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<td>From Bruce Kehrli to H.R. Haldeman RE: Political Analyses for Campaign Trips. 2pgs.</td>
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**COLLECTION TITLE**
Contested Documents

**FOLDER TITLE**
WHSF: SMOF: Staff Secretary: Chron – October 1972: Box 73

**PRMPA RESTRICTION CODES:**
- A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.
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<td>Kehrli to Elliott re: follow-up to our yesterday conversation.</td>
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<td>N-13</td>
<td>memo</td>
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FILE GROUP TITLE

STAFF SECRETARY

FOLDER TITLE

Chron - October 1972 [#2]

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Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: Staff Secretary
Box Number: 73
Folder: Chron -- October 1972 [#2]

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You requested that something be done to upgrade the political briefing papers that go to the President for each campaign stop. These are prepared initially by Harry Dent and forwarded to John Ehrlichman for review from an issues standpoint. From there they go to Dave Hoopes for inclusion in the President's trip package.

The trip package is distributed to the following people: Ziegler, Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Higby, Waldron, Warren, Ball Chapin, Butterfield, Hoopes (file copy).

We should have some input from Bob Teeter including the latest trial heat information and a check on the Ehrlichman issues information. We found a couple of errors in the latest analyses for Pennsylvania and New York.

This can be done in one of two ways:

1. Take the political analysis as it comes from Ehrlichman's office and rewrite it to include the Teeter data. If we do this, distribution will have to be limited to the President and H. since none of the other people are to receive the trial heat information.

2. Include the memo from Dent, checked by Ehrlichman, in all trip packages after double checking it with Teeter and include in the President's and Haldeman's trip package a separate memo from Teeter on trial heats.
RECOMMENDATION:

That we proceed as outlined in Option 2. It is a round-about solution but will keep people from asking about or borrowing the information from you on the plane. It will also preclude the inevitable appeals from at least Ziegler, Ehrlichman, and Chapin to receive the political brief information.

APPROVE _______  DISAPPROVE _______

If approve, attached are the Teeter addenda for Pennsylvania and New York. The standard Dent memo has been checked and will be included in all trip packages for these trips.
Attached is the approved list of ten phone calls for Tricia to make this week. This is the program we discussed last week and when covering it with her you should stress that this is the President's idea and she will be calling on behalf of the President.

Based on the success of these ten calls, we will have about ten calls per week between now and the election. These will be coming over from the Committee on Friday for use beginning the following Monday.

Again, the purpose of this program is to boost the morale and reward some of the harder working people in the campaign who would not normally receive this type of recognition. These can be a great boost to not only the individual but all the workers in that particular office or campaign headquarters.

I will be sending the list of names and phone numbers to the operators so they will have them in case Tricia wants to make the calls.

Let me know her reaction to this program after you have a chance to cover it with her.
CALLS FOR TRICIA NIXON COX

1. **Joe Gaylord** -- Iowa: Canvass coordinator directing canvassing effort throughout the state.

2. **Ray Tierney** -- New Jersey: Heading up the ballot security program for the state: he has worked virtually full time coordinating labor, veterans, ethnic groups, retired police and firemen to protect the polls.

3. **Mrs. Nodine Henninger** -- Ohio: State Telephone Chairman. Doing an outstanding job.

4. **Barbara Caldwell** -- West Virginia: Assistant to Regional Chairman; tremendous job in pulling together organization in Charleston.

5. **Georgeann Hedges** -- Missouri: CRP Co-Chairman, Jackson County. Great job in Jackson County in volunteer recruitment.

6. **Barbara Durrell** -- Missouri: Telephone Canvass Chairman, Green County. Outstanding worker - produced an excellent organization.

7. **Mimi Kennedy** -- Tennessee: Telephone Hostess Chairman. In addition to the hostess program, Mimi has joined in directing half our canvass effort in the state.

8. **Bill Duvall** -- Illinois: Executive Director CRP. Bill took leave of absence from Borg-Warner Corporation in August and has done an excellent job in giving management leadership to the Illinois campaign.

9. **Mrs. Marilyn Heffernan** -- Illinois: Marilyn is the director of the state telephone program.

10. **Mrs. Helen Evans** -- Ohio: Mrs. Evans is a Black Senior Citizen who has helped make the Black vote activities in Ohio one of our proudest successes.
ITEM REMOVED FROM THIS FOLDER

A RESTRICTED DOCUMENT OR CASE FILE HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM THIS FILE FOLDER. FOR A DESCRIPTION OF THE ITEM REMOVED AND THE REASON FOR ITS REMOVAL, CONSULT DOCUMENT ENTRY NUMBER ___ on the document withdrawal record in the front of this file folder.
MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLE
SUBJECT: Phone Call Program for Ed Nixon and Tricia Cox

October 13, 1972

Following up on our phone conversation, we should set up a phone call program for Ed Nixon and Tricia so that they can start making political calls around the country in behalf of the President.

