

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>
39	2		<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	handwritten notes of staff members. 1pg
39	2	10/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	To: Clark MacGregor. From: Glenn J. Sedam, Jr. Through: Jeb S. Magruder. RE: Charter flight for Senator Goldwater. 1pg.
39	2	10/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Clark MacGregor. From: Glenn J. Sedam, Jr. Through: Jeb S. Magruder. RE: Final report on November ballot by state as of October 30. With attachments. 7pgs
39	2	10/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	To: Clark MacGregor. From: Robert Reisner. RE: Problems with the Nixon network. 2pgs

<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>
39	2	10/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Clark MacGregor. From: Glenn J. Sedam, Jr. Through: Jen S. Magruder. RE: McGovern's use of Nixon film clips for staged debates. 2 pgs.
39	2		<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes. Campaign in Texas. 1pg.
39	2	10/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H. R. Haldeman. From: L. Higby. RE: Ambassador Bush phone call. Campaign in Texas. Attached notes. 2pgs.
39	2	10/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachen. From: Harry S. Dent. RE: Request for filming. Maine, Cohen congressional race. 1pg.
39	2	10/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	To: Harry S. Dent. From: Charles E. Moreshead. Request for short film of the President for Maine's congressional campaign. 2pgs.

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39	2		<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes. Campaign. 1pg.
39	2	10/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Mr. Haldeman. From: Ken Khachigian. RE: Presidential campaigning. 6pgs.
39	2		<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes. 1pg.
39	2	10/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Personal schedule for Clark MacGregor. October 25 and 26, 1972. 1pg.
39	2	10/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Henry Cashen. From: Charles Colson. RE: Newspaper article; Corporations sending letter to stockholders saying they back Nixon.

<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>
39	2	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Brochure	Only cover is scanned. Proposed amendments to constitution. Propositions and proposed laws together with arguments. 45pgs
39	2		<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Brochure	Only cover is scanned. Ballot propositions, 1972 general election. 84 pgs.

10/30

H - ~~Buy Radio~~
address - no length yet

Get to Price - edited
to RMU

Hullin

E's changes

~~Goode~~ - set up

P Office in Laurel

Z - (Plane Sawyer)

~~agins~~

Older Arms +
Urban Affairs

E to chose

Jones -

↓ P → Ontario / Collins use Barbank
not Ontario

* → also ballot - no P name.

Adams - 41.8, Galiban 31.3; Un 26.9
Anderson doubts needs P.
~~Dent favors~~

A. Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR.

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR. 
SUBJECT: Charter Flight For Senator Goldwater

Senator Goldwater was planning to depart from Washington National Airport this morning for Lima and Dayton, Ohio. He was at the airport when the Sabreliner developed mechanical problems and was grounded. In order to fulfill his commitments in Ohio, he needed an airplane immediately. Upon receiving a phone call from him, I authorized an airplane from Jet America for the Senator. The total estimated cost is \$1600.00.

G. Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

October 30, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR. 
SUBJECT: Final Report on November Ballot
By State as of October 30

On October 4, we reported that the Presidential ballot had been finalized in all but four states. We now can provide definitive information as to the status of the ballot in those four remaining jurisdictions.

ARKANSAS--The American Independent Party has lost its court suit to obtain ballot listing. It has now brought a second lawsuit to permit it to undertake a write-in campaign. No court decision has yet been reached on this new issue.

FLORIDA--The AIP's court challenge to secure ballot position has been unsuccessful. Only the Democratic and Republican Parties will be listed on the ballot in Florida.

RHODE ISLAND--The AIP has failed to overturn an elections board ruling that the party failed to obtain the 800 signatures necessary to secure ballot position by petition.

WASHINGTON--To our mild surprise, the state elections board has ruled that the Socialist Labor Party (Fisher/Gunderson), Libertarian Party (Hospers/Nathan) and the Peoples' Party (Spock/Hobson) have all qualified for ballot status. Thus the Washington ballot will list eight different Presidential slates--the three tickets mentioned above and those of the Republican, Democratic, American Independent (listed on the ballot merely as the Independent Party), Communist, and Socialist Workers Parties.

