orlando, Florida - "You can't get anyone to work. Clark McGregor announced at a press conference at the Miami convention that the President would probably win all states except South Dakota. Now no one feels they will get any credit for turning out the Orlando vote. It is supposed to be in the bag anyway."

A potential contributor, Orlando, Florida - "McGovern is on TV ten times for every appearance of the President. If you don't know anything about him, he sounds good. He's winning a lot of votes in Florida."

A Raleigh, North Carolina contributor - "McGovern is supposed to have written off the South, but he is spending a fortune on TV here and he is getting votes."

Mr. Bob Dole
Page 3 -

October 18, 1972

The only people I have found who aren't worried are some of the campaign chairmen who are delighted to be on the winning team and are still reading last month's polls.

I'm not writing because I have run into a few worried people. The concern is almost universal this week. Things have changed dramatically and all seem to feel that the President and only the President can turn it around by an active and vigorous campaign.

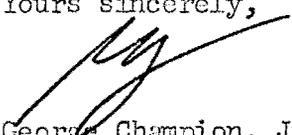
If the Nixon South is beginning to talk this way, the sentiment must be present in other parts of the country.

This letter is in no way an excuse for a lack of personal performance. I am Finance Chairman for the State of Florida. Florida exceeded its assigned quota for fund raising three weeks ago and is one of only three states to enjoy that distinction. Only twenty five states on the last report had achieved even 50% of their assigned quotas. In addition, I have personally contributed \$25,000 to the President's campaign. I am in all the way, and look for nothing more than a victory.

I hope you can tell the President of this change. He can easily turn it around in the next two weeks if he campaigns.

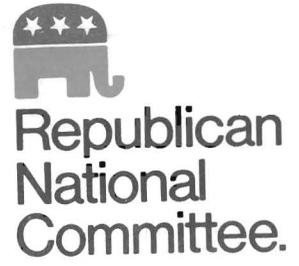
With very best and warmest wishes.

Yours sincerely,



George Champion, Jr.

GC/vb



The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

ATTENTION: H. R. Haldeman

10/9

FM - Field People

- on top of elec ac's - Turnout.
- Prob solving - operational
- Stats on voter precincts - RNC (do Polt)
 - Maybe just Key Sts
- NBC - 6³⁰ EST

Opening Huntley - Brinley

- Anderson . polls his each st.

FM - Will phrase High v Low Turnout.

- all Field people at Shoreham
- Anderson - Sent the rules

- Nets will be ahead
 - NBC - Rheinstein
 - EBS | who
 - ABC |

- hires to Shoreham:

- Wire Service
 - WH - 1,500

- Cabinet - also

- Program WH People
to get state's on Election

Timmons as Elec Day + Night Am

EM
58/42
lose
mass +
wise

Jones
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

175
October 17, 1972

*Any probh
here*

L . . .

Did you know --

that (according to my mother) in the Tower headquarters people are making telephone calls to people who are for the President but are undecided about Tower and saying that the President thinks it is vital that Tower be reelected? My mother says that if they are still undecided when they say that, they send pamphlets and brochures to the "not sure" voters.

ke

(Looks like I may lose my bet with you.)

October 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GORDON STRACHEN

FROM:

JERRY JONES 

SUBJECT:

Tower Conversation Being Used In
Six Texas Telephone Centers

Six centers (Harlingen, Victoria, Tyler, Amarillo, San Angelo and Beaumont) which have completed all of their calls on their telephone computer sheets have begun to call back all undecided voters. One group of undecideds that they were calling were the Nixon positives and the Tower undecideds. This call back conversation went as follows:

"President Nixon has said that it is vital that Senator Tower be re-elected. He needs his leadership and help in the Senate. Can Senator Tower count on your vote?"

If this person was either positive or negative, they were thanked. If they continued to be undecided, they were questioned as to issues that concerned them. Our telephone chairman in Texas was fully aware of these calls and approved them using the rationale that it was better to keep the phone banks busy in order to have them in full swing for the GOTV reminder calls beginning the first week in November, than to close them.

We have had no feed back -- adverse or otherwise -- on these calls from anyone in Texas.

cc: Fred Malek
Bob Marik

October 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: CHUCK COLSON

Whoever is running our Michigan operation should be aware of what we are doing. It looks great.