We do not need a separate sheet on each call, but simply a list of ten or fifteen phone calls (without the phone numbers on the list) with the person's name, where they are from, and a one line identification of them. For example, for the "hardest working person in Headquarters" or "the labor man who is distributing bumper stickers saying ________ for us". In this latter case you could attach the bumper sticker and other appropriate backup material for the call.

The idea is to work out a format so that it is easy for them to make calls rather than overwhelming them with pages and pages of backup. Send the phone numbers for all the calls on a separate sheet and we will see that they are sent to the Operators here.

Before contacting Ed Nixon or Tricia we need to have a format worked out and approved by Bob -- including twenty suggested calls. Please forward the first group by close of business, today, so that we can get started on this over the weekend.

Thank you.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
October 4, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR BRUCE KEHRLI

FROM: DICK MOORE

SUBJECT: Presidential Posture During Next Six Weeks:

"In general, the only thing the campaign needs now is 'a little spiritual uplift'—something that goes beyond the programmatic and gets to ideals, to principles, and again, to deep concern."

At this stage, it can be argued that the campaign does not "need" anything new, that if the President continues to concern himself with presidential affairs, he will win easily. Indeed, McGovern may even hurt himself by getting more desperate as the President stays more presidential.

Nevertheless, I agree with Mr.-Royster that the one element which the people are looking for and waiting for is a major expression of the President's aspirations for America, through and beyond his second term and the nation's 200th Birthday.

Having just had occasion to review the President's speeches and statements of the past four years, it occurs forcefully to me that few really recall the number and quality of the inspirational talks which he has given.

Now, as he goes before the American electorate for the last time, and as he faces the culminating years of his political life and leadership, I think a major re-statement of his vision for America and the principles which will keep it great will be the most important single thing he can do. However, there is still time to decide the wisdom of such a course, as well as the timing and the format.

For the present, the most important thing is to keep the options open and be prepared to deliver such a message at the right time and place — or it may even be a series of two or three messages.
On the timing, consider this: In 1940, Election Day was November 5. Yet FDR did not announce until October 18 that he was going to make five campaign speeches beginning October 23. This was before TV or jet planes, yet in those five speeches he had the country quoting "Martin, Barton and Fish" (which was first uttered October 28 at Madison Square Garden), and had succeeded in undercutting Willkie completely on the one inroad he was making, the war issue. ("I have said this before but I will say it again and again")

My point is that unless there are fairly drastic developments of some kind, RFK does not have to announce any specific campaign plans until at least October 20, and the last ten days will be more than sufficient time to penetrate the minds of America with whatever major theme he wishes to express.

With those dates in mind, it is still necessary to crystallize the options now and to take whatever steps are needed to take the position to exercise those options on short notice.

One of those options, for example, would be a major address on network television on which the President sets forth his vision of hopes for America and restates the principles which should continue to guide the American character and spirit. This should probably be scheduled during the week between October 23 and 28. It could be a Fireside Chat from the Oval Office, or it could be delivered at a major rally in a forum like Madison Square Garden. I realize that the President does like to read speeches at a rally. In this instance, however, there are some excellent precedents for doing just that, namely, the President's acceptance speeches at the National Conventions in 1960, 1968 and 1972, all of which had such powerful impact. (FDR's five speeches in 1940 were all delivered from scripts at major rallies.)

Another approach might be three or even four 15 minute personal statements each delivered in a different city in a symbolic part of the country, the South (Atlanta), the East (New York), the Midwest (Cleveland or Chicago) and finally the Far West (San Clemente on Election Eve). In each case the nighttime "Fireside Chat" could be preceded by a midday motorcade. During the afternoon, the President could be in his hotel working on his speech and then deliver it during prime time from the local television studio.
Each speech could begin with some local regional references, but the major portion would be devoted to a high level subject. One might be the search for Peace, another the America of tomorrow, a third, The American Spirit of Character, and the Election Eve address would probably emphasize the democratic process and the obligations to vote for a better future.

A third format could be a series of three or four radio speeches.

Whatever the format, a message of inspiration and uplift can be important for several practical reasons, such as the following:

1. We can expect that our opponents will have some success with an anti-landslide theme ("I hate to vote for McGovern but I am afraid of what Nixon will do if he has a landslide.") An eloquent statement of the reasons why a mandate is so important in the current state of the world could undercut this landslide argument to a considerable degree.

2. We can expect to hear and read that RN is taking the votes for granted and will not be content to win a negative victory based on McGovern's inadequacy rather than on the Nixon leadership. This is a displeasing concept which could cost votes. An inspirational and affirmative appeal by RN in the closing days can undercut and even negate the argument that he is content to "back into the Presidency".