Schmitz

In final analysis, Schmitz will definitely not be on the ballot in 18 states and the District of Columbia--the District, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Indiana, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

However, even though the party has failed to obtain ballot status, the AIP is conducting a write-in campaign for Schmitz in Georgia and Wyoming. The state elections boards of these two states have, at the request of the AIP, certified the write-in candidacy of Schmitz and will tabulate such votes cast for him in the forthcoming election.

The state election law requirements in the remaining states where Schmitz is not on the ballot appear not to permit certification of write-in candidacies at this late date. Note, however, that the AIP is litigating this issue in Arkansas.

Spock

Dr. Spock will be listed as a Presidential candidate in eight states: California, Colorado, Idaho, Kentucky, New Jersey, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin. We have no indication of any write-in activity for Spock's candidacy in other jurisdictions.

Attached at Tab "A" are revised pages intended for insertion in the detailed full candidate ballot listing which we previously provided for each state.

Attachment

(A)

ARKANSAS

*Nixon/Agnew	Republican Party
McGovern/Shriver	Democratic Party

*Order: Determined in each county by lot.

Status: Firm.

FLORIDA

McGovern/Shriver
Nixon/Agnew

Democratic Party
Republican Party

Order: Number of votes cast for governor in the last general
election.

Status: Firm.

RHODE ISLAND

McGovern/Shriver
Nixon/Agnew
Jenness/Pulley

Democratic Party
Republican Party
Socialist Workers Party

Order: Vote cast for governor in the last general election.

Status: Firm.

6

WASHINGTON

McGovern/Shriver	Democratic Party
Nixon/Agnew	Republican Party
Schmitz/Anderson	Independent Party
Fisher/Gunderson	Socialist Labor Party
Hall/Tyner	Communist Party
Spock/Hobson	Peoples' Party
Jenness/Pulley	Socialist Workers Party
Hospers/Nathan	Libertarian Party

Order: Number of votes cast in the last presidential election.

Status: Firm.

Gordon Strachan FyI

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

October 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR
FROM: ROBERT REISNER
SUBJECT: Problems with the Nixon Network.

FACTS:

1. At 6:00 p.m. on Sunday, October 29th I was called by Art Amolsch and informed that the portion which you taped at 2:00 p.m. on Sunday was going to be dropped from the first show, and a tape taken from John Ehrlichman's comments at the 11:00 a.m. meeting October 29th would be substituted. The decision had been made by the producers of the show: Jeb Magruder, Dick Moore, and Bruce Herschensohn in consultation with John Ehrlichman.
2. Since new charges concerning Mr. Haldeman were playing on the wires and because moving to the attack on Watergate represented a strategy decision, it seemed appropriate to check for concurrence.
3. From Gordon Strachan I learned that Mr. Haldeman did not know of the change.
4. When I reached you at 9:00 p.m., your decision was that unless there was some reason that you were not aware of, the Ehrlichman tape should not be substituted.
5. In communicating your decision to Tod Hullin and to Larry Higby and Gordon Strachan, I learned that there was no additional reason for playing the tape. The substitution had originally been suggested in order to give the troops ammunition to counter Watergate charges. There was agreement from all consulted that playing the Ehrlichman tape ran the possible risk of building up the charges.
6. Hullin felt that Ehrlichman would be in agreement that the tape could be played on Tuesday just as easily since the purpose was not to make news.
7. Subsequently, at 8:00 a.m. this morning, October 30th Tod Hullin called to indicate that Ehrlichman did not want the tape played.
8. However, at 7:00 this morning Bruce Herschensohn refused to make the substitution. When he was told by Art Amolsch that it was a decision from Mr. MacGregor, Herschensohn responded that (a) he did not work for Mr. MacGregor, and (b) the decision had not

been communicated by Mr. MacGregor. Unless he received a phone call, he was not going to drop the Ehrlichman tape and replace it with the MacGregor tape.

CONCLUSION:

There are two problems with the arrangements for producing the Nixon Network. No. 1, there is no systematic review of copy. While our advertising copy was carefully reviewed for its content, there is at the present time no systematic sign-off by a senior policy maker for the Nixon Network copy.

The second problem concerns the command structure. There is no senior policy maker who has final authority to make copy decisions at the last minute. This morning the decision was made by Bruce Herschensohn.