October 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM : To Whom It May Concern
FROM: Frank Daniel
SUBJECT: Summary of Michigan Activities

ACTION MOTION RESULTS = IMPACT

1. Announcement of opening of offices = Five (5) and up to fifteen (15) = Statewide news release
2. Kit for opening = Ads
 = News Articles
 = Promotion
 = Names
 = Photos, etc.
3. Bringing names of Democrats for Nixon, Sub=Leaders into press. All Michigan people.
4. Letters to editor = Why we are switching from Wallace to Nixon.
5. Emphasis = NO Local Candidates = Only Nixon
6. Coordinating office efforts = TV film news on what Wallace people are doing for Nixon.
7. Show that something is happening with Nixon inclined Wallace people.
8. Newsletters to 3000 names telling what is going on.

CONTACTS FOR DETROIT;

A.P. AND U.P.	Stories on Wire O.K.
DETROIT NEWS	Inside Page Headline O.K.
DETROIT FREE PRESS	Second Page Headline O.K.
KNIGHT WIRE SERVIE	On Wire O.K.
WJVS - 56	On Air O.K.
WWJ - 4	On Air O.K.
WXYZ - 7 = ABC	On Air O.K.
WKBD - 50 = KAISER	On Air O.K.
CKLW - 9	On Air O.K.
ALL RADIO STATIONS DETROIT	On News O.K.
HUNGARIAN JOURNAL	? = Not Out
LATRIBUNA DEL POPOTO	? - Not Out
DETROIT LABOR NEWS	? - Not Out
DEARBORN TIMES - HERALD	? - Not Out = No Copy
SUBURBAN NEWS	O.K. = Sending Copy
NATIONAL GREER TRIBUNE	? - Not Out

October 6, 1972

SUBJECT:

Store Fronts = MICHIGAN STATE

Mrs. Art Cullers
914 Emmett Street
Battle Creek, Michigan 49017

616-965-7728

Mayor Ted Bates
28829 Ryan Road
Warren, Michigan 48092

Mr. Kurt Calvendau
154 Fulton Street
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Margaret Schlinz and Frances Laskowski
128 East Kearsley Street
Flint, Michigan 48503

Mr. Bob Dennison
Fairplane Plaza
Benton Harbor, Michigan 49022

Mrs. Joanne Loagine
208 Woodward
Royal Oak, Michigan



STATE OF ALABAMA

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

MONTGOMERY 36104

GEORGE C. WALLACE
GOVERNOR

October 5, 1972

Honorable Richard H. Austin
Secretary of State
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan

Dear Honorable Austin,

In order to avoid confusion with the voters, I would deeply appreciate any and all action that your office can take to remove my photograph as the emblem of the American Independent Party on Michigan ballots.

I am not a candidate in the November 7 general election. I feel the appearance of my photo on the ballot would confuse voters and distort the choices that voters have on November 7.

Thank you for your efforts in this behalf.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,



George C. Wallace

GCW/ck

~~837 South Beech-Daly Road
Dearborn Heights, Michigan 48123~~

September 29, 1972

The Honorable Ted Bates
Mayor of the City of Warren
29500 Van Dyke
Warren, Michigan 48093

Dear Mayor:

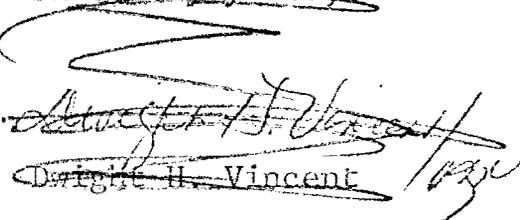
This is to confirm the arrangements scheduled for the press conference and luncheon to be held on Wednesday, October 4, 1972. The press conference will be scheduled to start at 11:30 A.M. in Parlor C at the Detroit Hilton Hotel. Immediately following the press conference will be a luncheon.

The other mayors scheduled to be attending with you at the press conference are as follows:

Mayor Walter Bezz - East Detroit
Mayor Chet Bielak - Riverview *Independent*
Mayor Al Martin - Sterling Heights
Mayor Robert Reaume - Southgate
Mayor Raymond Wojtowicz - Hamtramck

If you have any questions regarding the arrangements, please contact me at 962-1903.

