<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box Number</th>
<th>Folder Number</th>
<th>Document Date</th>
<th>No Date</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Document Type</th>
<th>Document Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11/8/1972</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>To: Donald Dwight. From: Richard Nixon. Thank you note for Massachusetts Committee for the Re-Election of the President. 3 pgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11/4/1972</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>To: The President. From: Charles Colson. RE: The last 72 hours campaign. 1 pg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11/1/1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>To: Clark MacGregor. From: Fred Malek. RE: Canvassing results. 16 pgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
<td>Handwritten notes: Tape to CBS Radio. 1pg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tuesday, November 29, 2011    Page 3 of 13
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box Number</th>
<th>Folder Number</th>
<th>Document Date</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Document Type</th>
<th>Document Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/30/1972</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/30/1972</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/30/1972</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/27/1972</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/27/1972</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/25/1972</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/17/1972</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/17/1972</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
<td>Draft telegram. To: The volunteers at the telephone center. From: Richard Nixon. RE: Final days of the campaign. 1pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
<td>Draft telegram. To: Telephone centers. From: Richard Nixon. RE: Final days of the campaign. 1pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/9/1972</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11/1/1972</td>
<td>White House Staff</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
<td>Personal schedule for Clark MacGragor. 1pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/18/1972</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>To: Congressional candidates. From: E. D. Failor. RE: President's letters to congressional candidates. 1pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/12/1972</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>To: Bill Timmons &amp; Chuck Colson. From: H. R. Haldeman. RE: President's letters to congressional candidates. 1pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9/1/1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9/1/1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9/7/1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10/19/1972</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
November 8, 1972

Mr. Gordon Strachan
Staff Assistant to H. R. Haldeman
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Gordon:

Six months ago, who would have thought it would end this way? Fantastic!

Many thanks for your patience, good humor and cooperation. You made a difficult task almost easy.

I'm sure the future holds many great things for you, Gordon. And if I can be of any help along the way, don't hesitate to call on me.

The invitation to the SC-UCLA game still holds. I always enjoy collecting big game bets "eyeball to eyeball", so I hope you can come.

My best to Christine.

Best regards,
Gordon needs approval on the attached.

OK

P.
November 8, 1972

STRAIGHTWIRE

Honorable Donald Dwight
Mrs. Charles Malone
Co-Chairmen
Massachusetts Committee for the
Re-Election of the President
77 Franklin Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02110

While Massachusetts did not come in the Presidential winner column for us last night, I know the tremendous challenge we faced in the Bay State, and we are all heartened by the gains we made over the returns of four years ago. I am deeply grateful for your remarkable spirit and dedication to our cause. You and all who worked with you have my heartfelt appreciation and warm wishes always.

RICHARD NIXON

RN:AVH:RLE:baw
November 8, 1972

STRAIGHTWIRE

Honorable Otto A. Wahlrab
Chairman
Republican State Committee
No. 524
73 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

The Presidential election news heartens all who worked so hard for victory. Although Massachusetts did not show up in the winner column, I know the tremendous challenges you faced, and I am well aware of the gains we made over 1968 in the Presidential race. I am deeply grateful for your wonderful spirit and dedication to our cause which contributed so importantly to our successful outcome across the nation. With my appreciation to you and to all who worked so hard for our success:

RICHARD NIXON

RN:AVH:RLE:baw
November 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Attached memorandum for the President

I think we need to discuss the strategy of the final 72 hours of the campaign but short of that I feel that the attached is essential.

"We will not be stampeded" line will in the light of last
vote appear to be defensive.
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Last 72 hours of campaign

There will be a tremendous temptation today to respond to McGovern's very provocative charge last night; that is the reason he made it -- to get you to respond.

The lead in tomorrow morning's papers should be, "President Nixon, ignoring the harsh charges of his opponent, told cheering crowds today that America is on the brink of peace".

The "brink of peace" phrase, which is Scali's, lobes it right over the head of McGovern. He is desperately seeking to engage us in a major controversy over who said what to whom in the closing 72 hours of the campaign. Forget it. He has charged things before which are worse. His credibility is near zero and the last thing that we want this weekend is the two candidates slugging it out on whether there will be a peace agreement or not.

Leave it to Laird and Rogers to charge that this man has consistently tried to sabotage peace in Vietnam and that he lies when he says that you have accepted exactly the same deal that he has proposed or that peace could have been achieved three years ago on the same terms.

End up the campaign smiling confidently, allowing the contrast to be drawn with McGovern looking mean and scornful.
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Reading

Four interesting items have been submitted recently that you may want to read. The first two are reports by Fred Malek on the Canvass efforts and Get Out the Vote Kick Off. The Canvass report indicates that 1/3 of the priority counties in the key states have been contacted in person or by telephone. In California more than 1/2 of the households in the priority counties have been contacted. The poorest key state performances have been in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. (Full report at Tab A.)

Malek's Get Out the Vote memorandum describes the activities on October 28. He claims 10,000 volunteers received training, that the local media coverage was good, and that technically there were few problems. (Full report at Tab B.)

Harry Dent prepared a report on the Evans & Novak Political Forum that MacGregor attended with Scammon, O'Brien, and Caddell. The most interesting notes are:

1) Evans projects 524 electoral votes for the President. McGovern only has Massachusetts and D.C. The McGovern campaign never got off the ground because of his vacillation, Eagleton, and O'Brien. Also, McGovern became too specific on the issues too soon;

2) The Republicans have a slim chance to capture the Senate, but will only pick up 20 House seats;

3) MacGregor predicts a low vote because of the McGovern-Shriver "mud-slinging";
4) Pat Caddell, in a remarkably frank discussion, says the people lost confidence in McGovern's handling of Eagleton. He believes the President's landslide will not indicate Democrats have abandoned their party for the Republicans.

5) Scammon claims neither candidate is well-liked, and that the President's problem is to get people to trust him; and

6) O'Brien too loyal to McGovern to say anything of real interest.

The report is attached at Tab C.

John Whitaker has submitted a memorandum on post-election activities. Several of the suggestions are being implemented. However, his ideas about directing the Cabinet to go out into the country to listen, to send special Ombudsmen such as Carlucci in Pennsylvania into the country, and to capture the "substantive march on the Congress", are quite interesting. Whitaker's memorandum is attached at Tab D.
November 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: 
CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: 
FRED MALEK

SUBJECT: 
Canvassing Results

OVERALL PROGRESS

This memorandum reports progress on the door-to-door canvass through October 23rd and the telephone canvass through October 21st. The progress is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Households in the U.S.</td>
<td>63,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households in Priority Counties</td>
<td>48,149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households Contacted Door-to-Door</td>
<td>11,563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Priority County Households Canvassed</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households Contacted by Phone</td>
<td>4,971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households Contacted by Phone and Door-to-Door</td>
<td>16,534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Priority County Households Canvassed</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(000 omitted)

Compared to last week, the number of households canvassed door-to-door increased by 3,568,000 or 66%. The number of households contacted by telephone increased by 1,312,000 or 36%. The total number of households contacted by telephone and door-to-door increased by 5,878,000 or 52%.

This canvassing effort has identified over 15 million voters who support the President. When these voters are combined with the 15 million registered Republicans, we have a pool of known favorables to turn out on election day of some 25 to 30 million voters (depending on the amount of double counting caused by canvassing Republicans door-to-door).
If the voter turn-out effort matches the canvass results, we will have licked the apathy problem for the most part.

**KEY STATE PROGRESS**

In the key states, households canvassed door-to-door increased by 2,094,000 or 39% and those canvassed by telephone, by 1,313,000 or 36%. Overall, we have now contacted 11,358,000 households or 48% of the households in the priority counties of key states. (See Tab A)

The results in all states are acceptable although some have performed much better than others:

- **California** has canvassed 2,689,000 households or 53% of the households in priority counties. This effort coupled with the GOTV program now in the works should assure a victory in California.

- **Illinois** has canvassed 51.4% of its priority households. Again, this should be enough to ensure a win in Illinois in spite of Daley's last minute push.

- **Texas** claims 48.3% of the households in the priority counties canvassed. The telephone contacts are reliable; I seriously question their claims on door-to-door. However, my staff has done some spot checking and has not yet caught an obvious inflation of the figures. In any case, we are in a good position to run an effective GOTV effort which should more than offset the heavy new registration of Blacks and Spanish Speaking in Houston and Dallas.

- **New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania** have turned in the poorest canvass performance. However, each of them has canvassed around 20%, and each state allows party registration so that we have a large pool of voters to turn out. I am confident that both New York and New Jersey are organized well enough to get the turn-out job done; Pennsylvania is not. Therefore, one of our national fieldmen has been made the GOTV Chairman for Pennsylvania, and we have sent about 30 people from 1701 to work in the counties. I am hopeful that this will take up the slack.

The remaining key states are in good shape, and I anticipate no problems with them.

**BATTLEGROUND STATES**

The battleground states came in with a solid gain. Number of households canvassed increased from 536,183 to 1,314,025 or by 144%, resulting in 15% of the households in priority counties having been canvassed. (See Tab B). All
states are now over 10% except West Virginia and Wisconsin. Wisconsin should improve substantially before the end of the election; households canvassed went up from zero to 134,000 during the week. West Virginia will not improve significantly, and we must count on turning out the Republicans in West Virginia (over 300,000) to give us the edge.

Progress to date in the remaining states is summarized by regional director at Tab C.

* * *

We are now over the hump on canvassing. With one week of canvassing to go - October 24th to October 28th - we have canvassed 16.5 million households which exceeds our original expectations of 15 million. I do not expect the results for the last week to continue at the same pace. The telephone centers began to recruit for GOTV on the 23rd so they are effectively out of the voter identification business. Also, the door-to-door effort began to slow down as the states prepared for the GOTV kick-off on the 26th. Thus, the total number of households canvassed during the campaign should come out around 18 million. Assuming two voters per household, we will have reached 36 million voters in some way with our canvassing effort.

Attachments

sec: H. R. H. [Redacted]
November 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: 

FROM: FRED MALEK

SUBJECT: Report on "Get Out The Vote" Kick Off

The purpose of the October 28 GOTV kick off was four fold:

- To cut off voter identification canvassing and force the states to begin preparing for getting out the vote on Election Day.
- To publicize the need for volunteers to help on Election Day.
- To show our storefront and telephone center volunteers the high priority we place on getting out the vote.
- To build campaign enthusiasm in key states.

To achieve these purposes, the GOTV kick off was held in 44 areas in 22 key and battleground states. We used our most important surrogates to visit the storefronts and telephone centers in these areas to talk about the importance of GOTV and participate in the work to prepare for election day, e.g., reminder calls and calls for volunteers. In most cases just before or after the surrogate appearance, the training slide show was shown and election day assignments were given to the volunteers gathered for the workshops.

For the most part, the GOTV kick off accomplished its purpose:

- It forced the press to shift from canvassing to GOTV reminder calls and election day recruitment. Over 10,000 volunteers were gathered in the kick off headquarters for training, reminder calls and election day assignments. Thousands more were recruited in other headquarters throughout the country.
- We received excellent coverage in the local media although the President's trip to Ohio precluded network coverage. Tab A summarizes coverage in the local media. Our advance team report that the evening news shows gave extensive coverage to the events. While press coverage was good, we did not receive the front page coverage we got on September 16.
The volunteers and local leadership were impressed that Administration Officials and other surrogates would concentrate their attention on them and mix with the troops. They particularly appreciated being able to work with a surrogate rather than having to stand by and cheer him.

Technically the day went well. The surrogates got there for the most part; Bolton was grounded by bad weather; Butt and Evans were late arrivals. We have received no reports that a surrogate was unhappy. The First Family events were outstanding - Julie, Tricia and Ed had good, warm crowds. In fact, the volunteers they drew were the largest of all the kick off areas. Each of them made phone calls to supporters; and these conversations were well covered by the media.

In summary, I am satisfied with the kick off results. Again, it was a cooperative effort at 1701 with the tour office, scheduling, the telephone operation, several of the voter blocs working closely with the political division and the RNC's political division to make the day a success.

However, while Saturday was a successful start at the community level on voter turn out, the day pointed up that much still needs to be done. We forced local attention on getting the vote in the 44 areas, but there was not enough activity in many other storefronts to recruit the volunteers and find the telephones to operate on our ideal GOTV program.