ACTION RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. There needs to be a sign-off system. You could be given the final sign-off at 6:00 p.m. each evening. After that time changes could be made in the copy only under a clear emergency.
2. You might appoint a Project Manager who would take responsibility for any changes occurring between 6:00 p.m. and 7:30 a.m. when the show goes on the air. This Project Manager could be an individual who would check with you in cases where strategy was clearly involved. With Jeb Magruder out of town, it is clear that you should designate another person responsive to you. Ed Failor, Phil Joanou, or Bob Marik are all possibilities.
3. You might establish with Mr. Haldeman that Bruce Herschensohn reports to you through your Project Manager on the copy contained in the Nixon Network shows.

November Group through their network contacts to find a responsible network official who would complain about the unauthorized use of previously televised material.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Peter O'Donnell



- Wants P R to come to TX.
- Poll - *lay aside? of who P carryist

①

- * if he wants a mandate + to win big - must visit TX.
- opposition no sleep here
- gd regis drive
- Me G - 5x + Shiver 7x.
- No P pol trip.
- just sliding thru to finish

② Tower's Seat \checkmark - support P
Sanders - just like Harborough
- Bal news - for P's int.

Rely on polls -

- Can change quickly
- last poll CRP in Sep
- late Sep - early Oct.
- Telephone poll - weak in TX.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: L. HIGBY L
SUBJECT: Ambassador Bush
Phone Call

I returned the call that Ambassador Bush placed to you yesterday.

He was calling regarding John Tower's race in Texas. He's done some independent checking down there and feels that if at all possible, the President should plan on making another stop and try to wrap his arms around Tower. Indications he has received show that Tower is running in a very close race. Despite the latest poll information we have of October 3rd, recent telephone checks indicate that the race is much closer than the poll would indicate. He said the President is in good shape in Texas but that we might have some Tower problems and we should consider this. He indicates that he has talked to John Mitchell about this problem and that John may be working something out.

*Bob d just received ~~an~~ panel
update of Tower's situation from
DMI
58-30-12*

Would like to give this to Bush. Ok.?

WS Journal's Miller says Tower-Sanders race is close. He says Tower is conducting a blitz to show RN cares if he wins or not. "Correctly or not, some people got such a notion (that RN doesn't care) when Tower was largely left out of the RN campaign swing thru Texas." At least some GOPers felt Connally, with RN's acquiescence, is hoping to eliminate Tower as a home-state rival in case he should shift to GOP. A Tower loss would hurt conservative wing of GOP, says writer, while if he does win he'll play a large role in '76 nomination. If Sanders wins, tho, it'll be because he's a Dem and appeals to ingrained voting habits, and Tower's defeat would throw doubt on theory that in this region the future is GOP's.

Tower, heavily favored earlier, said ABC, is running hard now and he's seen in some trouble. He's going after RN Dems. Sanders the challenger, despite nickname and tousled appearance, is "no hick." Moderate but broad support including libs and LBJ and Connally says he'll vote for Sanders. Clip from Dallas Dem precinct captains -- probably no McG votes, said reporter but all for Sanders who attacked Tower absenteeism and coattails candidacy -- we're tired of a part-time do-nothing, said Sanders.

Tower segment featured RN-Tower and as RN voice over praised the Senator's persuasiveness on behalf of Texas. One of the few such films done by RN, noted reporter. Tower on film saying fundamental issue is that Sanders wants McG Pres. Reporter said it's tighter every day, but Tower retains edge as he has more money, incumbency and McG.

Sun-Times survey indicates Madison Co., which last voted GOP in '28, may go for RN. He gets 58% in the survey, while Percy gets 69%. Ill. state totals are: RN-62, McG-37; Percy-65, Pucinski-35; Oglivie 53, Walker-46.

"RN's coattails are getting a real test in Ill," says UPI, as it notes Oglivie is doing best in areas where RN is really strong. In bellwether Rock Island Co, Oglivie's 1% edge is due to RN's big lead of 64%. UPI says RN's Ill showing is all the more remarkable in view of his light campaigning there.

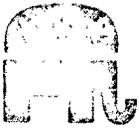
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: Gordon Strachen
FROM: Harry S. Dent
SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR FILMING

The attached outlines a T. V. opportunity that the Maine State Chairman would like some help with. This could make the difference in the Cohen Congressional race.



MAINE
REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE

Handwritten signature

STATE CHAIRMAN

17 October 1972

Mr. Harry S. Dent
Executive Office of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Harry:

I am requesting your help in obtaining a one to two minute film of the President speaking to the voters of Maine. We would like him to outline briefly some of his key programs and how Senator Smith has been instrumental in assisting him.