~~Sincerely yours,~~


~~Dwight H. Vincent~~

DHV/mas

SAMPLE OF
MICHIGAN
VIGNETTES

W. M. Rayhe

2

TO VOTE A STRAIGHT PARTY TICKET
PUNCH NOT MORE THAN ONE

	DEMOCRATIC PARTY	2 →
	REPUBLICAN PARTY	4 →
	AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY	6 →
	SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY	8 →
	HUMAN RIGHTS PARTY	10 →
	SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY	12 →
	COMMUNIST PARTY	14 →
	CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF MICHIGAN	16 →
	INDEPENDANT JUDICIARY PARTY	18 →

Jack, This is the letter

I have sent over Art Cullens
\$99. to 3,200 Wallace people.

Frank P.

Dear Friend:

After the Miami Beach Convention in July, supporters of Governor George C. Wallace were placed in a difficult position.

It was a choice between what we believe in and what George Wallace has fought for -- or what we do not believe in and what George McGovern advocates.

I have been a long-time supporter of Governor Wallace. I have worked hard for his beliefs.

I cannot and will not support George McGovern. I have nothing against Senator McGovern personally. But I do not feel that his views reflect the thoughts of the vast majority of the average citizens of Michigan.

Senator McGovern supports busing of school children as a national policy.

Senator McGovern proposes tax increases and welfare schemes that are unfair and unworkable and would place new burdens on the average citizen.

Senator McGovern would withdraw from Vietnam without securing the release of our prisoners of war.

Senator McGovern would hacksaw our defense budget, and that would threaten the very security of our country.

In other words, Senator McGovern's position is 180 degrees away from the Wallace program that we supported in the primary.

We voted for Governor Wallace in the primary to send them a message. It was a message of a new day of happiness for average citizens like myself and like yourself. It was a message that we want an end to forced busing, regressive taxation on the working man and family man, ever-growing bureaucracy that constantly harasses the lives of our people. Our message was that we want government to reflect the thoughts and feelings of average citizens.

As thousands of you have done, we made the decision to support President Nixon for re-election because we saw in the Republican Convention that our message was recognized by President Nixon.

It this election, among the major candidates, President Nixon comes the closest to the thinking of the average citizens of Michigan. I truly believe that he has deep trust in the real America that we grew up to love and respect.

I invite you to join with me and other friends and supporters of Governor Wallace to achieve a great victory on November 7 with the re-election of President Nixon.

I am a Democrat and remain a Democrat. Our sole purpose in this effort is for the re-election of President Nixon. We believe this is a time to put country above party in the choice for the White House. It is a position forced upon us because Senator McGovern rejects the important issues that have deepest meaning for each of us.

Our efforts are not concerned with or involved in any congressional, state or local elections.

I am enclosing a volunteer card and a return envelope. If you choose to join us to help in this effort to win a new day for the real viewpoint of the people of Michigan with the re-election of President Nixon, please fill out the card and return.

Sincerely,

Art Cullers

P.S. Contact one of these working offices of Democrats for Nixon to obtain supplies or volunteer to help.

Dear Art:



I am willing to work to assist you in your program to re-elect the President.



I will not be able to be active in the campaign.

NAME: _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Ball in Detroit News Oct. 2, 72

Date	Nixon		Mc Govern		Undecided		Griffin		Kelly		Undecided	
	9-10	10-1	9-10	10-1	9-10	10-1	9-11	10-2	9-11	10-2	9-11	10-2
972 Primary Vote		✓										
Wallace	73%	65%	18%	17%	9%	18%						
Humphrey*	28%	24%	64%	62%	8%	14%	✓					
Mc Govern	19%	18%	77%	76%	4%	6%						
966 Sender Vote												
Griffin	82%	78%	11%	12%	7%	10%						
Williams	26%	24%	65%	65%	9%	12%						
OCCUPATION:		✓		✓								
Professional*	62%	56%	31%	36%	7%	8%						
Officials - business owners*	69%	57%	26%	33%	5%	10%	✓					
Merical - Sales	63%	65%	28%	24%	9%	11%						
Skilled Workers	53%	51%	36%	35%	11%	14%						
Unskilled Workers	51%	38%	44%	45%	5%	15%	✓					
Service Workers*	42%	53%	49%	36%	9%	11%						