To attack this problem, and to ensure GOTV preparations get underway, we are taking the following action:

- Locating Regional Directors full time in their most important states through Election Day.
- Deploying more Re-Election Committee staff to important areas for getting out the vote in close or weakly organized states.
- Pushing a more simple and concentrated approach to voter turn out where local organization in week or late; this program consists exclusively of a pre-election day reminder call to favorables identified in the door to door/phone canvass and to all Republicans and an election day contact at their houses.
- Concentrating a special effort to locate the many additional phone banks necessary to handle the large volume of reminder-to-vote phone calls. For a really comprehensive program of voter contact on election day, we estimate a need for four times the number of phones already in our existing phone centers.
- Directing that all voter bloc activity be exclusively focused on producing volunteers for the voter turnout program in the priority states.
Calling, beginning Thursday, the campaign chairmen and leaders in target counties to thank them for their effort and to stress the importance of getting every last vote to the polls. These will be made by Cabinet wives and other women surrogates.

Finally, I will begin calling key state leaders to question them about their get out the vote plans and to encourage them to keep the pressure on. In addition, you and Bob Dole have call lists which should provide encouragement to state Nixon and GOP leaders.

I will report to you later in the week where we stand on our overall get out the vote efforts on a state by state basis and how effective I think we will be in turning out the vote.
MVFPEV, WEST VIRGINIA - Daly

Had a press conference on COV. Fair turnout of volunteers. Good coverage: 1 TV (NBC), 2 radio and 2 papers.

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA - Morgan Farrow, Mrs. Bentley

Farrow made comment to crew that he was to make film soon with John Wayne and that Wayne has told him "he'd be on Farrow's back for the whole ten weeks they would be making film if they didn't turn out the vote for the President and carry California." Actually "kick-off" -- a football with kicker Greg Bob Miller; receiver: State Senator Pat and holder: Bill Green Black (assembly team candidate from area). Very good coverage: 2 TV stations (NBC, CBS), 2 radio stations and 2 papers (one was student paper at San Diego State College).

PROVINCETOWN, NANTUCKET - Factor

Visited three headquarters where well received and crowds were enthusiastic. Good coverage: 3 TV stations, 1 radio and 2 papers. Generally got secondary attention due to tight Senate race event which was also taking place.

HARRISON, CONCORD - Kleinheinz, Stein, Ely

Visited six headquarters; volunteer turnout was adequate. Coverage was O.K.: 3 papers, no radio, apparently some TV coverage but it was not specified. Overall, response was excellent and locals and inexpergates were very pleased.

FREDONIA, BAIRD - Mrs. Endlichan and Mrs. Rodson

Visited six headquarters with good volunteer turnout. Both ladies well received. Locals and press very impressed with both ladies. Press coverage was excellent and very favorable: all three TV stations, three radio stations and 2 papers.

L.A.P.D., BURLINGTON - Mrs. Barnes

Visited two headquarters with good volunteer turnout; over 1/3 at phone center were Spanish-speaking. Made about 6 phone calls and made brief remarks. Good coverage: 2 TV stations, 1 radio station and 1 paper (World Post interview).

FONTEV, PENNSYLVANIA - Klein

Visited the headquarters with very good volunteer turnout; volunteers very enthusiastic. Made phone calls. Excellent press coverage: 3 TV stations, 2 radio stations, 2 papers, WOR, WNYC and "цинь: revised" show on radio.

CHRISTIAN, KENTUCKY - Pat. Curley

Made brief trip to both and visited with volunteers (volunteer turnout excellent). Had several TV interviews at stations. Good response by older and middle age people. Coverage: 4 TV stations, 5 radio stations and 6 papers.
FORT WORTH, OREGON - B.J. Nixon

Short talk - well received. Visited with volunteers. Made 4 phone calls which were picked up by radio and TV; two of calls were lifelong Democrats for Nixon. Very heavy volunteer turnout at storefront. Good press coverage: Local NBC and CBS and local TV stations, radio, and both daily papers. General consensus was that event was a success.

BUFFALO, NEW YORK - Nixon

Inside store gave brief talk, made phone calls and generally mixed. Greeted by a band at storefront. Heavy turnout of volunteers at storefront. Two papers covered and an instantation TV crew.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI - Ike

Spoke to workers and made phone calls. Press took pixs and taped speech. All press represented with exception of NBC; WABC, NBC, CBS, UPI, AP, and a daily and weekly. About 25 pickets outside storefront - union leaders; Nixon people counterprotested with picket. Heavy volunteer turnout at storefront.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - Tom Evans

Stopped by two storefronts. Good volunteer turnout. Coverage was weak due to Evans being 1 1/2 hours late. Originally had 3 TV stations and radio to cover, but most left and returned with coverage from only 1 TV station and 1 paper.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS - Rinco

Good volunteer turnout at both storefronts visited; very enthusiastic. Rinker made phone calls. Excellent coverage: 3 TV stations (NBC, ABC, CBS), 4 radio stations and 5 papers.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA - Valpar

Visited two headquarters, a phone bank and the Italian Market. Pointed out that he was beaten by 1 vote per precinct when polls said he was ahead then he ran for Governor of Kansas. Made phone calls, met with union officials, met Italian candidates and made personal visits in Democratic areas. Day considered a great success. Media coverage lacking: no radio or TV; 3 papers.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI - Stalitz

Visited two storefronts. Good turnout at one where crowd listened quietly and attentively; the other was a Democratic headquarters had only fair turnout. Reception was "very enthusiastic." Good coverage: 3 TV and 3 radio stations, 3 papers, UPI.

EDMONTON, ALBERTA - Parker and Blackstone

Good turnout of volunteers who were enthusiastic and attractive. Overall reception was very positive. Good coverage: 1 TV, 1 radio and 2 papers, AP.

RICHMOND, Va. - Berman

Had phone calls and made brief contacts to volunteers. "Have conversation with one lady who said she didn't want to get involved because to get his foot in the door." Very good media coverage: 5 TV stations, 1 radio station and 6 newspapers including the Richmond Times-Dispatch.
SANFORD, TEXAS - Sen. Quayle

Senator Quayle's visit emphasized along with Presidents. Well received. Press coverage poor - Houston Post interviewed by phone.

STOCKTON, WASHINGTON - Sen. Murphy

Good speech. Nearly 200 volunteers at storefront. Two TV stations and two papers gave coverage. No radio coverage.

STOCKTON, WASHINGTON - Rep. Norton

Norton well received; gave good talk, 100 volunteers at storefront. ABC affiliate; 2 papers. People indicated it was "critical" that President come to Seattle.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK - Sen. Specter

Light turnout of volunteers at storefront. Specter visited with crowd. Two TV stations covered and one radio station; no press.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS - Br. Cox

Cox made a few phone calls/visited with crowd and made a few remarks. He spent 10 minutes with a 14 year old volunteer who had stayed at the headquarters last night until 2:00 a.m. 125 volunteers at storefront. No TV coverage; 1 radio, AP and UPI. Springfield paper did cover.

CINCINNATI, OHIO - Sen. Dole

Visited 5 storefronts and made 16 calls from each. Visited with local press of COVE and Prem. of local 3060; Gran. Workers of America, AM-200 and local candidates. Volunteer turnout at storefronts average. Excellent coverage by media - 2 TV stations, 2 radio stations and all three papers.

CINCINNATI, OHIO - Rep. Snyders and Buzz Aldrin

Well received and had good advance media coverage. Surrogates made a few calls. Volunteer turnout good with 3,000 calls made and 150 Election day volunteers recruited. Two TV stations covered and one of two papers; no radio coverage.

TRENTON, NEW JERSEY - Gov. Folation

Folation did not make it - plane grounded. County COSE Chairman Davis flown directly in. Pointed out to press that 86,000 calls had been completed in Burlington County; that 1160 of 2900 volunteers were under 30. Lot of activity and enthusiasm at storefronts. 4 TV cameras plus 1 to 2 train crews. In Burlington; taped interview of Folation by local NBC radio station; two papers carried and a feature writer, state AP.

CINCINNATI, OHIO - Mayor Dales

Donation visit with volunteers, gave a brief talk and held press conference. Light turnout of volunteers (15), 3 TV stations on site; no radio or press.

CINCINNATI, OHIO - Rep. Jenkins and R. Nine

With many phone calls to say gracias. Very large turnout of volunteers at storefront. One TV, radio and press coverage.
FLINT - LUGAR
Lugar was forced to cancel due to inclement weather. Press coverage was also cancelled. There were 139 volunteers at the store fronts and phone centers, making calls, addressing reminder post cards and other GOTV organizational activities.

ALBANY - SECRETARY RICHARDS

Visited two store fronts, and spoke to 125 volunteers. Made reminder calls (7). Press coverage was good.

DETROIT - TRICIA COX; GOVERNOR MILLIKEN

Both Tricia and the Governor made brief remarks on GOTV and spoke with individual volunteers. Visited three facilities where 1850 volunteers were present. Media coverage - excellent.

HARRISBURG - MRS. BUTZ; MRS. DAVID; BARBARA FRANKLIN

Surrogates met and spoke with 135 volunteers. Due to inclement weather crowds were light. 2 Newspapers covered the event - no radio or TV.

SCRANTON - CONGRESSMAN YORK

Young met with 120 young volunteers and talked with them about the importance of GOTV. There was no Press coverage due to the coverage of a Pre-Kick-Off dinner with Gordon MacRae on Friday night.

SOMERSET/HUNTINGTON COUNTIES - SENATOR BEALL

"campaign results rest in your hands and in the hands of others like you across the country." Beall spoke to volunteers on GOTV and made reminder calls. About 100 volunteers met Beall at three facilities. Volunteers were generally young. The Kick-Off was covered by 2 radio stations and 12 Newspapers.

AUSTIN - ELITCHTORD

Elitchtord was well-received in Austin. Response - positive. Mr. and Mrs. Elitchtord made reminder calls and talked to approximately 140 volunteers. Media coverage was light and consisted of one TV station and 1 newspaper.

NEW HAVEN - GOVERNOR SANDFORD

Sandford visited three storefronts, made reminder calls, and held a Press Conference at which he discussed the importance of GOTV. There were approximately 185 volunteers at these facilities. Ten TV stations and 5 newspapers covered the event and Sandford appeared on a 1/2 hour 66A radio program.
"Nixon is the most qualified man to lead us into a generation of peace"
Romney spoke to 245 volunteers on COTV, greeted volunteers and made reminder
phone calls. Three network TV stations, 1 radio station and the two
major papers in Boston covered the event.

MINNEAPOLIS/ST. PAUL – JULIE NIXON EISENHOWER

Julie spoke on the importance of GOTV by citing the Sindlinger Poll. Over
1000 volunteers met with Julie and several reminder calls were made by the
Surrogate. There was a 70-piece marching band. Julie signed the band’s
sheet music, and was presented with an anniversary card by a little old
lady who could hardly write, and a bouquet of roses from a small child.
Press coverage was excellent.

OKLAHOMA CITY – MAURICE REAGAN

Was questioned about Peace Proposal. Surrogate spoke to 175 volunteers
regarding GOTV; made phone calls; worked on check-off lists. Interview
of a lady in a wheelchair - felt registration was so important that she
came out only a week after a serious operation. Press coverage was extremely
good (2 TV - 3 Radio).

ALBUQUERQUE – SANDOVAL

Surrogate made phone calls in Spanish. Spoke to volunteers (about 500) -
had breakfast with Democrats for Nixon. Media coverage - excellent.
(3 TV stations, 5 radio stations (2 Spanish) and 4 newspapers).

ABERDEEN – PHIL CAMPBELL, CHILLS CONNELLY

Surrogates made reminder phone calls. Very well received. Approximately
60 volunteers. Press coverage was fair.
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA - Coldeston

Made remark that he did not want his 8 grandchildren to grow up hearing that their grandfather was the worst defeated presidential candidate in history...wanted to make sure McGovern got the title after this election. Visited three headquarters and personally greeted the volunteers and callers. Made three phone calls. Good volunteer turnout. Very good coverage: all 3 TV stations, several radio stations and two dailies.

CHELSEA, WEST VIRGINIA - Rita Lee

Made 10 phone calls with all but one responding favorably. Pleased the crowd and when she said she was looking for a husband, but that all the men were probably married - one man raised his hand and she went into the crowd and gave him a kiss. Good volunteer turnout. Fair coverage: 1 TV and 1 radio; no papers. Advance coverage was good.
WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. ○ Room 1312 ○ Washington, D.C. 20006 ○ 202-288-7650

Tentative Schedule

SECOND EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL FORUM
MADISON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.
October 31, 1972

10:00 am Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. The 1972 Campaign. Discussion and Questions.

11:30 am Hon. Clark MacGregor, Campaign Director of the Committee to Reelect the President. The Nixon Campaign. Discussion and Questions.

12:30 pm Luncheon.

1:30 pm Mr. Richard Scammon, The Election Research Center and Mr. Patrick Caddell, Cambridge Survey Research. The 1972 Voter. Discussion and Questions.

3:30 pm Hon. Lawrence F. O'Brien, National Campaign Chairman of McGovern-Shriver '72. The McGovern Campaign. Discussion and Questions.

