

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|---|
| 15 | 11 | 11/21/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: problems obtaining precinct lists at the CRP branch in Illinois. Handwritten notes on same subject attached. 2 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/18/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Domestic Policy | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a discussion about the RNC with Malek, Dent, Timmons, and Senator Brock. 3 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/17/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Domestic Policy | Memo | Copy of a memo from Higby to Strachan RE: membership changes of the RNC. 1 pg. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/16/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a payment issue at the Pennsylvania CRP. 1 pg. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--|
| 15 | 11 | 11/13/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Higby to Malek RE: precinct lists in Pennsylvania. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/14/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Domestic Policy | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: press reports on RNC reorganization. Copies of a "Miami Herald" article and an older memorandum attached. 3 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/14/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Max Fisher's desire to meet with Haldeman. 1 pg. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/14/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Domestic Policy | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: press reports on RNC reorganization. 2 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/13/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: draft letters of thank-you notes to important campaign figures. 1 pg. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 15 | 11 | 11/8/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: popular vote totals in the 1972 presidential election. 1 pg. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/8/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: telegrams for prominent campaign figures in key states. 1 pg. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/7/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: key points from interviews of Richard Scammon and George Gallup, Sr. 2 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Malek's prediction of RN's victory in the 1972 race. 1 pg. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: MacGregor and Teeter's plans for a post-election survey. 1 pg. |

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| 15 | 11 | 11/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the results of a Gallup pre-election survey. 2 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/4/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Teeter's proposal for a national post-election survey. Copy of Teeter's proposal to MacGregor attached. 4 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/4/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Elliot's telegram to important campaign figures. 1 pg. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/3/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | Copy of a memo from Strachan to Haldeman RE: radio and television advertisements in the final days before the election. Election eve television schedule attached. 3 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/3/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | Copy of a memo from Bill Taylor to Chapin, Carruthers, Strachan, Dailey, and Joanou RE: a documentary on RN to run on the eve of the election. 2 pgs. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 15 | 11 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Malek's Canvass report and Get Out the Vote Kick Off, as well as John Whitaker's memorandum on post-election activities. 2 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/3/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: an analysis of certain demographics in recent polling data. Handwritten edits added by unknown. 2 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/3/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: election night telegrams from the White House to important Republican campaign figures. 2 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 10/31/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | Copy of a memo from Strachan to Gergen RE: election night telegrams for important campaign figures. Handwritten notes on original added by unknown. 2 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 10/30/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | Copy of an Action Memo written by Haldeman RE: personalized telegrams to important campaign figures to be sent on election night. Handwritten notes on original added by unknown. Telegram drafts attached. 7 pgs. |

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| 15 | 11 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: scheduling of campaign advertisements on major television networks. 2 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/2/1972 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Dent and Weinberger's request for RN to endorse eight California Assemblymen. Copies of memo from Dent to Haldeman and proposed endorsement letter attached. 3 pgs. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/2/1972 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: whether or not to send information from Teeter to Ehrlichman. 1 pg. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/2/1972 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Nofziger's report on a California Field Poll. 1 pg. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/2/1972 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Haldeman's approval of a televised campaign ad on Vietnam. 1 pg. |

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| 15 | 11 | 11/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a "Detroit News" election poll. 1 pg. |
| 15 | 11 | 11/1/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: campaign advertisements to be broadcast on the eve of the election. 1 pg. |

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Lists
in Illinois

Higby received a report that a leader of the President's campaign in Illinois was refusing to pay CRP personnel until they delivered precinct lists to him, allegedly for Don Rumsfeld's use.

Al Kaupinen, the CRP Regional Director for Illinois, examined the facts and reported the following:

1) Bill McConkey was the Director of Field Operations, whose name comes closest to the McGinty or McGooley who was mentioned to Higby;

2) McConkey has collected six of the 35 volunteer books in Illinois but has done so with Kaupinen's encouragement;

3) McConkey was hired from the RNC and is not directly tied to Rumsfeld;

4) The difficulty Malek is having in obtaining complete sets of volunteer lists from several states is being met by choosing one man who is seeking a job in the Second Term and requiring him to collect the lists. McConkey has been selected on this basis to collect some of the lists in Illinois.

5) All CRP personnel in Illinois have received
GS/jb
their final paycheck, so the delivery of campaign lists to a particular individual is not a condition precedent to payment.


3rd Floor

Bill McConkey in Chi - Director of
Field Ops + over phones
- Has 6 volunteer ops of 35: 5000
not need for Rems.
- came to CRP for RAC -
- will keep copy for himself
-

Rita Hauser - wants to see P
as relatively soon as possible
- JM talking about another
- talking to P re service
in admin
- suggest talk to P.
212-744-1262

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Republican National Committee

Discussion with Fred Malek, Harry Dent, Bill Timmons, and Senator Brock about the RNC developed the following information for your telephone call to Senator Dole:

1) Brock and Dent confirm there is no Executive Committee meeting in the near future. The Republican National Committee delayed choosing a new Executive Committee at the Convention. The old Executive Committee ceased to exist on November 8, pursuant to the Rules of the RNC;

2) Dole would have the power to call a new Executive Committee before the next formal meeting of the full Republican National Committee in January at the time of the Inaugural, which replaced the regular December meeting of the RNC. Bill Brock and Tom Evans, via Harry Dent, confirm that Dole has not called an extraordinary meeting;

3) There are only two important decisions pending according to Timmons, Brock, and Dent. The first is whether Dole will remain as Chairman. The second is whether the RNC will receive the campaign assets of CRP. Dole, in an interview last Sunday with Paul Hope of the Washington Star, said: one of his first acts will be to get together with Nixon campaign officials to arrange a transfer of data to party headquarters in Washington;

4) Anne Armstrong is leaving the RNC. According to Timmons, she is hoping for a Cabinet post. If that is not offered, she will return to Texas probably to run for statewide office;

5) Tom Evans is also leaving. As you know from Colson's November 16 memorandum and repeated incidents during the last year, Tom Evans is "about to blow his cork". According to Brock, Evans on Election Night really ripped into the White House, CRP, and others within range. Dent says Evans' massive ego has been even further skinned by the CRP, in the person of Jeb Magruder, takeover of the Inaugural. Apparently in the past the RNC has handled many of these activities and the domination of the Inaugural by the CRP further exacerbates a very strained relationship;

6) As a further wrinkle on the RNC problem, Dole's office has called Brock's office asking for a copy of the RNC reorganization plan prepared by Brock and Rietz. Brock called me to ask how he should respond. After some discussion, Brock, Timmons, and I agreed that Brock should not give a copy of the plan to Dole. However, Brock cannot deny the plan's existence because by an unfortunate slip he confirmed to the reporter Loye Miller that such a plan had been prepared. Brock's line to Dole will be that he merely prepared some brief notes suggesting a more election-oriented, professional RNC apparatus. Brock will say, when and if pressed by Dole personally, that the notes are typical of other material he does for the President and White House Staff -- confidential and not really Brock's property. Timmons doubts Dole will permit a confrontation by asking you directly for the plan.