Detroit News Michigam Poll

Date	Nixon		McGovern		Undecided		Griffin		Kelly		Unpoll'd
	9-10	10-1	9-10	10-1	9-10	10-1	9-11	10-2	9-11	10-2	
Total Percent	54%	52%	38%	37%	8%	11%	42%		39%		19%
REAS											
4 yrs County	39%	43%	54%	47%	7%	10%					
Troit Metro											
Jayne, Oakland, Macomb Counties	45%	48%	47%	41%	8%	11%					
UState - All ✓											
except Metro	62%	54%	29%	34%	9%	12%					
ETING GROUPS:											
Kelly Veterans	51%	52%	37%	36%	9%	12%					
Republican	90%	88%	55%	47%	5%	8%					
Ret-Splitter	66%	64%	23%	22%	11%	14%					
market	25%	24%	67%	65%	8%	11%					
Presidential											
Nixon	85%	80%	10%	9%	5%	11%					
Humphrey ✓	24%	27%	65%	62%	11%	11%					
	77%	75%	69%	65%	7%	10%					

Nixon McGovern Undecided Griffin Kelly Underhill

Date	Nixon		McGovern		Undecided		Griffin		Kelly		Underhill	
	9-10	10-1	9-10	10-1	9-10	10-1	9-11	10-2	9-11	10-2	9-11	10-2
INCOME:												
under \$5,000	31%	32%	55%	53%	11%	15%						
5,000 - \$6,999*	51%	56%	38%	37%	11%	7%						
7,000 - \$9,999	50%	48%	44%	41%	6%	11%						
10,000 - \$14,999	61%	55%	33%	33%	6%	12%						
15,000 + over	63%	65%	31%	26%	6%	9%						
EDUCATION:												
Grade School*	31%	29%	63%	61%	6%	10%						
Some High School	47%	42%	42%	48%	11%	10%						
Graduated High School	56%	55%	35%	31%	9%	11%						
Some College	60%	52%	34%	36%	6%	12%						
Graduated College/ post-grad work	63%	65%	28%	31%	9%	4%						
SEX:												
male	52%	49%	39%	40%	9%	11%						
female	55%	51%	37%	34%	8%	11%						
RACE:												
white	62%	58%	29%	29%	9%	12%						
Black	9%	9%	8%	8%	8%	5%						

1/2

Undecided

Kelly

Griffin

Undecided

McGowan

Nick

	9-10	10-1	4-10	10-1	7-10	10-1	9-11	10-2	9-11	10-2	7-11	10-2
MEMBERS:												
MEMBER	47%	42%	44%	46%	9%	12%						
Union Member	57%	58%	31%	31%	9%	11%						
AGE:												
18-20 *	45%	49%	53%	46%	2%	5%						
21-29	54%	45%	11%	12%	5%	13%						
30-39	58%	55%	33%	31%	9%	15%						
40-49	57%	53%	31%	26%	9%	11%						
50-59	51%	59%	40%	36%	9%	10%						
60 + over	51%	55%	36%	37%	13%	9%						
RE OWNERSHIP:												
Own Home	56%	51%	35%	35%	9%	11%						
Rent Home	15%	10%	17%	18%	8%	12%						
RELIGION:												
Catholic	55%	53%	25%	26%	10%	11%						
Protestant	54%	54%	37%	35%	7%	10%						
Other	5%	4%	3%	3%	1%	17%						

20
100
100

THE DETROIT NEWS—Friday, October 13, 1972

Austin says it's too late

Wallace wants his picture off ballot

By ROBERT A. POPA
News Staff Writer

George C. Wallace of Alabama wants his likeness taken off the Nov. 7 ballot in Michigan. Michigan Secretary of State Richard H. Austin says the request is too late.

Wallace sent a letter to Austin Oct. 5 pointing out that his face is appearing in the vignette printed atop the column of candidates running on the American Independent Party ticket in Michigan.

Wallace was his party in his 1968 run for governor. This year, as a candidate in several Michigan primaries, Wallace ran as a Democrat.