4:30 pm Evans and Novak. Summing Up.

5:00 pm Reception.
Discussions and Questions - The 1972 Campaign (Evans)

Predict an electoral vote for Nixon of 524 to 14 for McGovern. Believe the pre-convention actions of McGovern did him in. That is, the policies he advocated in detail so far in advance and later modified or drastically changed his position. Six to eight weeks ago it was obvious that the McGovern campaign had collapsed. Forty percent of those polled as having voted for Humphrey stated they would not vote for McGovern.

Senator Hughes persuaded Muskie to oppose the candidacy of McGovern on the night before Muskie was to declare in favor of him. Had Muskie supported McGovern, he would have been named the Vice Presidential candidate and would have helped McGovern avoid his many mistakes or at least some of them.

Some mistakes were his vascillation, the Eagleton affair, and that of the O'Brien affair. He asked O'Brien to be chairman then found his staff had picked Westwood so McGovern changed. Such action placed his capacity as a manager in great doubt in the minds of leading democrats and the correspondents. At that point the democratic political managers began to leave McGovern.

Another adverse factor in McGovern's campaign was his unfortunate choice of issues to take to the people. Candidates should never go into a campaign with such detailed specific issues. For example, John F. Kennedy had a few simple objectives, such as a strong national defense, close the missile gap (there was none) and get the country moving again. This avoids the problems of alienating various groups early in the campaign.

McGovern, however, came out for:

(a) $1,000 for each person.
(b) A tax plan repellent to those with medium income or above $12,000 annually.
(c) Mortgaged his future with programs to please splinter groups and lost his appeal to others.
(d) Reversed his position on Israel and the Middle East to get votes but the Jews knew he did this only for votes.
(e) He drove the Catholic vote to Nixon, or at least 50% of it, by anti-war talk and by his long hair, kid associates. Ethnics do not like Communists because they have had experience with them.

(f) McGovern really had only one issue—that of Viet Nam and he never came to realize that the war issue was over. Nixon changed much of the resistance to the war by doing away with the draft.

(g) McGovern failed to concentrate on inflation and the higher prices of food by not going into the stores and getting publicity on higher prices. He started late on Watergate. Art Buchwald had an interesting comment on McGovern—"I worship the very quicksand he walks on".

Three so called landslides by a past presidential candidate were: Harding 63.9%, Roosevelt 62%, and Lyndon Johnson 61%. Nixon should win by placing somewhere in the 60% area.

Regardless of a loss, the Democratic Party will be very much alive after the election. It will include the democrats voting for Nixon and the rest of the democrats. Believe Kennedy wants to run in 1976. The basic factions of the McGovern democrats will change in the future.

Comments on Republican Chances (Novak)

The only state conceded to McGovern at this time would be Massachusetts; also District of Columbia. The poll showed McGovern ahead by 4% in Massachusetts which means McGovern will have trouble elsewhere.

Recent polls taken by Evans-Novak show Nixon's position as follows: Wisconsin 9% ahead; Oregon 10% ahead; Rhode Island—way ahead but may be some less; Hawaii—close; Washington 25% ahead; South Dakota 20% ahead; California 19-16 and 14% ahead on 3 polls; Michigan 18% ahead and trend is ahead more; New York a landslide; Texas ahead.

Senate now 55/45 but Republicans have a chance of winning Senate by a close margin. Chafee—win Rhode Island; Dominick (R) ahead in run for Clinton Anderson seat; North Carolina—Helms (R) moving ahead; Georgia close with Thompson (R) Sam Nunn (D); Oklahoma Edmonson (D) 2% ahead of Bartlett (R) but Oklahoma is 68% Nixon—17% McGovern; Kentucky Huddleston (D) ahead of Louis Nunn now; South Dakota Aberesk (D) ahead of Hirsch (R); Delaware—Boggs will probably win; Idaho—McClure (R) win; Michigan—Republican probably;
Texas-Tower probably safe over Sanders; Montana-Metcalf; Virginia-a catastrophe for McGovern. Spong (D) - Scott (R) has a chance.

House About the best the Republicans can do is to win 20 seats. But there will be surprises should Nixon win by more than 60%. Believe the President is wise to stay home during the campaign except for official business. Watergate issue is not changing votes. Believe most people worry about jobs, inflation, and busing.

If instead of McGovern, Humphrey, Muskie, Kennedy, Jackson or Wallace had run the presidential race would be a dead heat at this point of the campaign. The Republicans have not built a strong program but people believe Nixon is best qualified for the White House. Even though many like the personality of McGovern better they will vote for Nixon.

In this race, many people feel it is the "boardroom" attitude vs. the "upper campus" attitude and they don't like either but for the President's job they much prefer Nixon as a stronger man for acting on the problems.

Believe that a low percentage difference between the candidates leads to a record low vote or turnout. The undecided vote is heavily undecided and most will finally vote for McGovern.

Only seventeen governorships are up for election this year. Believe more states should go to a mid-term basis. (Not elect a governor in a presidential election year.) Probably three or four Republicans will win in these elections.

In 1976, do not believe Connally will run as a Republican or that Percy has a chance. If in Illinois Ogilvie wins this year, he will be a candidate for president in 1976. There could also be new young faces by that time.

The Nixon Campaign - Clark MacGregor

I came aboard on 1 July basically to show the people of the United States what the President had done for them. Many do not realize these facts and the President wanted a presentation of his positive programs. McGovern took care of presenting any negative programs.

The Eagleton affair and McGovern's income plan have shown McGovern's incompetence. My job is to show the people that Nixon has brought the people peace and prosperity.
Questions:

Evans - Nixon has refused to campaign for Republican congressmen who need help. Why has he not done more in this area?

MacGregor - Congress was in session until 18 October at which time the President was sent over 100 very complicated bills to sign within a short period of time. It was necessary to work on these in Washington where he could confer with his cabinet members, his staff and others. There was little time for campaigning. The best policy was a good performance in office not campaigning.

If reelected, I don't think the President will embark on any new policies but will take actions which will work. He will decentralize as much as possible and pass action back to states, cities, etc. This was done for the "Revenue Sharing" bill.

A low vote this year would help McGovern and a high vote would help Nixon. The "mud-slinging" by McGovern and Shriver leads to a lower voter turnout.

Business must do more work to show what they have done and are doing for the people. They have an unfavorable image with the public which they have done little to change. The old business practices have changed--higher wages, better conditions, better employee relations, etc.

The 1972 Voter - Pat Caddell

Unless the candidate has competence, the voters will not vote for him. In July 1972, we interviewed 13,000 voters. In September 1972, we again interviewed sample voters from this original 13,000. We found that the internal attitudes of many of these voters had drastically changed against McGovern. One third had changed their minds in this period. Those who moved to Nixon from McGovern were 60% Democratic upper income, Catholic voters or combinations of those.

These voters had no real liking for Nixon but they had less confidence in McGovern since the Eagleton affair. They liked McGovern's personality better than that of Nixon and thought McGovern cared about them and was honest but McGovern had lost his credibility.
In a question, "Does Nixon tell the truth?", the answer was 44% - No and 42% - Yes. They believed that McGovern did not know how to do things. They had no better liking for Nixon but believed McGovern could not properly handle the White House responsibilities.

Initially the poll was 46% - McGovern and 43% - Nixon, now it was three to one against McGovern and the young suburban group of voters defected. Many thought Nixon was dishonest but now they thought McGovern was incompetent to be in the White House.

On various questions to voters: When will the war end? - 12% said "never", Does the bombing help? - 60% said "no". Is it immoral? - 46% said "yes" and 44% said "no". Could the war have been ended sooner? - 40% said "yes".

On crime, many said neither party can help in this area. There was an increasing belief in corruption in the government and not necessarily only by Republicans. Those defecting from McGovern seemed to have no intention of permanently defecting from the Democratic party.

If there is a Nixon landslide, do not misread the result. A strong candidate could win over Nixon. Interest in the election is declining. Faith in the system is declining. Many refer to ITT, grain deals, etc. and believe things are not getting better. The basic turning point against McGovern was the Eagleton affair.

(Note - Pat Caddell gave many percentage changes between the July and September polls. All showed the drastic loss of support for McGovern. He was very frank in his comments and made a favorable impression that he was providing the facts as he read them and was not trying to hide anything.)

Dick Scammon - My impression is that even though the voter may believe everything is better, he still does not like it. Neither candidate is well liked. Without Wallace, his voters shifted to Nixon but this is not a real Republican shift of the voters. Voters like two parties in the government. In August, there was a loss of confidence and a big defection of McGovern's basic support.

Racism is not too strong an issue now but 40% of the voters believe more should be done for the blacks.

If there is a 61% turnout in this election, there should be a vote total of 85 million. Believe the Democrats will keep the Senate and House unless Nixon
gets 65% or more of the votes which will help move into Congress more Republicans. McGovern polls show a belief that Nixon is not honest, but he gets a high rating on his foreign affairs of around 70% of the voters.

A major problem is getting the voters to trust Nixon. Don't forget that the average voter is more sophisticated than many people think. The process and ideology by which McGovern won the nomination are the very things which will lose him the election.

The McGovern Campaign - Larry O'Brien

When I returned to the Chairmanship I found that the public felt the system did not meet their interests and goals. The party must respond by opening up to meet these requirements. When this is done, a price is paid as was shown in the convention at Miami.

Business must open up to enlist the support of the public.

At this time, McGovern is behind but not too far. People won't stand for the status quo and the party must realign. Believe the Democrats are developing a deep base of support and that the voting difference on Tuesday will not be large.

Questions:

Do you believe there is a lack of confidence in the government? I believe the system must recognize the realities of today.

It seems there is a 28% gap between McGovern and Nixon. Why? The Eagleton affair had an adverse effect. After that there was an erosion of confidence in McGovern. He had lost credibility. I agree that there is a widespread cynicism among the voters.

The ethnic vote will be the key to the Democratic and Republican future. This vote began to shift from the Democrats in 1950. When Mayor Curley was in Boston, I remember he had complete control of this vote for the Democrats.

We have been losing it and I hope the Republicans are not smart enough to make a major effort to obtain and keep this ethnic vote.

(Note - Larry O'Brien understandably talked in rather general and bureaucratic phrases much of the time. His loyalty to McGovern went over and above the normal call of duty. He did say that his experience as Chairman of the Party
was such that it should happen only once in one man's lifetime. This was in
his more "off the record" comments. He made a good impression and was
well liked with sympathy for his position.

(Personal note - I believe the original ethnic voter had little money, worked
hard and joined the Democratic Party. Now, he or his children have more money
and a good job. He does not approve of politicians and taxes which will take away
his hard earned money and distribute it to many who will not work as he did.)

Summary by Evans-Novak

Our last speakers have brought up a very interesting question as to
whether the Democrats will "break the other arm" in the next few years. Or will
the more conservative and experienced Democrats regain control of the party
but modify it to meet necessary changes of the times and regain their defectors.

Caddell seemed to say, "We did not lose the war--our chief made a blunder." Mr.
Dodd of the Democratic National Committee has been saying that the next
Chairman must be a woman or black. This comes from the quota system of the
convention. Are the Democrats just trying to change the whole face of the party?

Democrats are saying that the primary cause of a loss in the election will
be McGovern not the party itself. Jean Westwood will leave soon. State and other
leaders will become more conservative. I was surprised that O'Brien predicted
that McGovern would win and was now close to Nixon.

The personality and actions of McGovern caused his lack of a chance to
win. Muskie or Humphrey, with different personalities, would have been much
better. Without McGovern a resilient Democratic Party will come back. There
will be a Democratic house cleaning by competent Democrats under new manage­
ment with McGovern not a major factor in future policies. There must be an
analysis of the unworkable quota system.

At this time, Texas and California are overwhelmingly democratic but
are voting 50/50.

The question for the next Democratic nominee is whether he is going to
carry some McGovern baggage. If Kennedy runs, he will follow a more logical
Democratic line. He may use some of the ideological Democratic programs but
he will not make the mistake of giving them in detail so early in the campaign.
Malek's political division urges a Presidential telegram to Rayford Price, the Speaker of the House of Representatives who endorsed the President and Tower yesterday. The full text of his statement and a suggested draft, cleared by Price is attached. Many telegrams from the President have been sent to other defecting Democrats.

____ Approve sending wire
____ Disapprove wire
Rayford Price, Speaker of the Texas House of Representatives issued a statement yesterday (text attached) supporting the President and John Tower for Re-election. He is the only major elected Democrat in Texas to do so. (Price, the "Grand Old Man" of the state legislature is a lame duck interim speaker replacing Gus Mutchter who was indicted for corruption.) Our re-election organization in Texas feels other Democrats can be cascaded behind him in supporting the President and have requested a Presidential telegram thanking Price as a way to assist in this effort. They emphasize that time is of the essence and request that the telegram be sent today if possible. Per our telephone conversation, a proposed draft is attached.