So much for the facts. According to Malek, you have already discussed reorganizing the RNC and placing George Bush in as Chairman. However, you might want to consider some other recommendations for solving the RNC situation:

1) Higby suggested getting John Mitchell involved. Mitchell brought Tom Evans in originally and could tell Dole of the President's decisions. You apparently have already discussed the general problem with Mitchell as indicated by your note on the Loye Miller article. Dent urges either you or Mitchell handle the problem;

2) Dent recommends that you talk with Dole to just let him express all his complaints to someone close to the President. Timmons, in a conversation on November 15 with Dole, learned that Dole expects to be called to Camp David as all other Cabinet officers, "given a gold watch and wished the best of luck", for the re-election. You prepared a November 12 talking paper for Dole indicating the President would see him. However, either you or Mitchell should meet with Dole first;

3) Timmons suggested several possible candidates for Chairman. I did not mention to Timmons that Dent had urged Malek to recommend George Bush. Timmons would not accept the post if the President offered it to him. Instead, he suggests Malek and Colson. Timmons does not think it would be impossible to sell the RNC on Colson because he is perceived as being close to the President, unlike Morton and Dole. Dent and Brock doubt the RNC would accept Colson. Other possibilities are Jerris Leonard and Gordon Luce. Timmons doubts Chuck Lanigan, Keith Bulen, Bill Ruckelshaus, or Don Rumsfeld would be acceptable;

4) Tom Evans' ego could be massaged by involving him in some way in the Inaugural. This might prevent his imminent, damaging discussion with the press.

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

GORDON STRACHAN

FROM :

L. HIGBY *L*

Bob needs to call Dole on Monday. Dole has called Haldeman and said he needs to meet with him urgently regarding his job and the general situation at the RNC. Apparently there is going to be a Committee Meeting or an Executive Committee Meeting very shortly and some decisions need to be made before this. I wish you'd figure out what we need to do here and what our strategy is and give me a report tomorrow. Apparently Armstrong and Evans are both planning on leaving. What do we want to do with Dole? Is now the time to tell him that we want to replace him, or what? Perhaps we want to get Mitchell involved. Give me your thoughts on this. It probably would be good to talk to Harry Dent and find out what the crucial decisions are revolving around the Executive Committee meeting so we know what kind of ground we are on here.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Lists in Pennsylvania

Higby received a report that our Executive Director in Pennsylvania, named McGinty or McGooney, was refusing to pay CRP personnel until they delivered precinct lists to him, allegedly for Don Rumsfeld's use.

Gordon Gooch, the CRP Regional Director for Pennsylvania, examined the facts and reported the following:

- 1) The CRP Finance Committee member McGlenn paid all CRP employees, without demanding copies of lists;
- 2) The Acting Executive Director Steinberg confirmed there were no plans or attempts to collect all lists from the county headquarters which used the lists during the campaign;
- 3) McGlenn has "his nose out of joint" because he is hated by Arlen Specter;
- 4) Pennsylvania's campaign for the President was fraught with intra-party and personality disputes. Rumors were rampant and frequently attributable to personal animosities.

GS/jb

Jerry Jones - 2176

November 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : FRED MALEK
FROM : L. HIGBY
SUBJECT : Lists in Pennsylvania

It's come to my attention, the fact that apparently our Executive Director, named McGinty, or McGooley, or something like that

- Rems-agent - refusing final paycheck until final present lists
- S cover w/ Malek
- E source of story

Blum, Gadiosi | Gordon Gooch
Bernie Winder

In Spector's behalf

- all 9 states, excluding NY w/ had our list
Some to Supis

-
- no condition on pymt.

Mc Glenn in Fin Committee - Spector hates Mc Glenn.

Acting Exec Director Steinberg says there were no plans to collect all lists h/courty - all parties have been paid.

Mc Glenn in Fin area + w/ nose out of joint but deal not paid lists in

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: RNC Reorganization

Following your meeting with Senator Brock and Ken Rietz on November 1, I talked with Rietz November 8, 11, and 13 regarding their progress in developing a desire for substantive change within the RNC. Brock had talked with Senator Scott but the focus was on Senate Leadership instead of RNC reorganization. Brock and Rietz talked with Clark MacGregor, who expressed approval but could not be helpful due to vacation plans. Rietz talked in general, vague terms with Jimmy Allison, who agreed to talk with certain RNC members. The project was moving as you expected on November 1.

However, in today's Miami Herald a substantial setback occurred. The article by Loye Miller, Jr. (attached at Tab A) describes plans to oust Dole, Brock's written plan, and the Brock/Rietz presentation to you. Rietz was understandably appalled at the amount of information Miller had.

Brock told Rietz he had talked with Miller, but that Miller had a substantial amount of information from a "White House Source". Only Timmons, you, and I, to my knowledge, were aware of the project.

In addition to the problems that may develop when the story hits the Washington Post, you may recall that a November Action Memorandum indicated the President should meet with Dole this week (attached at Tab B). Also, Brock is out of town and unavailable and Rietz is at a loss as to what stance he should take with the press. Rietz and I agreed that for the time being he should not respond to press calls.

GS/jb

Robert Dole May Be Out As GOP Chief

By LOVE MILLER JR.
Herald Washington Bureau

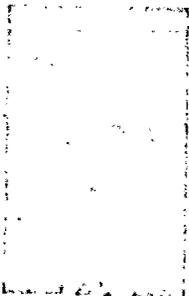
WASHINGTON — Sen. Robert Dole may be replaced as the national chairman of the Republican Party by early next year.

Dole, who was named for the top party post by President Nixon two years ago, has been saying openly that he likes the job and hopes to hang onto it.