Wallace is naming Wallace as its standard-bearer, the party has nominated John G. Schmitz for president and placed Wallace's likeness in its vignette in Michigan.

Michigan is the only state where the AIP is on the ballot. Wallace is in the vignette, according to S. Snider, national director of the party's campaign.

In a letter to Austin the Alabama governor said he was wounded in an assassination attempt on May 15 in a Maryland shopping center and that keeping his likeness on the Michigan ballot would confuse the voters.

Wallace is not a candidate in the Nov. 7 general election. "I said Wallace's letter, 'I feel the presence of my photo on the ballot would confuse voters and distort the choices voters have on Nov. 7.'"



AIP vignette on ballot

But, in Lansing, Austin cited Michigan law which requires that he be notified of a change of vignette four months before the election by the chairman of the state central committee of the party requesting it.

"That deadline has passed, therefore it will not be possible for me to accede to your request, Austin said in a letter to Wallace.

Joe Azbell, director of communications for the Wallace campaign, said in Detroit yesterday that refusal of Austin to remove the Alabama governor's picture from the ballot would lead to court action.

Azbell said he was conferring with a lawyer but he could not describe what action might be taken.

Snider said Wallace doesn't want Michigan voters to cast their ballots for AIP candidates on the assumption that his picture in that political column indicates he, too, is running or endorsing the party.

"Gov. Wallace doesn't want the least bit of confusion caused the voters of Michigan," Snider said.

"If he were a candidate, it would be a different matter. It is not right to have his photo on the ballot when someone else's name appears beneath it as a presidential candidate."

So far, Wallace has not endorsed either of the major party candidates or Schmitz for president.

In his home state, he has organized the Governor's Committee to Elect Alabama Democrats.

It is endorsing Sen. John Sparkman, all regular party Democratic congressmen and all Democratic candidates for local office. It has not endorsed President Nixon or Senator George McGovern, the Democratic challenger.



Also on the Alabama ballot are the Independent Democratic Party and the National Democratic Party of Alabama. The latter, headed by Dr. Charles Cashin, a dentist, is running several black candidates.

Azbell said that retaining Wallace's likeness on the AIP vignette would be as misleading as "putting a photo of Bob Hope outside a movie theater when a Jack Benny picture is playing inside."

Bernard Apol, state elections director, said his office is barred by law from changing the vignette at this late date and most paper ballots and many of the strips for voting machines already have been printed.

Some absentee ballots with the Wallace likeness on the AIP column already have been mailed, Apol said.

He admitted that, if a court order forced

Wallace likeness off the ballots, the Department of State would have to make every possible effort to comply.

The easiest way would be to print stickers to paste over the Wallace vignettes, he said.

Other vignettes in Michigan will feature Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy for the Democrats; Abraham Lincoln for the Republicans; an arm and hammer for the Socialist Labor Party; a hippopotamus for the Human Rights Party; the name of the Socialist Workers Party; a hammer held by a black and a white hand for the Communist Party; and the torch of liberty for the Conservative Party.

If Wallace succeeds in having his likeness removed from the ballot, the probable effect would be to help President Nixon in November.

Most political experts feel that Wallace supporters are more philosophically in tune with the Republican Party and the Nixon administration than with the Democratic Party as represented by McGovern.

Therefore, without the Wallace likeness to catch their eye or confuse them, his supporters can be expected to vote for Mr. Nixon, just as many Nixon supporters voted for Wallace in the May primary election when the President was unopposed in the Republican column.

Wallace captured 10 percent of the vote in the May primary election. His likeness on the ballot was a factor in that result.

State 'Democrats For Nixon' Set For Drive

By ARTHUR CULLERS
Gazette Staff Writer

Michigan's "Democrats for Nixon," led by a Battle Creek businessman, are preparing for a heavily bankrolled, jet-paced campaign that has 1976 in its logbook.

A jet will be used in a statewide "blitz" and campaign headquarters centered in areas where the anti-busing mood is booming, says Arthur Cullers.

Cullers, a 37-year-old Battle Creek furniture dealer, is a vice chairman of the Democrats for Nixon organization headed by former Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally.

A Michigan victory by Nixon in November, the first for a Republican presidential candidate since 1956, is being predicted by Cullers.