We would also like to encompass the idea that the President needs a Republican Congress made up of men like "Bill Cohen and Bob Porteous" (our two Congressional candidates).

One hour's time has been given to us by the NBC affiliates, WCSH in Portland and WLBZ in Bangor, on November 2nd. The stations have made these times available to both parties.

A cinematographer and a director have been hired to cover some of our Republican activities. This message by the President, which would open the hour, would definitely be an asset to the entire program.

I would sincerely appreciate your entire assistance in this matter.

Yours truly,

CHARLES E. MORESHEAD
State Chairman

CEM:seh

Office of the White House
Washington, D.C.



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PMS HARRY S DENT EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON DC

I AM REQUESTING YOUR HELP IN ARRANGING A ONE TO TWO MINUTE
FILMED MESSAGE TO MAINE VOTERS FROM THE PRESIDENT THE MESSAGE
PROBABLY SHOULD INCLUDE THE ADMINISTRATIONS PRIMARY AIMS AND
ACCOMPLISHMENTS HOW IMPORTANT SENATOR SMITH IS TO THE
ADMINISTRATION AND HOW NECESSARY IT IS FOR THE PRESIDENT TO HAVE
TWO REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN FROM MAINE TO SUPPORT HIS PROGRAM
DETAILED LETTER WILL FOLLOW

CHARLIE STATE CHAIRMAN

THE STANDARD REGISTER COMPANY, U. S. A.

10/27

Dent - cries No. Carol - seat
only one can get in South
- rip + truck
- Helms poll - 6 pts ahead
- Ready to be captured - Rep Base
Thompson - won't win in Ga
Flourent - open
Va - no chance
- Need to win 1 Sen seat in South

9:15

Hall Sun?

P to do veto at 11

PJB - pre-emptive strike on McG
before Sen.

VP Sen

- Couldn't get 4 yrs ago bec/McG +
ill sabotaged negot's all along

cm + Dole continue to attack on Sabot + Corp

Dole - Empire Corp - control. Statement

Sen arms - mob \$ → O'Brien

- Sen TV - Shriver said: McG/S fund. for Ken

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HALDEMAN
FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN *Ken*
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNING

From the vantage point of having tracked the opposition activities more closely than most observers, I am submitting these thoughts as to what's ahead for us when the President takes to the hustings.

I am convinced that the extent of the victory on November 7 -- or even whether that victory will be of historic landslide proportions -- will be determined almost solely by the Presidential tone in the last three weeks of the campaign. If the returns coming in from the New York/California swing mean anything, it is that the anti-McGovern line, coming from the President, may be counterproductive.

We all know that there exists in the media a great deal more tolerance for the rhetorical excesses coming out of the Democrats. There is nothing approaching a groundswell of editorial comment and subtle television reportage which attaches the labels "divisive" or "polarizing" on the opposition ticket. It comes out more like "hard-hitting" and "spirited."

I regret to say that we must live with this double standard for the remainder of the campaign. I do not think there is anything we can do to prevent it. The question is how to deal with it in terms of Presidential tone.

The wonder of television is that it can belie any editorial comment or criticism. For example, if, on the tube, the President is lofty, spirited, and uplifting, it is difficult for the commentators to make the public think differently. If Dan Rather says RN was "harsh" or "strident" and the television image is objectively not harsh, then Rather has been effectively rebutted. The voters are not damn fools in this respect.

What will hurt is when the President takes to the attack -- say, per the Cassie Mackin report of last week -- and gets a label hung around him by the Rathers and Jarriels. If the image confirms the commentary, I fear we lose points.

Consequently, if the label is effectively pinned on RN that he is divisive and polarizing, we will have handed George McGovern one of his most potent campaign issues. I believe this will be as central an issue as anything else in the campaign. The fact that McGovern has picked up his personal attacks more decisively this week is proof positive that the Democrats think they have the right combination.

The one thing that we cannot afford to do in the last three weeks of the campaign is to allow McGovern to make RN the campaign issue. He is desperately trying to do this and will probe for an opening. One of the basic components of the landslide margin in the current polls is, of course, the overwhelming support from Democrats. About a third of this is "soft" support, and many of these Democrats will be searching for a reason not to vote for RN. McGovern will try to give them as many reasons as possible -- the basic one which will be "you cannot trust him; he is tricky, political," etc. Let's not give them the opening.