3. The second term will be the culmination of RN's service to the nation, the last time he will ask the voters of America to entrust their future to him. From a historical sense (and that is usually good politics) it will be appropriate and reassuring for him to go to the people with a personal statement of his beliefs and his hopes for America.

4. Because they lack any other real issue, we can expect the McGovernites to increase their emphasis on the issue of integrity and to intensify their charges of cynicism. Although the Watergate case has not caught on as a voting issue, the repetition of charges about this, the so-called grain deal and ITT will necessarily have some effect on doubtful voters. The kind of approach which Mr. Royster suggests can have a very important effect in defusing this entire issue.
5. I have a theory that some Democrats can vent their feelings by "voting" against McGovern in the Gallup Poll, or by telling their friends that they are going to vote against him, and they may mean it at the time. But in many such cases, the actual breaking of a lifelong habit, or overcoming a long-time antipathy toward RN, may become difficult to do at the moment of truth in the voting booth. This problem gets reinforced in the closing days by pressure from union leaders, or from their peers generally. For example, many people who were mad enough to say they are going to vote for Wallace ended up reverting to the Democratic candidate at the final moment.

In the closing week of the campaign, I think these are the votes we are most likely to lose. By the same token, they are the votes we might be able to retain by an inspirational appeal by RN in the closing days.

6. This kind of appeal will encourage workers to get the vote out.

RECOMMENDATION:

For at least two more weeks (unless there is some unexpected turn of events) I think the President should maintain his present posture and pattern of presidential activities, emphasizing "event" more than talk. But starting now, we should be preparing speech material and examining locations and logistical matters, so that we may be in a position to make whatever moves we think wise in the final ten or twelve days.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLE
SUBJECT: Election Eve at the White House

October 12, 1972

After a couple of preliminary planning meetings with the people at 1701 on what they'll be doing and what they'll be able to provide for the Election Eve coverage, we came out with the following:

1. For actual results of the Presidential and other elections nobody is going to beat the networks. This is also true as far as projections which they will be doing using polling data gathered over the weekend prior to the Election, turn-out data in key districts, and early results.

2. Herb Klein and Bob Finch have some type of a phone call program that they did in 1968 and 1970. They call various polls around the country to come up with readings on how things are going in that particular area.

3. Most of the emphasis at 1701 is to watch the networks closely and try to get someone inside to get the information before they broadcast it.

Based on the fact that the President will be travelling cross-country, Gordon and I came up with the following proposed schedule of information in the order that it will be available.

1. Turn-Out -- From key cities or counties in areas where the turn-out can be used as a prediction of the results. The research people at 1701 will give us recommendations on this.

2. Straw Polls Outside of Polling Booth in Key Areas -- The general reaction to this at 1701 was negative, we would need too many people in order to make it worthwhile. Supplementing this we could make calls to key polls in a given number of areas, getting their readings.
3. Actual Results -- Here again the networks have the best and quickest information, although we have ordered a UPI wire which will come out with an accurate update of the Presidential and key Congressional races every 45 minutes.

The Committee is going to have their control center at the hotel rather than at 1701 and we'll need to resolve whether communication should come from there or directly here. Some of the information will obviously have to be analyzed and Chapin's suggestion -- I agree -- is to have Teetor either over there or here and at least one of his people here to take a look at the information after it's analyzed. The raw data will go to him for analysis and then be sent over.

I think the best way to handle the communications is to set up a system similar to that which we have on speech follow-up. That is to have some girls here with direct lines either out in the country or through the control center at the hotel. Have three people monitoring the networks (one each) and have one person monitoring the wire machine.

Another question is whether we want to generate phone calls from his friends and get reactions from people he respects out in the field? I think this should be included.

I'd appreciate any thoughts you have on this before we make a final proposal. We're waiting for some information from 1701 on just exactly how many key cities or districts will provide relevant information. There's obviously going to be a hell of a lot of information floating around and we're going to have to distill it quite a bit. Since you "were there" in 1968 do you have any thoughts?
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 10, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALEDEMAN
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLE
SUBJECT: Vermont Royster Comments

The comments contained in the attached memorandum (Tab A) from Ray Price to the President by Vermont Royster were staffed to Ziegler, Moore, Safire, Colson, Chapin, Ehrlichman and Buchanan. Ehrlichman did not respond and Colson claimed that his response was covered in a previous memo, but the others are included at Tab B.

To summarize, none of those contacted felt that the speech proposed by Royster was a good idea. All thought that the President should maintain the robe he now wears -- the Presidential robe. There were, however, some interesting comments from Dick Moore on other possibilities for speeches between now and the Election. You should read Moore's memorandum in its entirety. As for the memorandum to the President, recommend that it not go in.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
October 2, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

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

FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

SUBJECT: Presidential Posture During Next Six Weeks

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

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

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

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

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

#######