OK with draft
11/4/64 Corn
During the past special session of the Legislature I was asked on several occasions by some of you whom I would support for President. On those occasions I refused to make a public statement of my position. I felt that it was my duty as Speaker to see that the session was completed without involving the members or myself in a political controversy. That session is now over and there seems to be no possibility of another during this term of office.

I feel that now it will in no way conflict with my duties of office to make a public statement of my position in the race for President and the race for the United States Senate. As a matter of fact, I believe it is my duty as a citizen and as a public official to do so.

In the Presidential election of 1952 leading Texas Democratic office holders supported Dwight Eisenhower for President, because Adlai Stevenson refused to support Texas' claim to its tidelands. In 1972 I believe Texans, whether they be Democratic office holders or not, have a vastly greater reason to refuse to support the nominee of the Democratic Party than did they in 1952. In 1952 the question was whether we in Texas would get the benefit of the income of our tidelands; today it is a question of the very security of this country.
The Democratic nominee for President, George McGovern, promises, if elected, a retreat from the commitments we have made to the free world during the years since the end of World War II, and the abandonment of the position of military strength we have maintained to preserve those commitments. President Nixon, on the other hand, has lived up to our obligations and has maintained our strength to so do. The dream of freedom in this country and the free world cannot survive without the United States' being prepared to fulfill its commitments and maintain the military strength to do so.

I cannot support the doctrine of retreat espoused by the Democratic nominee. I will support and I call on all Texans of whatever party to support the re-election of President Richard M. Nixon.

Texas went for President Eisenhower in 1952 to protect its tidelands. I know in 1972 it will go for President Nixon to protect its freedom.

It is of near equal importance to the welfare of this country to have a United States Senate that will give the President the support he must have to maintain the strength to preserve our freedom. Senator John Tower has demonstrated for more than 10 years that he will give that support. He has been a leader of the fight against George McGovern and those in the Senate who believe we should retreat from our position of world strength and responsibility. I will support the re-election of Senator Tower.
I wish to express my appreciation for your statement in support of my re-election. Throughout Texas and across the country people like you are casting aside issues of partisanship and stepping forward to join the majority of Americans in re-affirming the principles and ideals which have made this country so great. I am honored to have your assistance in this effort.

To be sent to:

Rayford Price
Speaker of the Texas House of Representatives
State Capitol
Austin, Texas
DELIVER IMMEDIATELY

DATE: 11/3
TO: H.R. Haldeman
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

MALEK'S POLITICAL DIVISION URGES A PRESIDENTIAL TELEGRAM TO RAYFORD PRICE, THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WHO ENDORSED THE PRESIDENT AND TOWER YESTERDAY. THE FULL TEXT OF HIS STATEMENT AND A SUGGESTED DRAFT, CLEARED BY PRICE, IS ATTACHED. MANY TELEGRAMS FROM THE PRESIDENT HAVE BEEN SENT TO OTHER DEFECTING DEMOCRATS.

......APPROVE SENDING WIRE

......DISAPPROVE WIRE

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
THROUGH: JERRY JONES
FROM: DAVE ALLEN
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL TELEGRAM TO RAYFORD PRICE

RAYFORD PRICE, SPEAKER OF THE TEXAS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ISSUED A STATEMENT YESTERDAY (TEXT ATTACHED) SUPPORTING THE PRESIDENT AND JOHN TOWER FOR RE-ELECTION. HE IS THE ONLY MAJOR ELECTED DEMOCRAT IN TEXAS TO DO SO. (PRICE, THE "GRAND OLD MAN" OF THE STATE LEGISLATURE IS A LAME DUCK INTERIM SPEAKER REPLACING GUS MÜTLER WHO WAS INDICTED FOR CORRUPTION.) OUR RE-ELECTION ORGANIZATION IN TEXAS FEELS OTHER DEMOCRATS CAN BE CASCaded BEHIND HIM IN SUPPORTING THE PRESIDENT AND HAVE REQUESTED A PRESIDENTIAL TELEGRAM THANKING PRICE AS A WAY TO ASSIST IN THIS EFFORT. THEY EMPHASIZE THAT TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE AND REQUEST THAT THE TELEGRAM BE SENT TODAY IF POSSIBLE. PER OUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION, A PROPOSED DRAFT IS ATTACHED.

END PAGE ONE

STRAIGHTWIRE—NOVEMBER 3, 1972

HONORABLE RAYFORD PRICE
SPEAKER OF THE TEXAS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
STATE CAPITOL
AUSTIN, TEXAS

YOUR ANNOUNCEMENT IN SUPPORT OF MY RE-ELECTION AND THAT OF JOHN TOWER GIVES ME THE WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY ADMIRATION FOR YOUR LOYALTY TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT WHICH HAVE MADE AMERICA STRONG AND FREE. IN THIS CAMPAIGN, I HAVE SPOKEn OF THE FORMATION OF A "NEW AMERICAN MAJORITY", AND I KNOW YOU SHARE MY BELIEF THAT WE NEED ABLe MEN AND WOMEN AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT TO ACHIEVE THIS—MEN WHO FEEL AS WE DO THAT AMERICANS ARE BOUND TOGETHER BY
STRAIGHTWIRE--NOVEMBER 3, 1972

HONORABLE RAYFORD PRICE
SPEAKER OF THE TEXAS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
STATE CAPITOL
AUSTIN, TEXAS

YOUR ANNOUNCEMENT IN SUPPORT OF MY RE-ELECTION AND THAT OF JOHN TOWER GIVES ME THE WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY ADMIRATION FOR YOUR LOYALTY TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT WHICH HAVE MADE AMERICA STRONG AND FREE. IN THIS CAMPAIGN, I HAVE SPOKEN OF THE FORMATION OF A "NEW AMERICAN MAJORITY", AND I KNOW YOU SHARE MY BELIEF THAT WE NEED AGILE MEN AND WOMEN AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT TO ACHIEVE THIS--MEN WHO FEEL AS WE DO THAT AMERICANS ARE BOUND TOGETHER BY COMMON IDEALS, AND THAT WITH A RENEWED SPIRIT OF CONFIDENCE AND COOPERATION WE CAN MAKE OUR NATION AND THE WORLD A BETTER, SAFER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE.

RN
Your announcement in support of my re-election and that of John Tower gives me the welcome opportunity to express my admiration for your loyalty to the basic principles of government which have made America strong and free. Throughout Texas and across the country, I have spoken of the formation of a "New American Majority," and I hope you share my belief that we need able men and women at all levels of government to achieve this—men who feel that Americans are bound together by common ideals, and that with a renewed spirit of confidence and cooperation we can make our nation and the world a better, safer place in which to live.

RN.
Rayford Price, Speaker of the Texas House of Representatives issued a statement yesterday (text attached) supporting the President and John Tower for Re-election. He is the only major elected Democrat in Texas to do so. (Price, the "Grand Old Man" of the state legislature is a lame duck interim speaker replacing Gus Mutcher who was indicted for corruption.) Our re-election organization in Texas feels other Democrats can be cascaded behind him in supporting the President and have requested a Presidential telegram thanking Price as a way to assist in this effort. They emphasize that time is of the essence and request that the telegram be sent today if possible. Per our telephone conversation, a proposed draft is attached.
STATEMENT OF SPEAKER RAYFORD PRICE
NOVEMBER 1, 1972

During the past special session of the Legislature I was asked on several occasions by some of you whom I would support for President. On those occasions I refused to make a public statement of my position. I felt that it was my duty as Speaker to see that the session was completed without involving the members or myself in a political controversy. That session is now over and there seems to be no possibility of another during this term of office.

I feel that now it will in no way conflict with my duties of office to make a public statement of my position in the race for President and the race for the United States Senate. As a matter of fact, I believe it is my duty as a citizen and as a public official to do so.

In the Presidential election of 1952 leading Texas Democratic office holders supported Dwight Eisenhower for President, because Adlai Stevenson refused to support Texas' claim to its tidelands. In 1972 I believe Texans, whether they be Democratic office holders or not, have a vastly greater reason to refuse to support the nominee of the Democratic Party than did they in 1952. In 1952 the question was whether we in Texas would get the benefit of the income of our tidelands; today it is a question of the very security of this country.

Rayford Price
The Democratic nominee for President, George McGovern, promises, if elected, a retreat from the commitments we have made to the free world during the years since the end of World War II, and the abandonment of the position of military strength we have maintained to preserve those commitments. President Nixon, on the other hand, has lived up to our obligations and has maintained our strength to so do. The dream of freedom in this country and the free world cannot survive without the United States' being prepared to fulfill its commitments and maintain the military strength to do so.

I cannot support the doctrine of retreat espoused by the Democratic nominee. I will support and I call on all Texans of whatever party to support the re-election of President Richard M. Nixon. Texas went for President Eisenhower in 1952 to protect its tide lands. I know in 1972 it will go for President Nixon to protect its freedom.

It is of near equal importance to the welfare of this country to have a United States Senate that will give the President the support he must have to maintain the strength to preserve our freedom. Senator John Tower has demonstrated for more than 10 years that he will give that support. He has been a leader of the fight against George McGovern and those in the Senate who believe we should retreat from our position of world strength and responsibility. I will support the re-election of Senator Tower.
I WISH TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION FOR YOUR STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF MY RE-ELECTION. THROUGHOUT TEXAS AND ACROSS THE COUNTRY PEOPLE LIKE YOU ARE CASTING ASIDE ISSUES OF PARTISANSHIP AND STEPPING FORWARD TO JOIN THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS IN RE-AFFIRMING THE PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS WHICH HAVE MADE THIS COUNTRY SO GREAT. I AM HONORED TO HAVE YOUR ASSISTANCE IN THIS EFFORT.

To be sent to:

Rayford Price
Speaker of the Texas House of Representatives
State Capitol
Austin, Texas
Last Thursday in Peoria with an extra forty-five minutes on my hands, I arranged for an on-the-spot radio interview at WPEO, a Christian religion station. The young interviewer is sympathetic to RN and he said that he was especially glad to see me because the station had been receiving, on an uninterrupted daily basis, four actualities from McGovern-Shriver for the last four weeks. They had received no audio-feed at all from Nixon headquarters in Illinois or elsewhere. "If Shriver says something at 10 o'clock in the morning in Texas," he said, "it is fed to us by two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day." He said that many of the points raised in the actualities were biting and potentially persuasive to his listenership.

The affiliated Christian broadcasting stations in Chicago, Lancaster (Pa.), Detroit, Nashville, Oklahoma City, Buffalo and Dallas also received four daily actuality feeds from McGovern-Shriver, he noted. His conversation with announcers at those stations showed that they also had received no feeds from any Nixon source.

I pass this on to you for what it may be worth. My personal feeling is that if McGovern and Shriver are force-feeding audio actualities to radio stations all over the Nation, we ought to be doing the same.

8/2 Abrams 10/70 will cover Fri-Ass vibe
11/2 - PRO - CRP need 800 feeds & publicity will decide who in - wire & all - don't know it
CBS Radio
Ken Gregory
1830 1830 1830
296-8754

F 2 0 0

Tape to CBS
2020 M. St. N.W.

at

CBS TV - forget whole thing
October 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK GOLSON

FROM: H. R. HALEDEMAN

We should consider the possibility of going for a network TV shot for the Vice President on Tuesday or Wednesday, prime time, half hour, where he does the basic attack on McGovern on Vietnam. A start of the speech should be developed and the general plan as to whether this is a good idea. Buchanan obviously would be the best source for material on this.

HRH: pm
Good evening:

We have purchased this five minutes -- rather than make a public statement -- because I wanted to be certain you heard all of what I had to say -- not just the segment the network newsmen felt you should hear.

Election Day is one week away. Before any American casts his ballot I hope he will consider, long and hard, two statements this last weekend made by Senator McGovern. For these two statements tell us something, not very attractive, about Mr. McGovern.

In the first Senator McGovern said if he loses the election, he will not ask the American people to rally around President Nixon. He will not lead the traditional call for national unity. If the American people don't have the good sense to elect him President, George McGovern is saying, then to hell with the American people.

This is not untypical of Mr. McGovern. Before the Democratic Convention, Senator McGovern and his followers put out the word -- that if McGovern did not get the nomination at Miami Beach, they would walk out of the Democratic Party.

Today, Senator McGovern is saying that if he does not win the election -- he will take a walk on the United States.
That statement is the most mean-spirited act of petty selfishness I have encountered in American politics.