BUT SOME factions within the White House and the Committee to Reelect the President are known to be urging Nixon to appoint a new head of the GOP National Committee.

The change, if it comes, would be part of the sweeping administration personnel shake-up being contemplated by the President.

State and local GOP leaders across the nation are waiting anxiously for some sign of party plans from the White House.



Sen. Dole
...wants to stay

MANY OF the regulars lament the disappointment showing of Republicans at virtually every level before the presidential race in the recent election.

They hope Nixon will place top priority on revitalizing the party organization from a "matters-of-course" approach. And many speculate that the party's chairman should be a skilled "political technician" rather than a public figure.

This thinking is the basis for the recommendations for a change in chairman that have been made to Nixon by some top staffers around him.

SUCH A move would be more of a change in emphasis than a change in direction. Dole's handling of the job

The Kansas senator has been primarily a washbuckling, partisan orator — which is precisely the role the White House instructed him to play.

But there is much feeling that the disappointing 1972 election returns spell the need for a much different approach to running a national party.

ONE WHO has urged such a change is Sen. William Brock of Tennessee, who has excellent connections at the White House.

Brock served as head of the Nixon campaign's youth division, and chose the division's staff chief, political consultant Kenneth Rietz.

In recent days, Brock and Rietz have worked feverishly on proposed blueprints for a new, "more professionalized" national party staff setup headed by a political technician. They presented the proposal to top presidential aide H. R. Haldeman.

IN A telephone interview Monday, Brock acknowledged that he had submitted the plan but denied that he hoped to become national chairman himself.

"You couldn't pay me to take that job," Brock said. "And the point I'm trying to make is that the chairman shouldn't be an elected official, or any public figure who goes around making speeches."

"The national committee ought to be an efficient operation oriented to getting Republicans elected and re-elected," the senator said. "The President is the spokesman for his party and administration, and the national chairman should not have to be out in front all the time."

Ironically, the party organization was run pretty well for two years from 1971 to 1973 by Harvey Ray Biss of Ohio, a superb political organizer.

BUT A history of strained relations between Biss and Nixon led to Biss' ouster as chairman. Since then, the White House has chosen prominent members of Congress to try to bring a little life to a party led by a top Rogers, C. B. Merton and then Dole.

Dole indicated Monday that he expects to continue as chairman. "I think the President is pleased," he said. "I expect things to go right on as they are now."

But a key White House staffer Monday confirmed that a change in party chairman is thought to be a live possibility.

"I'RE SILLY don't think the President has made up his mind," this staffer said, "but some of us around here think there may be a change."

Even if Nixon should decide to revamp the committee staff, seasoned Republican political technicians are scarce.

Brock is reported to have highly recommended 33-year-old tactician Rietz (who managed Brock's 1968 Senate campaign).

But because the Tennessee senator is believed to have presidential ambitions of his own in 1976, others of Vice President Spiro Agnew or other hopefuls may rise to oppose anything that smacks of a Brock take-over of the party machinery.

ANOTHER possibility for expanded responsibilities at the national committee may be Deputy Chairman Ed DeBolt, a Californian who has served as Dole's political technician on the committee staff for the past two years.

DeBolt won high marks from some staffers in the White House and the Committee to Reelect the President for designing the basic blueprint for door-to-door and telephone canvassing used in the highly successful campaign.

TALKING PAPER -- HALDEMAN

Call Dole, telling him the President wants to meet with him toward the end of the week. See what his schedule is.

HRH
11/12/72

HRH: kb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Max Fisher Telephone Call

Max Fisher called you last night. I told his secretary I would take the call. Mr. Fisher called me this morning.

Fisher wants to meet with you at your convenience. He wants to review "the election situation and cover certain relationships". He emphasized that he did not bother you during the campaign but now wants to discuss the Jewish vote. He will be in Washington later this week and the first of next week. I told him your plans on returning from Camp David were still uncertain. He will call when he is in Washington.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

RNC Reorganization

Following your meeting with Senator Brock and Ken Rietz on November 1, I talked with Rietz on November 8, 11, and 13 regarding their progress in developing a desire for substantive change within the RNC. Brock had talked with Senator Scott but the focus was on Senate Leadership instead of RNC reorganization. Brock and Rietz talked with Clark MacGregor, who expressed approval, but could not be helpful due to vacation plans. Rietz talked in general, vague terms with Jimmy Allison, who agreed to talk with certain RNC members. The project was moving as you expected on November 1.

However, in today's Miami Herald a substantial setback occurred. The article by Loye Miller, Jr. (attached at Tab A) describes plans to oust Dole, Brock's written plan, and the Brock/Rietz presentation to you. Rietz was understandably appalled at the amount of information Miller had.

Brock told Rietz he had talked with Miller, but that Miller had a substantial amount of information from a "White House source". Only Timmons, you, and I, to my knowledge, were aware of the project. However, Malek told Rietz that you had advised him of the project and that he was also working on a reorganization of the RNC. On that basis, Rietz discussed the plan with Fred. Rietz is reluctant to involve Malek, but one of Rietz' sources close to Loye Miller said that a source close to Malek was his White House source.

In addition to the problems that may develop when the story hits the Washington Post, you may recall that a November 12 Action Memorandum indicated the President should meet with Dole this week (attached at Tab B). Also, Brock is out of town and unavailable, and Rietz is at a loss as to what stance he should take with the press. Rietz and I agreed that for the time being he should not respond to press calls.

Recommendations:

- 1) That you delay Dole's meeting with the President;
- 2) That Rietz continue his posture of no comment to the press; and
- 3) That I discuss with Malek the alleged leak from his office.

GS/jb

November 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Haldeman Thank-You Letters

Draft letters for your signature thanking individuals for working toward the President's re-election are attached. The addressees are: Mitchell, Connally, MacGregor, Dole, Stans, Magruder, Malek, Dailey and Dent.

Letters have not been drafted for individual state people such as Governor Rockefeller or Lyn Nofziger on the assumption that since you did not work directly with them, a personal thank-you would be inappropriate.

Also, letters have not been prepared for the deputies of most of the individuals. For example, I have not drafted letters for Tom Evans under Stans, or George Christian under Connally.

The question is whether you want to expand the list to approximately 50, includinggdeputies, state leaders and, possibly, selected contributors.