It is interesting that we have come full circle from the time of the primaries. McGovern was the white Knight, anti-politician. RN was the quintessential politician. Now, according to all polls, McGovern skidded because he turns out to be just another politician while RN is perceived as statesmanlike and Presidential -- a man you could trust. But it is important to remember that if the public was volatile enough to switch quickly from McGovern to RN on the "politician" issue, it can just as quickly switch back in a pendulum swing.

That will be McGovern's secret weapon -- try to rehabilitate himself as an anti-politician (he began that Monday) and when RN comes out on the stump, put the politician label on him as rapidly as possible. With the media's help, that could be done in a matter of days.

We are not inevitably locked into this scenario. Again, it is my opinion that the public will not buy the politician label for RN if, in fact, there is little in his image and tone which projects "politics." We can frustrate the media on this account. And let us remember, too, that once RN is out campaigning, the press may complain about his lack of discussion of the issues, but that charge is one which won't make a damn bit of difference. If RN is talking about what we perceive to be important to the voting public, then we should not be bound by what the gurus of the press think should be said.

This brings me to the more crucial part of the analysis. If there are certain things the President should not do, what, in fact, should be the tone and content of his campaign effort?

First, I don't believe that the President should move out any of the attack material, and if so, only by strong, positive RN counter-positions. If we are doing our job right on the staff level, we can get the attack stuff out. So far, I think, without a doubt, we have succeeded in hanging some uncomfortable labels on McGovern. His efforts to wiggle off the fishhook are proof that we have hit a nerve. Moreover, the polls confirm that McGovern is tarred with the radical label. The job from the Vice-Presidential level on down is to keep that record of radicalism out front. I don't doubt our ability to do that.

But the Presidential level should be altogether different. I frankly think the President need not even concern himself with pointing out the radicalism in the opposition camp. I say this, not because I think it is unfair for a President to do this, but because RN gets unfair treatment when he does it. If RN did so, the focus then comes back to RN's tactics" rather than to the record we want to surface to the public.

Instead, there are a number of things the President can do as he campaigns to keep Republican spirits high, prevent too much Democratic party slippage, and, in general, go into election eve with the feeling that a posture has been presented to the American public which maintains its confidence in the stewardship of RN.

(1) In my judgment, one of the central issues of this campaign is the "good" America of RN versus the "corrupt" America of McGovern. I think McGovern has been absolutely stupid in the way he has been seen to side with those who tear America down. The best way to exploit this is from the positive side of RN's belief in a good country. I know this has been a thematic favorite of the President's, but I think it needs to be developed as a more comprehensive slice of the pie we are presenting this year.

You saw the Yankelovich results in TIME which said that McGovern's biggest miscalculation was on the depth of bitterness and dissatisfaction among the voters. And 75% of those sampled said that they were sick and tired of hearing people attack American values. I don't mean here simply a few paragraphs on America being a good country, but a full speech should be developed on this subject, and I would think that it be one of the first delivered.

The best contrast of the campaign will be the bitchy George McGovern with his whining, whimpering, crybaby attitude matched against the strong confidence of RN. The people of America are not basically mean-minded and sour, but are, instead, people who respond to lift and optimism. McGovern erred in trying to harvest the bitter fruit when in fact there is, as the polls universally show, an almost serene satisfaction with the way things are. The desire is for change, sure, but, damn-it-all, change which plays on the goodness of America, not that which craps all over its institutions.

(2) The President should develop, or ask to have developed for him, some basic lines which respond with calculated indignation to some of the pure bull that McGovern is throwing around. This is a chance for RN to take the extremely important underdog role -- an effective role I believe. I am referring to such things as the Hitler quotes, the "barbarism" in Vietnam, the charge that he's lied about POWs, etc.

A healthy dose of modulated anger would be good for the electorate and good for RN. For example, he might say: "My friends, I have served as your President for nearly four years, and I am not about to sit back and be compared to Adolph Hitler. It is a tribute to free speech that candidates can make such charges, but it is not a tribute to the political process to have the world watch the President of the United States equated with the most hated dictator of our time." A number of lines roughly like that would be effective, I believe.