In every Presidential election, the loser -- whether he be Wilkie, Dewey, Stevenson, Nixon, Goldwater or Humphrey -- had the courage to stand up and congratulate the winner -- and to call upon the nation to give the President-elect its support.

Senator McGovern's statement shows him to be a very small man -- who does not measure up to a very great tradition.

His second statement, however, in my personal judgment, was even more reprehensible than the first.

In that statement, Mr. McGovern said he would "reserve the right to try to renegotiate" any peace agreement entered into, and would attempt to halt all American military aid to South Vietnam -- even if that were allowed by the agreement.

The Senator's statement and position are incredible. After ten years of blood, sweat and tears, America is within weeks of an honorable peace. To strip South Vietnam now of the means to defend itself would be the single most sordid act in the history of American diplomacy.

It would be a betrayal of our friends; it would commit South Vietnam to a Communist future; it would invite a bloodbath against those Vietnamese foolish enough to trust the word of honor of three American Presidents.
It would make America despised in Asia and distrusted throughout the world.

Senator McGovern is today offering concessions even Hanoi no longer demands. He is jeopardizing our negotiations at their most sensitive stage. He is promising the enemy that if elected, he will abandon the President's peace with honor, for the Communist peace of an American surrender.

Not in the history of this Nation has a Presidential candidate campaigned for office on a pledge to sell out our ally to our enemy in the field. But that is what Senator McGovern pledged yesterday. Consider that -- before you cast your ballot on November Seventh.
Senator Harry Byrd's administrative assistant, who formerly worked for Poff and is a very good friend of ours, says that although he is new on the Byrd staff, he gets the impression Byrd is waiting on somebody high up to call and ask him to endorse the President. Perhaps Clark MacGregor should give him a ring.
Bob asked that you clear the text of these radio tape endorsements with the President personally.

Bull is familiar with the project and has a copy of the tape.

cc: Steve Bull
This is the audio tape for Tuesday which we discussed. It's 103 words in length -- without the additional 3-5 words which would fill the blanks.

Gordon Strachan informs us that the President will use the tape to endorse Boggs, Hirsch, Tower, Dominici, McClure, Chaffee, Thompson, Bartlett, and Helms. As requested, we have tried to keep the language close to the endorsement letters already dispatched (see a copy of the Boggs letter attached).

Would you please review and send along to HRH? (Gordon is giving Larry a copy of this original).

Thanks.

cc: Gordon Strachan
SUGGESTED AUDIO TAPE ENDORSEMENT OF SENATORIAL CANDIDATES

As we move into the closing days of this election, I want you all to know of my strong support for ____________________________ in the race for United States Senator from the State of ___________.

He has my confidence -- and he deserves yours.

We both need his help in the next Congress.

With his assistance -- and yours -- we can continue our progress toward the goals of our new American majority -- peace at home and abroad for generations to come, a new prosperity without war and without inflation, and the opportunity for every American to see the American dream come true in his own life.

Thank you.
October 17, 1971

Dear Carl:

As you move into the closing days of your campaign for re-election, I want to take this opportunity to wish you the very best on November 7th. Because of your dedicated service to the Nation in the Senate, I am sure that the people of Delaware will give you an overwhelming vote of confidence on election day.

I particularly want to express my deep appreciation to you for the support you have given me on the vitally important issues which have come before the Congress during the past four years. Your key role in the Appropriations Committee gives Delaware a strong voice in the Senate while your courageous and independent contributions on national and international matters have earned you the reputation of a true statesman.

America needs your leadership in the next Congress.

With your continued help we can make unprecedented progress toward the great goals of our new American majority — peace at home and abroad for our children, to create a new prosperity without war and without inflation, and the opportunity for every American to see the American dream come true in his own life.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

[Name]
I look forward to working with you in making the next four years among the best in America's history.

Sincerely,

Honorable J. Caleb Boggs
1203 Grinnell Road
Green Acres
Wilmington, Delaware 19803

RT:plr
MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK COLSON
FROM: H.R. HALEMEN

October 26, 1972

We’ve got to launch a massive attack on McGovern on his peace by surrender, instead of peace with honor.

Our strategy should be to hit all of the Vietnam related issues, abandoning the POWs, amnesty, etc. These are obviously our clear issues at this time.

MacGregor and Dole should maintain a constant attack on McGovern on the corruption issue. MacGregor should issue a white paper refuting all the charges McGovern has made, one by one, leading with the charge of McGovern resorting to the big lie and smear at the last minute, the most vicious attacks on a President in history, repeat his early charges about Hitler and so on, and say this is a shocking performance not worthy of a Presidential candidate.

The Vice President should be kept completely off of this subject, and there should be no more from Ziegler on it because it is not our issue.

It is at the political level and should be deal with at the political level.

HRH:pm
MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: H. R. HALEDEMAN

Be sure that Bob Taylor knows that he should be watching for little girls with flowers or fruit, or things of that sort along the way on the motorcade routes, and if he sees any he should stop the car so that the President can receive the gift. Also, you should be watching for these in the lead car and let me and/or Taylor know about them.

In Chicago, we probably better use ropes all the way, because with a big crowd it's going to be too dangerous to let the people swarm in. However, the ropes should be brought in close so we have very narrow lanes to drive through.

California, as you know, should be a big entertainment deal, with torches and lots of new-type color.

HRH:pm
MEMORANDUM FOR:  

CHUCK COLSON

FROM:  

H. R. HALEMAN

In preparing for election analysis, the one point that will be made is that this was the lowest voter turnout in some time or something like that, and therefore there was no interest in the election. The point to make here is that the highest voter turnout in the last 40 years and maybe ever, was the 1960 election where it was known to be an extremely close election from start to finish. The level of voter turnout, obviously, is much lower in an election of this kind where the voter assumes that the election is already decided because the margin is so wide.
MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

Once again it is obvious we have failed on the Re-Elector. The final edition is a farce. It is about as exciting as a July 3rd edition of the New York Times.

The problem with this issue is that it does not promote the President. It doesn’t sell and it doesn’t hit the issues.

Obviously, somebody over there is opposed to doing the Re-Elector right which is a shame.

cc: Mr. Leonard
    Mr. Malek
    Mr. Strachan

I totally agree and feel that we really missed an opportunity on this—Tragic!
MEMORANDUM FOR:  
CHUCK COLSON

FROM:  
GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:  
Publicity for the President's Supporters

Buchanan recently urged, and Bob accepted, the idea of re-surfacing and re-publicizing the northern, ethnic, Catholic, labor, blue-collar types for Richard Nixon. The purpose would be to convince these groups that voting for the President is not betraying their party and their tradition, because their leaders are doing it openly.
October 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Gordon Strachan
SUBJECT: North Carolina Senate Race

Harry Dent strongly urges a Presidential visit to assist Republican Senatorial candidate Helms. Dent argues that the North Carolina Senate seat is the only one in the South the President has a solid chance of winning. The President must carry a Southern Senate seat according to Dent.

A recent, reliable poll puts Helms at 41.8, Galifianakis at 31.3, and Undecided at 26.9.

You may want to discuss this visit at the Political Meeting on Thursday, November 2.

GS/jb
MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: H.R. HALDEMAN

In looking at the planning for next weekend, you should figure on going to Church in San Clemente, rather than Whittier and he feels that he should go to the Church in San Clemente that he went to first - the one where the minister was absent when he came - rather than the one he went to last time. We've got to be sure, however, that the minister is with us before doing this. He does not want to go to La Jolla or any of those other places.

Also, he wants to figure on the headquarters stop being in San Clemente unless there's some problem with that, in which case we should go to the next closest headquarters.

He wants to figure on leaving California early on Tuesday - figure voting at 7:00 a.m., depart the house at 8:00 a.m., depart El Toro at 8:30 a.m., which I assume would get us back to the White House about 4:00 p.m. Tuesday afternoon.

There is to be no one at the house - that is at the residence on Tuesday evening.

The Drouns will be coming back to spend Election evening in Washington and they should be booked on the backup plane, not on Air Force One, and they should not plan on staying at the White House, or even coming to the White House that evening. In other words, they should not be on the chopper, they should have a car meet the backup plane and bring them in to their hotel.

The Furchs should ride on Air Force One if they are planning to come back with the President.
ACTION PAPER

We need to prepare a phone list for Presidential calls to be made on Election Night, and possibly Wednesday after the election.

Also, there should be a separate list of calls that might be coming in that we would want him to take.

Rose Woods should be set up, and perhaps one or two other people, to take calls in the President's behalf, from old friends, etc.

On the calls for the President to make, we should set very high priorities, Connally, Billy Graham, Rockefeller, Reagan, John Mitchell, Maury Stans, Clark MacGregor, Bob Dole, three or four key labor people, not very many contributors or old friends - just a few of the top ones.

HRH:pm

10/30/72
MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB MARIK
FROM: DAVE GERGEN
SUBJECT: Telegrams from the President

As we discussed, the texts of two telegrams have been officially approved and are ready for release from 1701:

1. Telegram to telephone centers which you are to select.

2. Telegram to all State and local chairmen of the Re-Elect Committees.

Attached are the approved texts. Based on our conversation, I trust that both of these will now be sent promptly from your headquarters.

Many thanks for all your help.

cc Gordon Strachan.
One of the most important goals in this campaign has been to carry our message directly to the voter. This you have done with remarkable effectiveness through your Telephone Center canvass of citizens throughout the San Antonio area. Indeed, you and other volunteers in Telephone Centers across the country have set a record breaking pace in reaching over one million citizens, and I want to express my personal appreciation and congratulations for your outstanding efforts. In these closing days before November 7, we will be counting more than ever on your dedicated hard work to help us achieve the largest voter turnout in American history -- so that the voice of a clear majority can chart the course our nation takes in the next four years.

RICHARD NIXON

Word Count-125
TELEGRAM TO STATE AND COUNTY CREP CHAIRMEN

In these final days of the campaign, we must take every possible step to insure victory on November 7. The future of our nation and of the world rides on the decision the American people make on Election Day, and you will have a major impact on the outcome of that decision. We will be counting on your leadership -- and on the dedication of your fellow campaigners -- to help us achieve the largest voter turnout in American history. The voice of a clear majority of the people must be heard in charting the course our nation takes in the next four years.

During my twenty-five years of campaigning, I have never worked with a finer team. Your contributions have been invaluable, and I am deeply grateful. Between now and next Tuesday, it will be vital that we work as never before to get the people to the polls.

RICHARD NIXON
MEMORANDUM FOR:  
FROM: DAVE GERGEN  
SUBJECT: Suggested Telegram for State, Local CRP Chairmen

This is a second suggested telegram to replace the earlier one. It has been cleared by Ray Price.

OK

cc: Roland Elliott
October 27, 1972

TELEGRAM TO STATE AND COUNTY CREP CHAIRMEN

In these final days of the campaign, we must take every possible step to insure victory on November 7. The future of our nation and of the world rides on the decision the American people make on Election Day, and you will have a major impact on the outcome of that decision. We will be counting on your leadership -- and on the dedication of your fellow campaigners -- to help us achieve the largest voter turnout in American history. The voice of a clear majority of the people must be heard in charting the course our nation takes in the next four years.

During my twenty-five years of campaigning, I have never worked with a finer team. Your contributions have been invaluable, and I am deeply grateful. Between now and next Tuesday, it will be vital that we work as never before to get the people to the polls.

RICHARD NIXON
MEMORANDUM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
PRIORITY
October 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STARGELL
FROM: DAVE GERGEN
SUBJECT: Telegram for State Chairmen

Here's the text we discussed. It has been cleared by Ray Price.

cc: Roland Elliott
    John Andrews
DRAFT TELEGRAM: State Re-elect Chairmen

As you well know, the hopes of all Americans for a better future and a lasting peace ride on the decision our people will make at the polls on November 7. In this election we need the largest voter turnout in American history, so that the voice of a clear majority can direct the course our country takes in the next four years.

Your dedicated efforts in the campaign so far have been invaluable. I am sure I can count on your leadership during these final days in getting out a record vote in ________.

In a lifetime of politics, I have never worked with a finer campaign team. Mrs. Nixon joins me in sending you and your fellow campaigners our warmest thanks for a job well done, and we look forward to seeing that job reflected in the turnout on election day.

RICHARD NIXON
ACTION MEMO

Set up a plan to send a wire from the President to all of our chairmen of the state and local re-elect committees at the start of the last week, urging them on to greater efforts.

HRH:pm

10/17/72
MEMORANDUM

October 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR  
H. R. HALDEMAN  

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT H. MARSHAL

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL TELEGRAMS TO TELEPHONE CENTERS

In the last week of the campaign, the volunteer telephone centers will be particularly important in contacting the identified favorable voters to get them to the polls on Election Day. During the preceding weeks, the 250 centers have contacted over 5,000,000 households. They are now making calls at the rate of more than one million per week.