_____ Expand thank-you list
_____ Current list adequate

GS:car

November 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Wire Report

The President asked Steve Bull for the following information:

The UPI wire reported at 9:39 a.m. that based on 94% of the precincts counted, the President has received 61% to McGovern's 38%. The total vote was 44,025,652 for the President and 27,374,791 for McGovern. Schmitz had 980,680 and Spock had 69,536.

The wire did not report the total number of precincts.

GS:car

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Post Election
Presidential Telegrams

The Presidential telegrams to the CRP, GOP, DFN Chairmen and VIPs in West Virginia, North Carolina, Vermont, Indiana, Virginia, Utah, Louisiana, Georgia, Texas, Alabama, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, and Florida were sent last night after you approved them.

The question is whether the Presidential telegrams can be sent to the leaders in the other 34 states that the President carried.

_____ Yes, send balance of telegrams.

_____ No, hold telegrams.

_____ Other.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Today Show Interviews

Richard Scammon

Frank McGee interviewed Richard Scammon, who hedged his comments but said:

- 1) The consensus is that McGovern can't win;
- 2) The President will receive a heavy, large majority;
- 3) McGovern will lose because there has been a "hemorrhage" of normal Democratic voters -- Southerners, Roman Catholics, and some Jews;
- 4) The public's perception of McGovern has been one of outside the mainstream. This perception was fixed even before Eagleton;
- 5) The peace moves by Kissinger had no massive effect. People have made up their minds about Vietnam, and they couldn't be swayed in the last 2-3 weeks;
- 6) The black vote for the President will increase slightly, but they remain the most loyal of the old Democratic group;
- 7) The Democrats might lose a few seats in the Senate and 12-20 seats in the House. The Democrats will hold both Houses unless there is an overwhelming landslide of 65%;

- 8) The Youth vote was a dream of the McGovernites. The polls showed that only EMK could defeat the President among youth. There is a tremendous class stratification among youth. The college vs. non-college is stronger than many realize.

Dr. Geroge Gallup, Sr.

- 1) His new book, which is a three volume set of all his polls, is published today;
- 2) "The re-election of Nixon is highly probably", although he would not say "certain";
- 3) He corrected the newspapers' report of 61-35, but emphasizing his allocation of undecided meant his final projection was 62-38;
- 4) Journalists have abused the polls by over-emphasis. The people of the country have become too sold on polls;
- 5) The only bandwagon effect is among politicians who have something to gain from pushing a bandwagon. The people ignore a bandwagon. There is no hard evidence that the publication of polls influence the voters to get on to a bandwagon. In fact, there may even be an underdog effect among voters;
- 6) The old voting patterns are being shattered. The shift of the traditionally blue collar vote away from the Democrats is the most interesting. The reason for the shift of the blue collar voter to the President is the social issue of crime, law and order. Also, McGovern is not popular with blue collar types;
- 7) The people are extraordinarily honest in answering pollsters' questions. Gallup has a technique of determining how people will vote without the trial heat question. He uses issue questions and candidate charisma measurements.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Malek's Canvassing Report

This wrap-up report indicates Malek's grass roots organization has contacted enough voters, either by telephone or in person, to assure the President's re-election. As the previous reports have indicated, California, Connecticut, Illinois and Texas have done the best organization job. In New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the number of "favorables" canvassed was not as high as hoped. However, Malek is confident other compensating factors will assure these states for the President.

Magruder and Malek decided to release to the press the existence of the Canvass Control Room over the weekend. This room monitored the progress of the canvass during the campaign. The resulting AP story was neutral but with a few negative comments regarding the similarity to a brokerage house stock transaction recording system.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Post Election Survey

Clark MacGregor accepted the Bob Teeter suggestion of a post election survey. MacGregor told Teeter he might talk to you about the best way to approach Stans for the money (40,000).

The rough draft questionnaire from Teeter is attached. There are no question on tax reform and alternative budget cuts to stay within the 250 billion budget. Teeter will develop these questions.

The only people who know of the survey are MacGregor, Reisner, Teeter, and Magruder. You may want to discuss the subject with Ehrlichman and ask him if he wants particular substantive issues explored.

Teeter hopes to get your comments, re-submit a final questionnaire, and obtain final approval Wednesday so that interviewing can begin Thursday and Friday. The bulk of the interviewing would be done over the weekend. The wrap-up questionnaires to assure demographic balance would be done during the week of November 13. The results would be available by December 1.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Gallup Pre-Election Survey

The Gallup Organization conducted a 3,500 person survey November 2-4, completing interviews Saturday at 12 noon. John Davies called me at 11:30 p.m. Saturday night to say that the results of the registered with leaners was 64 for the President and 36 for McGovern. Over Saturday night additional computer runs would be made to determine likely voters.

On Sunday morning at 9:15 Colson called to ask for the Gallup results. He said Harris would show a 24% spread. I reached John Davies through his wife at Gallup. He could only talk briefly and said Dr. Gallup had been working with the likely voter figures and would publish 62 for the President and 38 for McGovern. I told Davies the Harris lead would be 27 points.

I reached John Davies at his home late Sunday night. He reviewed the system Dr. Gallup used in determining the final figure released to the press.

1) The original registered with leaners figure that corresponds with the Gallup post-Republican Convention poll (Aug 24-27) was 62-34-4. Davies allocated the undecided 2 to the President and 2 to McGovern to get 64-36.

2) Dr. Gallup on Sunday morning applied a "secret formula", used since 1948. The formula is based on eight introductory questions. Davies would not give me the exact wording but the subjects are: respondent's interest in the election; whether respondent is registered; where respondent is registered; where respondent will vote; how respondent voted in 1968 and 1964; whether respondent will vote on paper ballot or by machine; likelihood of respondent to vote in 1972.

3) From the "secret formula" applied to the eight questions, Dr. Gallup determined that 2,700 of the 3,500 sample were likely voters.

4) Dr. Gallup's turnout scale is developed from these eight questions. He then projected an 80,000,000+ turnout. Davies two weeks ago reported that this Gallup turnout projection is historically accurate.

5) Davies gave his personal projections: 62.1% for the President, giving him every state except Massachusetts and D.C.

An interesting story on Dr. Gallup from the National Observer is attached.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Post-Election Survey

Bob Teeter has submitted a proposal to MacGregor for funds to conduct a post-election survey.