"The key to the state will be the Wallace vote," says Cullers, one of the top Michigan leaders for Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

And that is where 1976 comes in.

"As soon as the 1972 election is over," says Cullers, "we'll be meeting in Alabama to begin the 1976 campaign."

In the health of the wounded Wallace improves, says Cullers, the Alabama governor will be making his fourth The post-election timetable revealed by

Cullers "... create a right wing in the Democratic party and move to restructure the Democratic party much as Nixon. The outline of this strategy can be seen in a trip. After attending a weekend gathering at the Floresville, Texas, ranch of Connally, where Nixon may be among the guests, Cullers is to join other key Wallace aides at a Montgomery, Ala., conference with Wallace.

Cullers is to meet in Detroit this week with other Wallace and Connally staff members to complete plans for the Michigan phase of the Democrats for Nixon campaign.

The first campaign headquarters will probably be opened in Warren, Cullers says. The Macomb County community is in the heartland of anti-busing feeling.

"We will blitz the state several times in a plane that's being made available by William France," Cullers reports.

It is the same Jet Commander, owned by the National Association of Stock Car Racing of Daytona Beach, Fla., that Wallace used in the primary campaign.

France, a former president of the racing association, and his son, William C. France, were among Wallace's principal supporters in the campaign. Cullers said the jet would



GEORGE WALLACE



PRESIDENT NIXON



ARTHUR CULLERS



JOHN CONALLY

carry key members of the Democrats for Nixon group across the state for a series of news conferences.

Included in the group would be "other prominent Democrats," says Cullers, but he declines to publicly name them now.

Connally will probably make at least one trip to the state to boost the campaign, says Cullers.

The nationwide organization includes former Florida Gov. Farris Bryant and former Congressman James Roosevelt, son of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

A celebrity roster of the group boasts Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis Jr., Charlton Heston and Mickey Mantle. The campaign is seeking to raise between \$1.2 million

and \$2 million in a contribution campaign across the country.

In his August announcement of the formation of the group, Connally attacked Democratic nominee Sen. George McGovern's campaign forces.

"Rarely in our history," he said, "has a group holding temporary control of a political party done so much to alienate rank-and-file members of that party whose only sin is to have differing views."

The former Texas governor claimed that 20 million Democrats have already decided "President Nixon is simply the better choice."

In Michigan, Cullers says, the organization aims to mine the treasure lode of

Wallace votes.

Wallace collected more than 800,000 of the 1.4 million Democratic votes cast in the May 16 presidential primary in Michigan, compared to some 420,000 for McGovern.

In 1968 Wallace, running as the American Independent Party nominee, polled 330,000 Michigan votes, while Democrat Hubert Humphrey got 1.5 million and Nixon compiled 1.3 million.

The potential impact of a "Wallace vote" is shown dramatically by the 1960 contest, where Democrat John Kennedy edged Nixon by 67,000 votes in Michigan.

Michigan has 21 electoral votes this year. Cullers indicates that the nucleus of his state or-

ganization will be formed from the Wallace partisans in the presidential primary.

He describes himself as the Alabama governor's "hand-picked" choice for leadership of the Wallace forces, which have quarreled in the past over power.

Mrs. Josephine Chapman, of Belleville, had led the Wallace group before the Miami Beach Democratic National Convention but Cullers emerged at the parley as its leader.

He lost a close contest with Democratic State Chairman James McNeely for leadership of the entire state delegation at Miami Beach.

Mrs. Chapman has now left the Democrats to join the AIP.

When Cullers revealed the formation of the Democrats for Nixon group in late August, he declared:

"We're going to ask all the Wallace people to vote for Democratic state and local candidates. We're still Democrats. We just can't support the national ticket."

He indicated strong opposition to McGovern's stances on busing, defense spending and welfare.

But while the August declaration left the way open for some support for the rest of the ticket, Cullers now says, "I won't support anyone who supports McGovern."

One of the prime targets for defeat in Michigan is Democratic Congressman James G. O'Hara, of Utica, says Cullers.

O'Hara, a congressman since 1958, is being singled out because of his part in the Democratic National Convention ruling that was a key to McGovern control.