The greatest danger to our get-out-the-vote effort is apathy among telephone center volunteers, as well as among the voters themselves. For that reason, we have asked Ray Price to draft a telegram (Tab A) from the President to each telephone center, to motivate them to maximum effort for the next several days.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the sending of the attached telegram to each telephone center, signed by the President. They would be sent immediately upon receipt of your authorization.

APPROVE X DISAPPROVE COMMENT
TO THE VOLUNTEERS OF THE TELEPHONE CENTER
10578 South Monroe Avenue
San Francisco, California

One of the most important goals in this campaign has been to carry our message directly to the voter. This you have done with remarkable effectiveness through your Telephone Center canvass of citizens throughout the San Francisco area. You and other volunteers in the Telephone Centers across the country have set a record breaking pace in reaching over five million households, and I want to express to you my personal appreciation and congratulations. In these closing days before November 7, we will be counting more than ever on your dedicated hard work to help us achieve the largest voter turnout in American history -- to make sure that the voice of a clear majority will be heard in charting the course our nation takes in the next four years.

RICHARD NIXON

Word Count - 128
MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB MERRICK
FROM: DAVE GERGEN
SUBJECT: Draft Telegram for Telephone Centers

Here's the telegram you requested for telephone message centers, as edited by Ray Price. I understand that you will now seek clearances from Bob Haldeman before proceeding.

cc: Gordon Strachan
    Roland Elliott

Attachment
DRAFT TELEGRAM: Telephone Centers

One of the most important goals in this campaign has been to carry our message directly to the voter. This you have done with remarkable effectiveness through your Telephone Center canvass of citizens throughout the San Antonio area. Indeed, you and other volunteers in Telephone Centers across the country have set a record breaking pace in reaching over one million citizens, and I just want to express my personal appreciation and congratulations for your outstanding efforts. In these closing days before November 7, we will be counting more than ever on your dedicated hard work to help us achieve the largest voter turnout in American history -- so that the voice of a clear majority can chart the course our nation takes in the next four years.

RICHARD NIXON

Word Count-125
November 2, 1972

H. R. HALEMAN

GORDON STRACHAN

California Endorsements

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Harry Dent and Cap Weinberger are appealing the decision not to send Presidential endorsements to California Assemblymen. Instead of the twenty originally submitted, they suggest the eight described in the attached memo-

A check with Hofziger indicates that these eight would be helpful even at this late date. He pointedly reminded me that he and Governor Reagan had strongly urged letters to the original twenty.

Hofziger noted with a certain vindictive pleasure that he had succeeded in obtaining one endorsement for Charles Conrad, an Assembly candidate in a particularly close race. Hofziger would not disclose how he did it but said he would have drafted and signed a letter from the President himself if he had to.

The suggested draft for the eight is attached.

Recommendation:

That you approve the attached draft Presidential letter of endorsement to the eight California Assembly candidates.

GS/jb
A check with Colson's office (Dick Howard) indicates that this memorandum is not being implemented exactly because Colson has not had time to focus specifically on it.

Colson generally agreed with the strategy.
We’ve got to launch a massive attack on McGovern on his peace by surrender, instead of peace with honor.

Our strategy should be to hit all of the Vietnam related issues, abandoning the POWs, amnesty, etc. These are obviously our clear issues at this time.

MacGregor and Dole should maintain a constant attack on McGovern on the corruption issue. MacGregor should issue a white paper refuting all the charges McGovern has made, one by one, leading with the charge of McGovern resorting to the big lie and smear at the last minute, the most vicious attacks on a President in history, repeat his early charges about Hitler and so on, and say this is a shocking performance not worthy of a Presidential candidate.

The Vice President should be kept completely off of this subject, and there should be no more from Ziegler on it because it is not our issue.

It is at the political level and should be deal with at the political level.
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HULDEMAN

VIA: DWIGHT L. CHAPMAN

FROM: STEPHEN BULL

RE: Presidential Participation in Election Night Program

Stan Anderson wrote a rather lengthy memorandum to Clark MacGregor outlining a tentative program for Election night. Without getting into great detail on their thoughts, they propose to have all activities take place at the Shoreham Hotel beginning at 6:00 p.m. There will be entertainment interspersed with election returns that will be projected on the Eidaphor screen. Clark MacGregor would act as the MC.

Although the networks could project a winner by 8:30 p.m., EST, it is felt that McGovern will not concede until the early network projections are received from California, between 11:00 and 11:30 p.m., EST. Therefore, the activities at the Shoreham Hotel will not take on a Presidential atmosphere until about 11:00 p.m. At that time Clark MacGregor would introduce some of the CREP people, Ann Armstrong and Tom Evans, and finally Senator Dole. Finally there would be the introduction of the Vice President and President.

It is with regard to this matter of Presidential and Vice Presidential participation that this memo is directed. The basic Stan Anderson proposal was for Clark MacGregor to introduce the Vice President and Mrs. Agnew and family, followed by an introduction of the President and First Family. Dwight felt that it would be wrong to have the Vice President speaking ahead of the President, but there are also some other factors involved:

(a) The President's intention to speak to the American people from the Oval Office after he is re-elected.

(b) The information that the President does not want the Vice President to go before the television cameras until the President has completed his Oval Office televised remarks.
In view of the proposed Oval Office activities (which we are treating as extremely confidential), we have two portions to televise Presidential activity, with two atmospheres:

1. The serious Presidential statement in the business-like setting of the White House.

2. The more informal setting of the Re-Election party at the Shoreham where there will be wild jubilation.

These two settings afford a great deal of flexibility, and the situation seems to lend itself to the following sequence for Presidential and Vice Presidential involvement:

11:00 p.m. The President is declared the winner by the networks. He delivers his remarks to the American people from the Oval Office.

(Does he wait for McGovern's concession?)

11:15 p.m. The Vice President appears at the Shoreham Hotel, after the President has spoken on television, declares victory for the Nixon/Agnew ticket, and thanks the campaign workers. He indicates that the President should be over shortly.

11:45 p.m. The President and First Family arrive at the Shoreham Hotel. Ruffles & Flourishes, off-stage announcement (not the Vice President) and "Hail to the Chief".

The President and family move up onto the platform and join the Vice President.

The President and Vice President do the clasped hands bit and then the Vice President steps back. The First Lady joins the President.

The two girls and Eddy join the President and Mrs. Nixon.

The family steps back and the President delivers his remarks.
Vice President Agnew, Mrs. Nixon and Mrs. Agnew join the President at the podium.

The President and First Family depart to "Hail to the Chief".

General sequence as described:

Approve _____ Disapprove _____
From: Eugene S. Cowen, Vice President, Washington

Date: October 23, 1972

Subject: Attached is an internal memorandum from Elmer W. Lower, President of ABC News, to his staff on how ABC will tabulate election results on November 7 and how winners will be "projected".
To: ABC News Election Staff
From: Elmer W. Lower
Date: October 9, 1972
Subject: Projections

Our objective on Election Night, November 7, 1972, is to report the results of the voting in 50 states and the District of Columbia swiftly and accurately. If we had to sacrifice one of these factors, we would discard speed and concentrate on accuracy.

The results which you will be reporting on Election Night will be tabulated by the News Election Service. This is a nationwide cooperative election reporting service. There are five principal participants in NES -- ABC News, the Associated Press, CBS News, NBC News and United Press International.

In addition to these results reported by NES, ABC News will also make certain projections on Election Night. Briefly, we will make projections along the following lines:

**PRESIDENT:** We will make a projection in the presidential races in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. Eventually, these will add up to a winning total in electoral votes in the race for the presidency. At this point ABC News will make a projection on the result of the race for the presidency.

**SENATOR AND GOVERNOR:** There are 33 races this year for the United States Senate and gubernatorial races in 18 states. ABC News will make projections in these 51 races.

**U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:** There are 435 races for the United States House of Representatives. Of these 393 are contested and 42 are not contested. At the start of the evening ABC News will declare as "elected" the 42 candidates in the races which are uncontested. In the 393 contested races, we will not make projections. Our House Desk will declare winners in each of these races when enough of the total vote has been tabulated to warrant a declaration. The amount of the vote needed to declare a winner will vary from race to race.
HOW WILL PROJECTIONS BE MADE? ABC News will make its projections on the basis of key precincts and the actual vote tabulated in each race. The criteria will vary from race to race.

WHAT PHRASEOLOGY WILL BE USED IN MAKING PROJECTIONS? To avoid confusion ABC News will not "declare" a winner or "elect" any candidate until the actual tabulated vote qualifies him as an obvious winner. Before that time ABC News will make projections as outlined above. The key word here is "projection" and we will plainly label projections as such so that our viewers and listeners will not be confused.

The phraseology used before a candidate has enough actual votes for victory is, for example: "According to our ABC News projection, Candidate AAA will win the 12 electoral votes of the State of Wisconsin," or "The ABC Decision Desk has just projected -- I repeat projected -- that Senator BBB will be the winner of the Senate race in Maine."

Operationally, in Television Studio TV-1, when a winner is "projected", an "X" will appear on our Vidifont boards as well as the back-up Solari boards. Editorially, we will still refer to this as a "projection" until the actual tabulated vote makes it obvious that he has actually won. Additionally, all the recap boards for Senate, Governor and electoral totals will clearly be labeled as "ABC Projection."

AT WHAT TIME WILL STATE PROJECTIONS BE MADE? I call to your attention the statement which I made on July 17, 1967, to the Subcommittee on Communications of the Committee on Commerce of the United States Senate. I stated: "We have decided that we will make no projection regarding the outcome of any election in any state until all the polls in that state have closed." Here is an example of what this means. If part of the precincts in Florida close at 7 p.m., EST and the rest close at 8 p.m., EST, ABC News will not make a projection until 8 p.m. It may be apparent -- before 8 p.m. -- that Candidate CCC has won on the basis of key precincts and/or on actual tabulated votes. In such cases our correspondents are certainly at liberty to report the obvious, drawing the conclusion that any intelligent viewer or listener could do on his own.

- more -
The culmination of the entire presidential campaign year is the casting of ballots by voters in all states -- from Maine to Hawaii. It is the policy of ABC News to encourage all voters to go to the polls to vote in all races -- from President to the last line on state and county tickets -- as an act of responsible citizenship. Frequently during the long evening of voting we all want to remind Western voters that their polls are still open and that they could drive nine or ten hours to vote. This should be done even if Eastern results -- as they did in 1964 -- make the results of the presidential race apparent early in the evening. These reminders should be given by the anchormen for the broadcasts on the television network and the four radio networks.

Let me repeat now -- before the first vote has been tabulated -- that ABC News is not in a race with anyone to see who can get there "firstest with the mostest." We are far more interested in explaining to our listeners and viewers the "why" and the "how" of the election.

Our responsibility and, indeed, our entire effort in the 1972 election is that of informing and educating our listeners and viewers. This is what it is all about and this is the keystone of our coverage.

With the time and effort which all of you have put into this effort, I can see no reason why this year's coverage will not be the most successful in the history of ABC News. To this end, I wish you all the greatest success.
Attached is the October 24, 1952 New York Times front page which we discussed. (Jerry Milbank sent it down yesterday.) The President might want to make a brief reference tonight along the following lines:

"The high pitch of campaign rhetoric is regrettable. But I am afraid that we are never entirely without it. Here is a front page of the New York Times of twenty years ago. The Republican candidate, General Eisenhower, was charged with lies and racial bigotry. The General made this reply: 'We hear shrill voices today creating distrust, disunity and bigotry by falsely accusing others, including myself, of these evil things.' The shrill voices persist even now. I want to assure you that the frantic accusations of wrong-doing allegedly involving high officials of my administration are baseless today, just as they were without foundation twenty years ago when they were levelled at General Eisenhower."

This suggestion comes at the last minute, but it may be worth including because it puts the present outcry in dramatic perspective.
RID TO KOREAN REDS TO JOIN U.N. DEBATE ON TRUCE REJECTED

Political Committee Defeats
Soviet Proposal, 39 to 11—
Rhee Regime Invited

U. S. REVEALS RESOLUTION

Seeks Backing for Conduct of
Pannunjom Talks—Other
Nations Co-Sponsor Plan

Text of the draft resolution on
Korea appears on Page 2.

BY THOMAS J. HAMILTON

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Oct.
25—Secretary of State Dean Acheson
made public today the text of the
resolution in which the United
States, together with nineteen or
twenty other states, will propose
that the General Assembly endorse
the stand taken by the United
States, as the agent of the United
Nations, in the Korean armistice
negotiations.

Mr. Acheson was scheduled to be
the first speaker of the after-
noon’s session but was not able
to get the floor in the Assembly’s
Political and Security Committee
because of a long debate over an
invitation to the North Korean re-
gime to take part in the discus-
sion of the Korean question.