The arguments for such a survey are persuasive. Many new techniques were used in Campaign '72 (direct mail, telephones, issue appeals by demographics, etc.) which should be tested to see if they influenced votes. The cost of the survey is only 40,000, or .1% of the campaign budget. If the New Majority is to be consolidated, a careful analysis should be made of who actually comprises it.

The arguments against the survey are: too costly, Survey Research Center in Michigan will do one anyhow, and the Gallup Survey will conduct a post-election survey.

However, the money from the Campaign is available according to Tom Evans who says there will be a surplus. The other post-election surveys will not have the political focus necessary to be of value.

The hard question is whether Teeter and MOR or Benham and ORC should conduct the survey. In spite of reservations about Teeter's political advice, he and his polling staff have been intimately involved in the planning and detail strategy implementation. They are familiar with what many of the techniques tried to do and should be the ones to test whether the techniques worked. Although Benham and ORC would be more objective, their phrasing of the questions and analysis would not go after the information as well as Teeter.

Recommendation:

That you approve a post-election, nationwide field survey conducted by Teeter and MOR subject to questionnaire approval by you.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comments _____

Teeter's proposal is attached.

GS/jb

November 3, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12958, Section 6-102

By Sn. Case, FMS, Date 1-15-80

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT:

Post Election Analysis

In addition to the internal analysis of the campaign you asked for I think that our post election analysis should contain two other components. The most important of these is a post election survey. While post election data is useful after most campaigns there are several reasons why I think it is important for this one.

- 1) We have spent something close to 45 million dollars this year. We put a great deal more emphasis on techniques such as mail and telephone than has been done in previous presidential campaigns. We should find out which of the techniques were effective and why.
- 2) It appears that this campaign is going to create some significant new voting patterns. We should find out what the important factors were in attracting these new voters and how we can keep them.
- 3) The 18 year old vote brought a large new segment of voters into the electorate. We should find out what affected them and how to approach them in the future.
- 4) The campaign and the election undoubtedly have had an effect on the mood of the country, the issue structure, and the perception of the President and the administration. Data on the President and the issues would be useful to him and the White House staff in planning the Inaugural, their congressional proposals, and the staffing of the second administration.

The basic element of such a study should be a national sample of at least 1000 personal interviews.

Along with this national poll, it would also be useful to sample a few precincts where our campaign was active organizationally and with the mail and telephone programs.

The general areas this study would cover are:

- National issue structure
- Perception of the candidates
- Perception of the campaign
- Sources of information
- Impact of campaign techniques -- advertising, mail, telephone
- Key elements of voting decisions
- Timing of voting decisions
- Expectations of a second Nixon administration

This project would cost \$40-50,000 which represents .1% of the total budget for evaluation.

Also, MOR is going to do three or four state after election panel studies for their own use. These could be tied to the national study to give us a comparison of some of the key states and the national data. They are definitely going to do Michigan and will pick other states on the day after the election.

We need a decision on the national poll by Sunday or Monday to begin interviewing immediately after the election. If you approve it, I will draft a questionnaire for you this weekend; we can finalize it on Wednesday, and begin interviewing Friday or Saturday.

The second component I think should be added to our post election analysis is a detailed voting analysis to see where we did change voting patterns. A preliminary analysis can be done as soon as we get county returns. A more detailed analysis will have to wait until precinct data is available. This will undoubtedly be at least the first of the year. If you agree with this part of the proposal, I will prepare a detailed description of the analysis that should be done after the election.

It would be a mistake for us to close down the campaign and not have our evaluation include an analysis of the actual result.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Election Night Telegrams

Roland Elliott has draft telegrams to be sent to the Re-Elect Chairmen, GOP Chairmen, and Finance Chairmen. Copies are attached.

Elliott will deliver these telegrams to Western Union as soon as you clear the texts. At Western Union they will be held on Election Night until Elliott calls his White House contact and clears them for sending. Elliott will only clear a state's set of telegrams to be sent when I personally call him. Elliott will not rely on network or any other indication that the state has gone over the top for the President. The same control will be established for the telephone girls calling the message to the victory parties.

The delay in the Labor and DFN lists and telegram drafts is attributable to Colson not having the time yet. He says he will get the materials to Elliott today after you leave for California.

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S
SUBJECT: TV and Radio Buys

This memorandum summarizes the purchases of TV and radio times for Saturday, November 4, through Tuesday, November 7. Included are the currently planned subjects with notations regarding objections by MacGregor.

You may want to review the entire situation with him at your 10 a.m. meeting.

Television - Election Eve (See chart at Tab A)

ABC - 8:30-9:00 p.m. The CRP owns this 1/2 hour opposite McGovern. The Connally 1/2 hour is currently planned. MacGregor would not know the Connally 1/2 hour is planned unless you have told him because Chapin and I have decided to withhold the content of all Election Eve programming from 1701.

ABC - 11:30-11:35 p.m. The President's 5 minute taped message would be run after the football game. The CRP has this time locked.

NBC The CRP currently owns the 5 minute spot (8:55-9:00 p.m.), which follows McGovern's 55 minutes. You originally indicated that the Connally "6 Presidents" 5 minutes should be run. The CRP also owns 9:00-9:30 p.m. The President's main Election Eve 1/2 hour would run from 9:00-9:30 p.m. The President's 5 minute message at 9:00 p.m. would be followed by a program to be developed by Chapin and approved by you. Bill Taylor, the November Group's Creative Director, has submitted a memorandum attached at Tab B, which argues persuasively for running "Nixon the Man". Taylor has prepared a 25 minute version excluding Chapin among others.

MacGregor called me after I asked Joanou to purchase this additional NBC 1/2 hour. MacGregor emphasized that he is Campaign Director and should make these decisions. I told him that I was just doing the procedural, staff work on Friday afternoon before the network personnel disappeared and that he would make the political decision tomorrow during his 10 a.m. meeting with you.

CBS - 10:55-11:00 p.m. The President's message is currently scheduled to be run after the Bill Cosby Show. The CBS technicians have struck. Colson recommends waiting until Monday before deciding whether the President's 5 minutes should be cancelled.

Negotiations with CBS have terminated based on a discussion you had with Colson from AFO.

Radio

Saturday, November 4 The President's recorded Foreign Policy radio address will be aired on CBS and Mutual at 12:06:40. It will not be aired on NBC.