It was O'Hara's advice to National Party Chairman Lawrence O'Brien on convention voting procedures that doomed any su-

ny anti-McGovern forces. It is unclear whether congressmen and others, like O'Hara, will be made targets for dumping now or in 1974 as the Wallace partisans scramble for party control.

The strategy of a McGovern defeat and the

party posts and, especially in Michigan, lukewarm porters such as some I leaders, aren't considered ardent fans of the Alabama governor.

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October 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

FRED MALEK

I thought you would be interested in the attached report on vocational education leaders who have endorsed the President.

Attachment

bcc: H. R. Haldeman ✓

10/2
RJ

VOTERS
FOR THE PRESIDENT

October 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: KEN RIETZ KR
SUBJECT: Vocational Student Leaders
Endorsing the President.

Attached is a list of vocational student leaders who have endorsed the President. This is really our reward in terms of recruiters and high Nixon visibility in this group from all our work throughout the Spring.

Following is a summary of our efforts:

- 1) We have had nine of the immediate past presidents hold a press conference in Miami. They represented every vocational youth organization (to our knowledge this is unprecedented) whose membership numbers 1.5 million young people.
- 2) We are currently circulating a letter through them to other leaders to sign endorsing the President. This letter will be mailed by October 1 to all the vocational chapters - numbering 10,000. The letter will include a recruiting card.
- 3) These leaders have all been contacted by our state organizations and put to work recruiting volunteers. One, Jo Ann Cullen, has been appointed College Director of Pennsylvania.

cc: Ken Smith
Margo Marusi

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

VOCATIONAL LEADERS
ENDORISING THE PRESIDENT

FBLA (202) 833-4461

Jim Hester - Present President (72-73)
104 Wilder Road
Chickamauga, Georgia 30707
(404) 375-3865

Jones Hook - Past President (70-71)
P.O. Box 466
Metter, Georgia 30439
(912) 695-2131

Mike Arnett - Past President (71-72)
624 E. Noble
Guthrie, Oklahoma 73044
(405) 282-4372

FHA (202) 833-1925

Marsha Bowen - Past President (71-72)
560 North 200 West
Spanish Fort, Utah 84660
(801) 798-6242

VICA (703) 533-2090

Larry Allen - Past President (71-72)-High School
Route 5, Box 148A
Searcy, Arkansas 72143
(501) 268-2636

Gary Redmond - Past President (71-72)-College
1225 Hillcrest
Yuba City, California 95991
(916) 673-2768

SCHOOL: 9421 Muroc Street
Bellflower, California 90706
(213) 867-1308

DECA (703) 532-7672

Kirk White - Past President (71-72)-Jr. College
S.H. Kress & Co. - Manpower Department
114 5th Avenue
New York City, New York 10011
(212) 929-2700
(201) 641-1238 (home)

Nora Bennett - Past National V.P. (71-72)-High School
109 Wiltshire Road
Claymont, Delaware 19703
(302) 798-5092

DECA (con't.)

Francie Rock - Past National V.P. (71-72)-Jr. College
#1 Lincoln Drive
Lawrenceville, Illinois 62439
(618) 943-2987

Debbie Wade - Past National V.P. (71-72)-Jr. College
Post Office Box 317
Princeton, Indiana 47570
(812) 385-8440

David Colburn - Past President
Box 522
Darlington, South Carolina 29532

FFA (703) 360-3600

Dan Lehmann - Past President
2020 North Mattis Avenue
Apartment 203 G
Champaign, Illinois 61820

Route 1
Pleasant Plains, Illinois 62677

OEA

James Brown - Past Treasurer (71-72)-College
627 Northwest 5th Street
Fairbault, Minnesota 55021
(507) 334-4151

Wayne Serien - Past President (71-72)-College
3720 West 32nd Street, Apartment 309
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55416

Nathan James - Past Vice President (71-72)-High School
1646 Shenna Boulevard
Fort Worth, Texas 76144
(817) 626-8322

These two are with us but cannot go public:

Dwight Loken - Past President (70-71)
(614) 888-5776
(presently on OEA staff, but really enthused about helping Young Voters)

Linda Beene - Past President PBL (71-72)
(202) 833-4461
(presently on FBLA staff; willing to help in re-election)