The Assembly decided by a vote
of 54 to 5, with Yugoslavia ab-
staining, to invite the South Ko-
rean Government. The Soviet bloc
rejected the motion. The Assem-
bly also rejected, 28 to 11, with
eight abstentions, a Soviet resolu-
tion to invite the North Koreans.

In addition to the Soviet bloc,
the states voting to invite the
North Koreans were Burma, India,
Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan and Yem-
en.

Wants Aggressor Named

The long debate this afternoon
centered about Mr. Vichinsky’s as-

Waksman Wins Nobel Prize For Streptomycin Discovery

By GEORGE AXELSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden, Oct. 23—Dr. Selman Abraham Waks-
man, the Rutgers University
microbiologist, was awarded the
Nobel Prize for Medicine and
Physiology tonight by the Coun-
cil of the Caroline Institute of
the University of Stockholm for
his work in the discovery of
streptomycin. The prize is worth
$3,200 this year.

The citation accompanying the
award said streptomycin was
the first effective antibiotic
found for use against tuber-
culosi.

Dr. Waksman won this year’s
prize from among a score of
candidates nominated by scien-
tific bodies around the world.

When the committee never re-
veals figures on its voting, it is
understood that Dr. Waksman
was selected by the Nobel
Prize Committee.

United Nations

By STANLEY LEVEY

Whitaker Chambers, once a
figure for a Soviet spy rag,
identified yesterday a United
Nations editorial official, David
Zablodovsky, as a member of the
Communist underground in this
country in 1936.

Appearing under subpoena be-
fore the Internal Security sub-
committee of the Senate Judici-
ary Committee, Mr. Chambers testi-

ied that Mr. Zablodovsky had
been assisted by a Soviet agent
known as Richard, whose principal
job was to procure fraudulent pass-
ports and other false identifica-
tion papers for Russian agents.

The witness said he was intro-
duced to Mr. Zablodovsky in 1936
by J. Peters, head of the Ameri-
can Communist underground, who
described Mr. Zablodovsky as
Richard’s assistant. However, Mr.
Chambers said he had known the
United Nations official when both
were students at Columbia College
in 1923 or 1924.

‘Had Strong Sympathies’

‘While we were undergradu-
ates,’ Mr. Chambers told the sub-
committee, sitting with Senator
James O. Eastland, Democrat of
Mississippi, as its only member,
Mr. Zablodovsky sometimes said he
was a Communist. But in my opin-
ion he was not an organisational
Communist, though he had strong
sympathies with the party.

Later in the hearing, Robert
Morris, sub-committee counsel
with Mr. Zablodowsky’s name

Copyright, 1952, by The New
York Times
Truman Asserts Eisenhower Follows McCarthy Tactics

President Truman today accused Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican Presidential nominee, of conducting "a fencing" version of the unsavory Senate election campaign that shook Maryland in 1950 and in which Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, played a leading role.

Mr. Truman asserted that Senator McCarthy, "ringleader of the backstreet campaign" in which Senator Hillard Tydings, Democrat of Maryland, was defeated, had been advanced in the "front street" by the Republican Presidential candidate, who, the President said, had welcomed Senator McCarthy aboard his campaign train.

Mr. Truman also charged Senator Richard M. Nixon of California, Republican Vice Presidential candidate, had engaged in "a false campaign of personal slander and innuendo" against Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential candidate.

Text of President's Cumberland speech, Page 16.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 23—President Truman today accused Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican nominee, of conducting a "fencing" version of the unsavory Senate election campaign that shook Maryland in 1950 and in which Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, played a leading role.

Mr. Truman asserted that Senator McCarthy, "ringleader of the backstreet campaign" in which Senator Hillard Tydings, Democrat of Maryland, was defeated, had been advanced in the "front street" by the Republican Presidential candidate, who, the President said, had welcomed Senator McCarthy aboard his campaign train.

Mr. Truman also charged Senator Richard M. Nixon of California, Republican Vice Presidential candidate, had engaged in "a false campaign of personal slander and innuendo" against Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential candidate.

Text of President's Cumberland speech, Page 16.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 23—President Truman today accused Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican nominee, of conducting a "fencing" version of the unsavory Senate election campaign that shook Maryland in 1950 and in which Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, played a leading role.

Mr. Truman asserted that Senator McCarthy, "ringleader of the backstreet campaign" in which Senator Hillard Tydings, Democrat of Maryland, was defeated, had been advanced in the "front street" by the Republican Presidential candidate, who, the President said, had welcomed Senator McCarthy aboard his campaign train.

Mr. Truman also charged Senator Richard M. Nixon of California, Republican Vice Presidential candidate, had engaged in "a false campaign of personal slander and innuendo" against Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential candidate.

Text of President's Cumberland speech, Page 16.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 23—President Truman today accused Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican nominee, of conducting a "fencing" version of the unsavory Senate election campaign that shook Maryland in 1950 and in which Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, played a leading role.

Mr. Truman asserted that Senator McCarthy, "ringleader of the backstreet campaign" in which Senator Hillard Tydings, Democrat of Maryland, was defeated, had been advanced in the "front street" by the Republican Presidential candidate, who, the President said, had welcomed Senator McCarthy aboard his campaign train.

Mr. Truman also charged Senator Richard M. Nixon of California, Republican Vice Presidential candidate, had engaged in "a false campaign of personal slander and innuendo" against Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential candidate.

Text of President's Cumberland speech, Page 16.
Tokyo, Friday, Oct. 24—South Korean troops jumped off this island in a strong attack on Chinese Communist positions on Sniper Ridge on the central Korean front. At noon the Republic of Korea Second Division troops were reported fighting toward the last enemy outposts on the high ground.

The R. O. K.'s advance after a heavy bombardment by supporting United Nations artillery and barrage of 1,000-pound bombs from Allied warplanes hit the Communists and sent them on their way.

On the western side of the old "Iron Triangle," northwest of Kumhwa, the Chinese Reds made new attacks on "Iron Horse Mountain," which had been taken by a United Nations Division. "Iron Horse" guards the east side of the Choron Valley route south to Seoul and the height has been fought over for a week.

At both the "Iron Horse" and the "Sniper Ridge" positions, fighting was continuing this afternoon.

The South Koreans of the Ninth Division took control of "Iron Horse," about 1:30 P. M., yesterday, after a sharp fight with a Chinese Red platoon that was occupying the crest. The R. O. K. moved forward and ceased also a small knob to the north, where another enemy platoon offered resistance.

For the rest of the day, the Communists fired heavily with mortars and artillery at the crest. The hill had several times changed hands during the seven days of fighting.

The Allied air assault at "Sniper Ridge," preceding the R. O. K. Second Division attack, was one of the heaviest of recent battles. The planes dropped missiles with delayed-action fuses in an attempt to collapse the system of underground defenses the Chinese Reds had constructed in the rugged terrain.

The Reds had been using this area as a build-up zone for their recent vicious assaults on "Triangle Hill" just to the westward where United States Seventh Division troops smashed the enemy efforts.

The heaviest fighting yesterday came north of Kumhwa, where the Chinese Reds continued costly attempts to retake the outpost positions conquered by the United Nations forces during their limited offensive in the earlier this month. The enemy launched one battle against "Triangle Hill" and fought for two hours before withdrawing early in the evening.

A company-strength enemy attack was made on the R. O. K. Second Division soldiers holding

Continued on Page 19, Column 1

Crash of Empty Trains in Bronx Diesion

The United States also wants

Continued on Page 2, Column 2

Grammer Convicted Of Slaying His Wife

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

BALTIMORE, Oct. 23—George Edward Grammer, 35-year-old father of three children, was convicted today of deliberately killing his wife and trying to make her death look like an accident so he could marry a pretty New York secretary.

The first-degree murder verdict can carry either a death penalty by hanging or a life prison term.

The defense has three days to file an appeal. If none is filed, sentence can then be pronounced.

Judge Herman M. Moser, who tried the case without a jury at Grammer's request, delivered the verdict. Grammer's face was expressionless as he heard it. He still wore the grim, gray look he had maintained throughout the Monday trial.

"This court has no difficulty in determining that Mrs. Grammer's death was criminal homicide," the judge said. "It has no difficulty

Continued on Page 19, Column 1

Granger Convicted Of Slaying His Wife

As I. R. T. motorman was in- jured fatally at 5:42 A. M. yester- day when his empty ten-car train crashed in the early morning of an em- pty engine station on the center track of the Jerome Avenue line in the Bushwa- Parkway station in the Bronx.

The resulting tie-up delayed thousands of passengers and full service will not be restored until this morning.

Sidney H. Bingham, chairman of the Board of Transportation, who arrived at the scene twenty- five minutes after the accident

View as workmen clear wreckage from elec-
United Nations spokesman Mr. Zabludowsky was em­ larded at $10,000 a year as director of Publica­ tions Division of the United Nations Secretary of States and Services. His post was de­ scribed on Page 8, Column 5.

United Nations spokesman Mr. Zabludowsky will be the first man to travel throughout the day, said: "It was another case of man failure. The motorist should have proceeded with care. It's the worst impact I've seen in my railroad career."

The victim was John P. Mur­ ren Jr., 37 years old, of 2612 Lawton Avenue, the Bronx, who had been involved in two previ­ ous accidents, according to a board spokesman.

The car in which Mr. Murren had lived at the Westchester Apart­ ments, or if he knew Charles Teitelbaum, born in Mr. Murren's second trial, we refused on advice of counsel to any where.

Another question he refused to answer was whether he knew "Mr. Teitelbaum." The subcommittee, headed by Representative Cecil R. King, Democrat of California, had been told by Abraham Teitelbaum, a Chicago lawyer, of an alleged attempt to extort $500,000 from him. Teitelbaum said that he was threatened with "bad" tax diffi­ culties if he did not pay up.

According to Teitelbaum, Frank Nathan of Pittsburgh and Bert M. Kastner of Hollywood, Fla., asked for the money, saying that they were linked with Washington official­ ists who were anxious for information on the tax scandal inquiry. Mr. Teitelbaum also asserted that he had a telephone call from a man perjury in denying that he, wh­ ever he was, had received any question this committee asks, whether he had touched with a guttural voice and a Ger­ man accent who described himself as "Mr. Watson" and said that he had "better pay, alright" with Nathan and Teitelbaum.

These two men appeared before the subcommittee and denied Teitelbaum's accusations as did Washington officials mentioned by the lawyer.

The subcommittee head, Mr. De­ eron Lamar Caudle, who was director of 200 transportation employees in removing the wre­ gage throughout the day, said: "It was another case of man failure. The motorist should have proceeded with care. It's the worst impact I've seen in my railroad career."

He disclosed that the money trick was so bad that, starting to­ night, appeals for contributions would be made both before and after every major campaign speech heard on television or radio. Such appeals accompanied to- nights' talks by Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic Presidential can­ didate, and Vice President Al­ bert W. Barkley, now stumping for the ticket.

The over-all Democratic finan­ cial picture, as outlined the other day by Bearchapel Roml, chairman of the Democratic Finance Com­ mittee, is this: A total somewhat in excess of $5,000,000 has been raised by the National Committee, which can collect and spend up to $3,000,000.
SCHEDULE: CLARK MacGREGOR WEDNESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 1, 1972

Evening - In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

9:43 p.m. - Depart 30th Street Station, Philadelphia via Metroliner
11:30 p.m. - Arrive Union Station, Washington, D.C.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1972

8:15 a.m. - Roosevelt Room
9:15 a.m. - Staff Meeting
10:00 a.m. - Ehrlichman Meeting

12:00 Noon - Drop-by Religious Leaders luncheon, Congressional Room, Statler Hilton Hotel
12:30 p.m. - Lunch w/Mrs. MacGregor, the Congdons and the Van Dusens, Sans Souci
MEMORANDUM FOR:  R. R. Haldeman
FROM:        Gordon Strachan
SUBJECT:  Presidential Endorsements and Telegrams

Congressional Endorsements

1) The approved endorsement letters to Senators and Congressmen have been sent. Each received direction from the CRP (Ed Failor's letter attached at Tab A) regarding use of the letter at rallies and in their radio and TV commercials.

2) Clark MacGregor asked Ray Price to prepare a telegram to be signed by the President and sent to 15 Senatorial candidates during the last week of the campaign. The 15 Senators are: Griffin, Tower, Nunn, Domenici, Chafee, McClure, Hirsch, Thompson, Bartlett, Helms, Blount, Hubbard, Toledano, Scott, and Powell. The text of the Price-approved telegram is attached at Tab B.