Sunday, November 5 The President's Ten Goals radio speech will be broadcast from the Western White House at 4:40:10 PST, 5:40:10 MST, 6:40:10 CST, and 7:40:10 EST. Originally, NBC and CBS and Mutual had cleared 4:45 PST, but NBC called back to say they could only clear 13 minutes and 55 seconds, and the only available time within the 4:30-5:00 time frame was 4:40:10.

Monday, November 6 The President's Foreign Policy radio speech, on Saturday, November 6, will be re-broadcast at 9:07 PST, 10:07 MST, 11:07 CST and 12:07 EST on NBC, CBS and Mutual.

Tuesday, November 7 It is contrary to CBS and NBC rules to permit campaign advertising on Election Day. However, Mutual will sell two separate time segments (11:05:10 and 3:05:10 EST) for a re-broadcast of the President's November 2, 25 minute TV/radio address. MacGregor has reservations about the adviseability of running the President's speech on Election Day and being criticized for violating the law in certain states. Mutual, however, will not broadcast the President's speech in those states where it is illegal to campaign on Election Day.

cc: Dwight Chapin

ELECTION EVE

Network TV Schedule As Of
11/3 -- 5 pm

| | 7:30-8 pm | 8-8:30 pm | 8:30-9 pm | 9-9:30 pm | 9:30-10 pm | 10-10:30 pm | 10:30-11 pm | 11-11:30 pm |
|-----|-----------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------|---|-------------|---------------|
| ABC | LOCAL | AIP (25 min) Com. Party (5 min) | CRP (30 min) | | | NFL Football (New England vs Baltimore Colts) | | |
| CBS | LOCAL | | Guns Smoke | Lucy | Doris Day | Bill Cosby | | Local News |
| NBC | LOCAL | | Democrats (55 min) | | CRP (30 min) | NBC Monday Movie (Possible Change) | | Local News |

11:30-11:55 (app)
CRP (5 min)
Movie
Tonight

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... ..

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ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

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.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Polling Demographic Analysis

Benham has nothing to add to his comments on the October 27-29 ORC poll, and his comments on the October 31-November 1 poll are too brief to be useful.

A review of the last four ORC polls, recent Harris data, and conversations with Davies of Gallup developed these comments:

1) The most substantial drop in the President's trial heat support is among the union families/manual workers. According to Gallup and ORC data, this is probably the result of union leaders' pressure on their rank and file to vote the straight Democratic ticket. According to Teeter, a shift of 1% in the President's handling of Vietnam directly influences 1/2% of his trial heat total. The union families have not shifted from their 48-54% approval of the President's handling of Vietnam. The appeal to union families by union leaders and local Democratic leaders must be on the basis of pocket-book issues. Yet according to Davies at Gallup the wild economic schemes of McGovern frighten the labor groups.

The Action Step should be for Colson to review the Meany radio speech scheduled for this weekend. As of November 3, Colson had not reviewed the Meany speech.

2) The President has also had fluctuating support among the 18-24 year old group. Teeter and Dailey would argue that this is attributable to the no amnesty stand that has been pushed hard lately. However, the ORC trend

chart on approval of Vietnam indicates that the President has received fluctuating support on Vietnam handling also. This may be the result of the uncertainty of the peace negotiations and Kissinger's publicity. Bill Brock and Ken Rietz argue that the President's amnesty stand is having no effect. Instead, any drop in the President's support is attributable to a gradual move away from the President due to "being turned off by any campaign." They are not going to McGovern.

3) The increase in the President's trial heat standing in the Midwest is statistically significant. The Midwest has now moved to a position of equality in support of the President. However, the increase in McGovern's support in the West is also statistically significant. It may be the result of his heavy campaigning there last week.

4) Finally, the increase in the President's trial heat standing among liberals is surprisingly not directly attributable to his improved rating on handling Vietnam. Instead, the liberals' support of the President as measured by trial heats seems to be a result of their leaving McGovern.

The entire demographic package from the National Telephone Survey #6 is attached.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Election Night Telegrams

You asked for a plan to enable the White House to send Western Union wires to the Re-Elect Chairmen, Republican Chairmen, DFN Chairmen, Finance Chairmen, Labor Chairmen, and key national and state people as soon as each state goes over the top. The wires are to be personalized. The plan being implemented is:

- 1) Re-Elect Chairmen lists with election night addresses cleared by Malek have been sent to Ray Price (Gergen and Elliott);
- 2) Republican Chairmen lists with election night addresses cleared by Dent have been sent to Ray Price (Gergen and Elliott);
- 3) Finance Chairmen lists cleared by Tom Evans and Lee Nunn for Stans have been sent to Price (Gergen and Elliott);
- 4) General drafts, to be personalized, have been prepared by Elliott and are attached;
- 5) Western Union will receive cleared telegrams beginning Saturday morning. They will be typed over the weekend so they can go out over a set aside Western Union line. As each state goes over, Elliott will call the White House contact at Western Union and authorize him to send the pre-typed and pre-cleared telegrams;
- 6) The text of selected telegrams will be called to victory celebration headquarters in various states. The girls making the calls will be under Elliott's direction. This will enable the various recipients to refer to their telegram from the President at the victory parties.

The main snag in the plan is getting Colson to clear the key national people list, the DFN list, and the labor list. Dick Howard has all of them assembled, but Colson will not have the time to review them until late tonight. He will also review the texts of the most important telegrams.

GS/jb

GS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: DAVE GERGEN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Election Night Telegrams

Pursuant to our conversation, would you have wires drafted to be sent to the following groups on Election Night, November 7, as soon as the state goes over the top and is conceded for the President:

50
200

- 50 -1. Re-Elect Chairman
- 50 -2. Republican Chairman
- 114 -3. Democrats for Nixon Chairman
- 100 -4. Finance Chairman
- 12 -5. Labor Chairman

*Personalized by ft +
Responab.*

Howard

Lists of these groups are being assembled by Malek, Dent, and Howard, respectively. Also, Colson will prepare a list of key national people, such as FitzSimmons, who should receive telegrams as soon as the election is determined.

150

The important thing in terms of the drafting that your people must do is that these wires should be personalized. For instance, the wire to Mayor Rizzo should say how much we appreciate the great showing in Philadelphia, etc.

The deadline on this project is Friday, November 3 at 12 noon, so that all of the lists can be double-checked, reviewed and compared with the individualized drafts. The individuals supplying the lists have been asked to have the lists to you by Thursday at noon.