Note: if any more anti-war hecklers become a visible problem and can be seen and heard on television, the President might effectively say: "I think the American people are tired of being called murderous and war-mongers. You have the right to question our policy, but don't you for one minute try to impugn the motives or the morality of the citizens of our country." Here, RN defends the public.

(3) One effective point is to rebut the moralism of George McGovern. This should be done by pointing out that no one has a monopoly on morality, and that it doesn't help the political process for the opposition candidate to suggest that only what he thinks is right and what everybody else thinks is wrong. RN might say that he may not agree with someone, but that he doesn't try to act morally superior or hide behind a shield of rectitude.

This point has turned up in a number of columns -- namely, reporters confessing chagrin at McGovern's pious morality. RN needs to make the point as well.

(4) It may sound incongruous, but I believe that RN must address an all-black audience during the campaign. Charles Bartlett had an excellent column pointing out that McGovern has taken the blacks for granted in a subtle attempt to get white working class Democrats back into the fold. RN addressing a black audience will have several effects. It will get excellent play and emphasize he is the President of all the people. If tuned to the black middle class -- rather than the "We Shall Overcome" overblown rhetoric of LBJ -- it can get votes, especially if RN goes right to the heart of the matter of those who denigrate blacks by lumping them together as all poor, ignorant, etc. It would also probably send McGovern scurrying to patch up things with the blacks and cause him, perhaps, to overreact and line himself up with a political posture which won't help him. Finally, it would exploit the frustration in the black leadership at being taken for granted by the Democrats and promote the emphasis that RN has done more for minority advancement than any other President.

(5) One of the things that keeps turning up in voter surveys in terms of dissatisfaction with McGovern is the fact that he is changing his tune on everything and promising something for everybody. It looks like -- and is -- crass expediency. It also confirms that McGovern is not anti-politician, but pure politician. RN can advance his cause by making a virtue of the fact that promises have not been wildly bandied about in his administration, and the reason for the turbulent 60's (a subtle reminder of what we had in those years) was the overblown rhetoric which could not be delivered in programs. This will posture RN as the one who is not the expedient politician who promises all things to all men. "We did not make promises we could not keep." In the Haynes Johnson survey, here is what an ethnic Democrat, who retired early because he was unemployed, and voted for McGovern in the primary, said: "Now I think he's (McG) more two-faced, like trying to tell people he's going to help them get jobs. They all like to do the promises, but he's gone beyond most of them, whereas Nixon knows what we've got to do."

(6) Hold the hands of Democrat defectors by telling audiences that what we have done in foreign policy is the same thing JFK et al. would have done.

(7) Emphasize domestic stability and the sense of pride and respect America now has for itself. McGoo is on the wrong side of the issue if he continues to think Americans hate themselves.

(8) When emphasizing the international turnaround -- cite things like: who would think that not only America, but Japan would be talking to China; East Germany with West Germany; North Korea with South Korea. The great sense of quietude and stability is like calamine lotion on chickenpox. Who was ever ashamed of serenity and goodwill?

(9) Do not underestimate how McGovern so effectively uses attacks on himself. It's not for nothing he gets elected in South Dakota. Here is what one of his close friends says: "There's nothing George likes better than to have them attack him as disloyal. Then he can get out his American Legion cap and dust off his Distinguished Flying Cross and really take them on." George has already done this, and you can be sure he's lusting for RN to even hint at his loyalty. This is why I believe RN must leave the attack to others.

(10) For God sake, let the word go out to all staff that the smallest mistake of judgment could foul everything. In 1968 the media played the innocuous mutual fund letter to a fair-thee-well. Let's not get nervous about things. Our opponents will desperately search for anything by which they can pin all the clichéd labels on us -- for once, let's protect RN from his friends. Let's also maintain our cool about McGovern's crowds. Goldwater had much better crowds than LBJ, and in 1960, JFK was mobbed in Ohio and RN was mobbed in Atlanta -- neither carried the state in which he was mobbed. Crowds are not determinative of momentum.

JSM

10/26

Canvass Control Center - JSM
go public
- an AP writer

Me G - 2 - 2.5 - next wk
1.6 for CRP.

October 25, 1972/6:00 p.m.