Gubernatorial Candidates

On October 19, you indicated concern about Dent and Price authorizing Presidential endorsements to Governors. On September 15, Bill Timmons submitted the memorandum at Tab C indicating his recommendations for House, Senate, and Gubernatorial candidates. You returned it to him with the note "OK if MacGregor and Erlichman concur", but holding Congressional letters until after adjournment. The recommendation of Bill Timmons that all Incumbent Republican Governors be endorsed has been implemented except for letters to Governors Ray of Iowa, Moore of West Virginia, and Peres of Puerto Rico. These three letters are being drafted by Mary Ann Allin in Ray Price's office. Letters have also been sent to Republican
Gubernatorial Challengers except Len Blaylock (Arkansas) and Henry Grover (Texas) because Timmons recommended against it, and you, Ehrlichman and MacGregor apparently agreed. Letters to the Challengers, Ed Smith in Montana, Dick Larsen in North Dakota, and Luther Hackett in Vermont are being drafted.

Local Candidates

You decided on October 19 that the selected California and New York state legislators should not receive endorsement letters. On October 20, a hold was placed on all endorsements of local candidates. However, the candidates who have requests pending for endorsement letters should be advised that no letters will be sent. Harry Dent has submitted the draft letter for his signature at Tab D for approval.

Recommendation:

That Dent send the attached letter to local candidates, which the President will not endorse.

Approve ____  Disapprove ____  Comments __________________________

Special Request

Bill Timmons forwarded a very rough draft of a letter for the President's signature to Democrats and Independents in Colorado. The real purpose of the letter is for Flanagan to develop election day challenge sheets and prevent the Democrats from voting the dead. Timmons recommends against the project (attached at Tab E).
GORDON —

F.Y.I., per your request,

Howard advised re President's letter and requested this action.
MEMORANDUM FOR CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES

FROM: E. D. FAILOR

I have been advised the President has sent you a letter of endorsement in your race.

The polls show the President leading by substantial margins in nearly every state and we hope this will be most helpful to your race. I have been asked to recommend the following uses of the President's letter of endorsement to you for maximum effect:

1. Read the President's letter at all your rallies and appropriate speaking engagements;
2. Issue a press release on the President's letter of recommendation;
3. Have an announcer read the President's letter or excerpts therefrom on your radio and/or television commercials;
4. Mail copies of the President's letter to all editors, radio stations and television stations in your district.
MEMORANDUM FOR: BILLY TIMMONS
CHUCK COLSON

FROM: H. R. HALEMANN

The President, as you know, is writing letters to all incumbent Congressmen and all of our Congressional candidates, giving them a very good endorsement.

We should set up a system of suggesting to these Congressmen that they have someone read the President's letter at all their rallies and other speaking appearances and that they work out some way of having an announcer or some other speaker read the letter on their radio and T.V. commercials.

c: Clark MacGregor
The White House
Washington

Date 10/24

To: Gordon Strachan

From: William E. Timmons

Please handle

For your information

Other

Is this part of CREP plan for last week

telegrams to selected voters?

I's advise.
MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB MORGAN
FROM: DAVE GERGEN
SUBJECT: Support Telegrams for Senatorial Candidates

In response to your request, we have drafted a telegram that the President could send to voters, asking their support for him and for various Senatorial candidates. The draft has been approved by Ray Price.

It is our understanding that you will obtain clearances from Mr. Timmons and Mr. Haldeman before any telegrams are sent.

Attachment

bcc: Bill Timmons --- They apparently have 10 candidates
      Gordon Strachan in mind.
SUGGESTED TELEGRAM BY THE PRESIDENT

On November 7 the American people will make a decision that will help determine the future of our nation and of the world for generations to come. I am sending you this personal message to urge you to participate in that decision by casting your vote on election day.

We need your help to achieve the biggest voter turnout in American history, so that the election results will reflect the choice of a clear majority of our people, both for President and for outstanding Senate candidates like __________ __________.

Mrs. Nixon joins me in sending our best wishes to you and your family.

RICHARD NIXON
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1972

BILL TIMMONS:

O.K. if MacGregor and Ehrlichman concur.

H. R. HALDEMAN

Don't send any before Congress adjourns. But tell them they're coming if you need to.
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: WILLIAM TIMMONS  
SUBJECT: Presidential Endorsements

Attached is Mary Ann Allin's excellent report on candidates and possible Presidential endorsements. I have reviewed the listing and make recommendations for each category.

My congressional staff and Stan Anderson, handling congressional candidates information for the Re-Elect Committee, concur in this report.

PART I - INCUMBENT REPUBLICANS IN HOUSE

I recommend no Presidential endorsements for:

1. Pete McCloskey (Calif)  
2. Donald Riegle (Mich.)  
3. John Ashbrook (Ohio)

I suggest a carefully worded, non-endorsement letter to Rep. Bob Price (Tex) who faces incumbent Democrat Graham Purcell, a strong Presidential supporter on Vietnam and domestic issues.

All GOP incumbents should receive the standard letter attached except those with asterisks who should have personal letters tailored for maximum assistance.

PART II - NON-INCUMBENT REPUBLICANS FOR HOUSE

I recommend no Presidential endorsements to GOP challengers for the following Democrats:
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

Alabama: Nichols, Bevill, Jones
Calif: Johnson, Sisk, Holifield, Wilson
Conn: Monagan, Giaimo
Fla: Bennett, Chappell, Haley, Rogers
Ga: Davis, Stuckey
Ill: Kluczynski, Shipley, Price, Rostenkowski
Ky: Stubblefield
LA: Passman
Md: Byron
Missouri: Randall, Bolling, Ichord, Burlison
N.Mex: Runnels
NY: Pike, Stratton, Rooney (if he wins new primary)
N.C.: Fountain, Jones, Taylor
Ohio: Ashley, Hays
Okla: Steed, Jarman
Ore: Green
Pa: Flood, Morgan
S.C.: Dorn, Davis, Mann, Gettys
Tenn: Evins, Jones
Tex: Roberts, Cabell, Teague, Brooks, Fisher, Casey
Va: Downing
W.Va: Slack, Staggers
Wash: Foley
Wis: Zablocki

These Members have supported the President on Vietnam and most have good voting records on domestic issues. Of the 57, 8 are officially "targets" by the Congressional Campaign Committee and the committee judges only 4 of the 8 as realistic possibilities. These four are seats held by Monagan (Conn), Shipley (Ill), Davis (SC) and Cabell (Tex).

I support a standard endorsement letter to other Republican challengers in Part II.

PART III - INCUMBENT REPUBLICAN SENATORS

I concur in Presidential endorsements for all incumbents seeking re-election. However, they should be tailored to suit the candidate with less enthusiastic letters for Stevens, Percy, Pearson, Brooke and Case.

PART IV - GOP HOUSE MEMBERS SEEKING SENATE

Recommend good letters for Thompson and McClure but a tailored endorsement for Scott.
PART V - REPUBLICAN SENATE CHALLENGERS

I recommend no endorsement letters for GOP challengers to these Democrats:

1. John Sparkman (Alabama)
2. John McClellan (Ark)
3. James Eastland (Miss)
4. Jennings Randolph (W. Va)

PART VI - INCUMBENT REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS

I concur in letters to all.

PART VII - REPUBLICAN GUBERNATORIAL CHALLENGERS

Recommend against endorsements for:

1. Len Blaylock (Ark)
2. Henry Grover (Texas)
ATTACHED ARE SUPPORTIVE MATERIALS FOR MR. HALDEMAN'S DECISION ON ENDORSEMENT OF CANDIDATES. THE SECTIONS ARE SELF-EXPLANATORY AND AS COMPLETE AS CURRENT INFORMATION PERMITS. PLEASE INSTRUCT ME AS TO WHO SHOULD NOT BE ENDORSED AND WHETHER WE WILL DO:

1) INDIVIDUAL LETTERS TO EACH CANDIDATE (WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE AND YOUR OFFICE)

2) STANDARD LANGUAGE LETTERS TO ALL CANDIDATES (SIMILAR TO THE DRAFT I SUBMITTED TO YOU ON SEPTEMBER 5, 1972)

3) STANDARD LANGUAGE LETTERS WITH SOME VARIATIONS (MILD PRAISE FOR LUKEWARM SUPPORT.)

IN THE CASE OF SENATORIAL AND GOVERNORIAL CANDIDATES, WE ARE PROCEEDING WITH INDIVIDUAL LETTERS TO ALL, COORDINATING WITH YOUR OFFICE, HARRY DENT, AND THE APPROPRIATE GOP CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES.
In view of the President's remarks at the Convention and his directions since then to the writing staff, we have changed the language of our endorsement letter and are now ready to send out Presidential letters to all incumbent Republican Members of the House except those who have already been endorsed (list attached), those who still face primary opposition (list attached) and those troublesome people whom you might identify who ought not to receive the President's blessing (eg, Pete McCloskey and John Ashbrook). With your approval the letters will be prepared and dated for September 7.

Unless it seems advisable at a later date, we do not intend to send any other "mass mailing" from the President to our candidates, but I hope your staff will encourage Members to ask for Presidential messages tied to political events between now and the election. We will do everything possible to assist their re-election.
Incumbent Republican Members of the House Who Have Been Endorsed by the President to date:

Harold Collier, Ill. 6th
Elwood Hillis, Ind. 5th
Peter Peyser, N.Y. 23rd
Carleton King, N.Y. 29th
William Keating, Ohio 1st
Herman Schneebeli, Pa. 17th
Incumbent Republican Members of the House Who Face September Primary Challenges:

John Rhodes, Ariz. 1st
Bill Frenzel, Minn. 5th
Sherman Lloyd, Utah 2nd
Alvin O'Konski, Wis. 7th
Glenn Davis, Wis. 9th
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 7, 1972

Dear Phil:\/

As you begin your 1972 campaign for re-election to the House of Representatives, you have my very best wishes for well-earned and deserved success. I also want to convey my heartfelt appreciation for the ability you have unfailingly demonstrated in your distinguished service to the American people. Your leadership in advancing the programs and policies of this Administration has been vital, and we will be counting on your help in the days and years ahead to form what I have called a "new majority." To accomplish this, we need able men and women in the Congress who share my conviction that Americans are bound together by our common ideals, and that with a renewed spirit of confidence and cooperation we can make our nation and the world a better, safer place in which to live.

It is my earnest hope that all citizens of Ada District will join our New Majority by registering, voting, and actively supporting Phil:, for he is a man deeply committed to bringing positive change to our country.

Sincerely,

RN:MAA:RLE:WET
End:  
Here is the letter I would propose using in answer to local candidate requests for Presidential endorsement.

Beard
The President has received your letter and asked that I respond in his behalf.

The President's campaign advisors have made the difficult decision of limiting Presidential endorsements to those candidates who are running for Governor, or for the U.S. House and Senate. The great number of candidates running for State and local offices has made such a decision necessary.

With the President's best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harry S. Dent
Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. William DuBovik, Jr.
575 Winthrop Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut 06511

HSD:BEH:j

approve ________ disapprove ________
MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: WILLIAM TIMMONS
SUBJECT: Presidential Letters

Attached is a very rough draft of a recommended Presidential letter to registered Democrats and Independents in Denver, Colorado. The suggestion comes from Gordon Allott through Bob Flanigan.

They hope such an appeal would help the whole GOP ticket in Denver but more importantly they will pay to have undelivered envelopes returned so they can put together their election day challenge sheets. Flanigan reports Democrats often vote the deceased and moved.

While the draft needs a lot of work I question the basic concept for a Presidential.

Your views please.
MEMORANDUM

TO: Harry Dent
The White House

FROM: Robert Flanigan, Vice Chairman
Colorado Committee for the Re-election of the President

RE: Endorsement letter signed by President Nixon

Enclosed is a suggested draft of a letter which the Denver County GOP organization would like to have signed and mailed to approximately 40 thousand registered Democrats in Denver as part of the ballot security program. These letters will be sent with a "do not forward, return to sender" notation on the envelope and undeliverable letters will be used by poll watchers for challenges at the polls on election day.

Tom Reed suggested we send this draft directly to you for prompt attention.
Draft of Letter for Denver County from President Nixon

Dear Friend:

I have been gratified by the expressions of support I have received from all parts of Colorado.

I would like to urge you as a resident of Denver to consider voting for candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives who will help enact the kinds of programs I feel are essential.

Senator Gordon Allott is a strong supporter of the policy which I believe will lead to peace throughout the world. Gordon Allott is a member of the Congressional leadership and I have found him always hard working and dedicated to America and Colorado's people.

Congressman Don Brotzman is a name new to some Denver voters, but one whom I commend to you most highly. He is dedicated to the best for all of us.

Congressman Mike McKevitt has worked hard for all the people of Denver and has represented their best interests most capably in the House; I know he will continue to do so.

I appreciate your considering these three men November 7

Sincerely