If you have any problems or questions, please call, as the goal is to have all of these telegrams approved and ready to roll on an instant's notice Tuesday evening. Will you check with the Telegraph Office to make sure that arrangements have been made for the pre-typing and transmission capability with Western Union.

Thank you.

cc: Harry Dent — location of Celebrations | — Phone Numbers
Dick Howard — locations of Celebrations |
Fred Malek —

Need ap drafts to WU on Mon,
Roland will call WU
as each st goes over +
telegr's released by names.

WU — 6 AM draft.
System to call text to Celebration.
Phone numbers for Celebration.

AS
Place in the
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a set of
p. 10/30/72

ACTION MEMO

We need a plan set up now and implemented immediately to have wires go out from the President to our re-elect chairmen, the Republican Chairmen, and the Democrat for Nixon Chairmen in each state, to be transmitted instantly as soon as that state goes over the top and is conceded for the President. These should all be written out now, and we should cover them to quite a few people.

Malek
- Jones
- Dale
Tom re
DFN
Delivery
addresses
Price

Some should go to - additional wires should also go to our Finance Chairmen, or Labor Chairmen, and any other key people we have in each state.

Evans

We should also be prepared with a set of wires to go to the key national people such as Fitzsimmons, etc., as soon as the national election is determined.

Colson

These should be personalized. For instance, the wires to Rizzo should say how much we appreciate the great showing in Philadelphia, etc. These can all be worked out now and set up ready to roll on an instant's notice Tuesday evening.

HRH
10/30/72

①

ELECTION NIGHT TELEGRAM TO STATE RE-ELECT CHAIRMEN

THE RESULTS JUST IN FROM _____ GIVE ALL OF US
CAUSE FOR CELEBRATION. TONIGHT'S VICTORY IS DUE IN
GREAT MEASURE TO THE OUTSTANDING EFFORTS OF YOU AND
YOUR FELLOW CAMPAIGNERS. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE _____
RE-ELECTION COMMITTEE, YOU HAVE SET A VIGOROUS AND
DETERMINED PACE, AND I WANT TO EXPRESS MY PERSONAL
THANKS TO YOU AND ALL WHO WORKED SO HARD FOR SUCCESS.
CONGRATULATIONS!

RN

ELECTION NIGHT TELEGRAM TO STATE GOP CHAIRMEN

THE RETURNS JUST ANNOUNCED FOR _____ GIVE ALL OF US REASON FOR CELEBRATION. AS CHAIRMAN OF OUR PARTY IN _____, YOU CAN TAKE SPECIAL SATISFACTION IN TONIGHT'S VICTORY FOR THE DEDICATED LEADERSHIP YOU HAVE GIVEN TO OUR CAUSE. I HOPE YOU WILL CONVEY MY PERSONAL APPRECIATION TO YOUR FELLOW WORKERS WHOSE OUTSTANDING EFFORTS CONTRIBUTED SO MUCH TO OUR SUCCESS. MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS TO ALL OF YOU!

RN

ELECTION NIGHT TELEGRAM TO DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON CHAIRMEN

THE LATEST ELECTION RESULTS FROM _____ GIVE US
GOOD REASON FOR CELEBRATION TONIGHT. THIS IS A WIN
FOR ALL OF US, AND I KNOW YOUR LEADERSHIP AS CHAIRMAN
OF THE DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON IN _____ HAS ADDED
SUBSTANTIALLY TO OUR MARGIN OF VICTORY. I AM DEEPLY
GRATEFUL FOR THE SPECIAL ROLE YOU PLAYED, AND I HOPE
YOU WILL CONVEY MY WARMEST THANKS AND CONGRATULATIONS
TO YOUR FELLOW WORKERS WHO CAMPAIGNED SO TIRELSSLY
DURING THESE MANY WEEKS.

RN



ELECTION NIGHT TELEGRAM TO STATE & REGIONAL FINANCE CHAIRMEN

ALL OF US HAVE REASON TO BE DELIGHTED WITH THE ELECTION RETURNS JUST REPORTED FROM _____ . CERTAINLY, MUCH OF THE CREDIT FOR OUR SUCCESS TONIGHT GOES TO YOU AND YOUR SUPERB STAFF. AS FINANCE CHAIRMAN FOR _____ , YOU HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO TAKE OUR MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN VOTER, AND I AM DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR YOUR SPECIAL EFFORTS WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED SO MUCH TO THIS VICTORY. CONGRATULATIONS!

RN

5

ELECTION NIGHT TELEGRAMS TO LABOR CHAIRMEN

ALL OF US CAN CELEBRATE THE ELECTION RETURNS JUST IN
FROM _____, BUT YOU SURELY DESERVE A SPECIAL
WORD OF CONGRATULATIONS. AS LABOR CHAIRMAN FOR _____,
YOUR LEADERSHIP IN CARRYING OUR MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN
WORKINGMAN CONTRIBUTED SUBSTANTIALLY TO OUR MARGIN OF
VICTORY. I AM DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR YOUR TIRELESS
EFFORTS DURING THESE PAST WEEKS, AND I HOPE YOU WILL
CONVEY MY PERSONAL APPRECIATION TO YOUR FELLOW WORKERS
FOR THE KEY ROLE THEY PLAYED IN THE CAMPAIGN.

RN

7

ELECTION NIGHT TELEGRAM TO KEY NATIONAL FIGURES

THE ELECTION RETURNS COMING IN FROM AROUND THE NATION
GIVE ALL OF US CAUSE FOR CELEBRATION, BUT I PARTICULARLY
WANTED TO CONVEY MY APPRECIATION TO YOU FOR THE SPECIAL
ROLE YOU PLAYED IN MAKING TONIGHT'S VICTORY POSSIBLE.

(Personalized fill-in language to fit the VIP and his
or her contributions to the campaign)

RN

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Advertising

After the meeting with you and Chapin on the Election Eve TV purchases, I contacted Peter Dailey. He will implement your request for the best 1/2 hour (9:30-10, 10-10:30, 11:30-11) on CBS and the purchase of additional 5 minute spots on the other networks to carry the President's address.