SCHEDULE: CLARK MacGREGOR WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 25, 1972

6:15 p.m. - Newell Weed (here)

6:30 p.m. - Fund raising party for Bill Weeks, 3933 Fordham Road

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1972

8:15 a.m. - Roosevelt Room

9:15 a.m. - Staff Meeting (here)

9:30 a.m. - Mr. Stans (there)

10:30 a.m. - Hal Bruno, NEWSWEEK (here)

1:00 p.m. - William Usury and Members of the Retail Clerks Union (here)

1:30 p.m. - Mr. William G. Gisel (here)

2:30 p.m. - Liz Drew interview, WETA/TV Studios

4:30 p.m. - Ab Sybal & Mr. Owens (here)

6:30 p.m. - Reception, Iranian Embassy, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

8:00 p.m. - Black Tie dinner, Joseph Alsop's, 2720 Dumbarton Avenue

Chuck Colson

This has been pushed fairly hard by the jackass with mixed results. A lot of letters went out, but a number of businessmen shied away from it.

October 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY CASHEN

FROM: Charles Colson

Note the attached from today's New York Times. I hope there is a program underway -- and this is your responsibility -- to see that this is done by every major corporation. This is one of the things that I talked ~~about~~ with that jackass at 1701 who handles our business operation about doing. In fact, I told them to have our friendly business executives do this with everyone. I hope, in fact, that this is the first of a continuing pattern of these. But would you insure that it is, and, if there is nothing going over there, to see that this happens. Get them off their duffs and doing it. This is damned helpful. Be sure, however, that they review the text of the letters that are being sent to be certain that the letters talk about the importance of re-electing the President for the country -- not for their particular business necessarily. Obviously we can get into the question of helping the economy.

Higby
You are a FINK!
bawks a waf
CWC

Red

Head of Liggett & Myers Backs Nixon in Letter to Stockholders

By ERNEST HOLSELDOLPH

In a rare move among corporate executives, the President of Liggett & Myers Inc. has denounced the Presidential candidacy of Senator George McGovern and endorsed the re-election of President Nixon in a letter sent to 45,000 company shareholders.

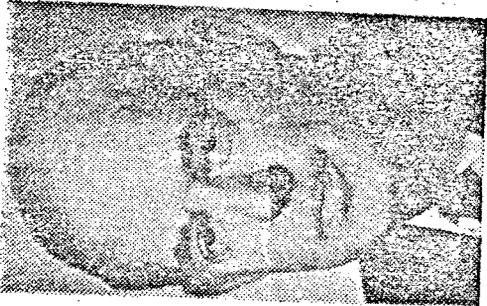
M. E. Harrington, president of the New York-based company, criticized what he called Senator McGovern's "misunderstanding" of the business community. He said the Democratic nominee's election to the Presidency would likely result in a tax increase of \$16-billion for individuals and businesses.

In previous years, election laws prohibited the "contribution or expenditure" by corporations in connection with elections, but an amendment passed by Congress last December permits electioneering in corporate communications to stockholders and communications between union leaders and their membership.

First to Use Amendment Liggett & Myers, which ranks 212th on Fortune's list of the nation's largest industrial companies, is believed to be the first to take advantage of the new law.

Mr. Harrington warned, in a letter mailed last week, that corporate income taxes could increase 25 per cent, "much of which would be used to support ill-conceived social goals."

Concerning Mr. Nixon, Mr. Harrington said: "As chief executive officer of a large, diversified corporation, I have been impressed to



M. E. Harrington, president of Liggett & Myers.

with what I consider to be the basic soundness of the present Administration's posture in the economic, foreign relations and international trade areas insofar as they affect this corporation."

Mr. Harrington continued: "I am disquieted with the varied approaches of Senator McGovern whose program, if elected, appears to be based on a misunderstanding of the business community and its historical objectives of increasing gross national product, productivity, employment, and profit for the benefit of the investing public."

"These factors, and others, such as the treatment of depreciation, investment credit, individual gift and inheritance taxes are rightly matters of interest to you as stockholders, who would be among the first to feel their impact."

Proposed

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

PROPOSITIONS AND PROPOSED LAWS

Together With Arguments

(Arguments in support or opposition of the proposed laws are opinions of the authors)

GENERAL ELECTION

Tuesday, November 7, 1972

Compiled by GEORGE H. MURPHY, Legislative Counsel
Distributed by EDMUND G. BROWN Jr., Secretary of State

BALLOT PROPOSITIONS

1972 GENERAL ELECTION

Prepared

by

Assembly Republican Consultants