However, Dailey recommends a reconsideration of the cancellation of the ABC and NBC buys. He argues that based on the attached diagram of the TV networks on Election Eve the President's 5 minute message could appear simultaneously on NBC and ABC at 8:55, just before the football game and movie. The President's 5 minute on ABC could be "shielded" from the AIP and Communist Party 1/2 hour (8-8:30) by running the President's documentary. On NBC, although the President would follow the McGovern 5, Dailey believes the ratings would be high because people would be tuning in for the movie.

Colson suggests what Chapin and I consider a better use of the ABC 1/2 hour (8:30-9 p.m.) -- re-run the Connally 1/2 hour. It doesn't matter that he follows the AIP and Communist Party and he will receive the largest audience as people begin tuning in the football game at the conclusion of his remarks.

That would result in an Election EVE 1/2 hour of the President and his documentary on CBS in one of the three time segments: 9:30-10, 10-10:30, or 10:30-11. Dailey

is pushing hard to pre-empt Doris Day (9:30-10) but is only slightly optimistic. The President's 5 minute message would also be on ABC from 11:30-11:35 following the football game. The message would not be on at 8:55-9 following McGovern on NBC.

Recommendations:

- 1) That the Connally 1/2 hour go on ABC 8:30-9;
- 2) That the NBC 5 minute spot after McGovern carry the "China" message;
- 3) That the President's 1/2 hour would be on CBS between 9-9:30, 9:30-10, or 10-10:30;
- 4) That the President's 5 minute message follow the football game on ABC.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comments _____

You May want to discuss this schedule at the Political Meeting.

Colson does not believe it would be wise to force ABC to carry the President's November 2 address but wants to discuss this personally with you.

cc: Dwight Chapin

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: California Endorsements

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 memorandum.

A check with Nofziger 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.

Nofziger 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. Nofziger 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.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: Harry S. Dent 
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ENDORSEMENTS

California State GOP Chairman, Putnam Livermore, has urged that we send telegrams of endorsement to the following Assemblymen who are in very close and critical races:

CLARE BERYHILL
P.O. Box 3349
Modesto, California 95353

KEITH MILLER
16525 E. Whittier Blvd.
Whittier, California 90603

GARY ANTOLININI
1049 4th Street
Santa Rosa, California 95404

WILLIAM DANNEMEYER
9254 W. Katella Street
Anaheim, California 92804

TED LONG
861 San Bruno Avenue
San Bruno, California 94066

ROBERT HUNTER
3636 University Avenue
Riverside, California 92502

DON MacGILLIVRAY
821 State Street
Santa Barbara, California 93102

RON DeIPRINCEPE
7244 Clairemont Mesa Blvd.
San Diego, California 92111

JOHN CONLAN
528 South A Street
Oxnard, California 93030

Republicans are only two seats from controlling the Senate and six in the Assembly. Control of the California Legislature would be a tribute to the President in this election.

Endorsement of local candidates

STRAIGHTWIRE-- _____ (date) _____

[Message is designed to be sent to someone other than
the candidate - to be read at rallies and/or excerpted
for ads]

Best wishes to (name of candidate) in his/her race for
(the State Assembly/Senate, etc.). The people of
(California's Fifth District, etc) deserve the finest possible
representation in (Sacramento), and you have a candidate
whose record of accomplishment and devotion to duty are a credit
to the Republican Party and merit the support of all our citizens.
Let's get out the vote on November 7 and demonstrate our
commitment to good government by electing (name of candidate)!

RICHARD NIXON

RN:MAAllin:RLE:

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Ehrlichman Access to
Teeter Poll Briefings

Tod Hullin called asking for copies of the Teeter polling summary submitted only to you before Presidential trips. Hullin also asked for a copy of our recent Washington poll. Hullin had the dates the poll was conducted but would not disclose how he learned of the existence of the Teeter documents or the Washington poll.

The question is whether you now want to submit certain Teeter information to Ehrlichman.

Recommendations:

1) That you authorize a copy of the Washington poll to Ehrlichman.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

2) That you do not authorize copies of the Teeter poll analyses for Presidential visits to go to Ehrlichman.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: California Field Poll

Nofziger called with the California Field Poll which will show the President at 49, McGovern at 35, others at 2, and undecided at 14. Nofziger does not know the exact polling dates but thinks they were last week. The last Field Poll was conducted September 29-October 6 and was 50-36-14.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Advertising

MacGregor obtained 80,000 from Stans for the November Group to purchase 60-second TV spot ads in Portland; Seattle; Tacoma; Spokane; Minneapolis/St. Paul; Charleston, West Virginia; Providence, Rhode Island; and Mitchell, South Dakota. The content will be all DFW attack (Welfare, Turnaround, Defense). However, MacGregor also wants to run a new attack ad. It is a split screen explanation of the differences between the President and McGovern on Vietnam. You have not seen this tape which is in my office.

_____ Haldeman to see new Vietnam TV spot at
_____ 5:30 (President to Dr. Riand)
_____ Other
_____ Haldeman need not see new Vietnam TV spot.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Detroit News Poll

Bob Teeter called with the tentative figures for the Sunday, November 5 Detroit News poll based on interviewing October 30-November 1. The figures are approximately 49 for the President and 42 for McGovern. The last Detroit News poll had the President at 50 and McGovern at 37.

Teeter discussed the results with his partner, Fred Currier, who supervised the polling done by MOR. Teeter's view is that the drop is not due to Democrats returning to the fold, but rather the upper middle income ticket splitter people who may have concerns about Watergate.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

November 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Election Eve

Peter Dailey called regarding the Election Eve alternatives:

1) Purchase the NBC 5 minutes after McGovern from 8:55-9:00. If the President decides against going on, the China, Russia, or other 5 minute CRP ad could be run;

2) Purchase the ABC 1/2 hour from 8:30-9:00 EST, 7:30-8:00 CST and 9:30-10:00 PST which the Democrats have cancelled. This would cost 39,000. The program could be either a created event or a documentary plus the President's 5 minute election eve address;

3) Purchase the CBS 5 minutes at 10:55-11:00 p.m. (following Bill Cosby). CBS will not participate in any straight three network one-time buy unless the President uses Section 315, which Dailey opposes;

4) CBS would also sell a full 1/2 hour but at an 80,000 cost because Bill Cosby would be pre-empted;

Dailey placed an urgent call to Clark MacGregor, who agreed with the 5 minute buy on NBC (after McGovern); the 5 minute buy on CBS (after Bill Cosby); and the 1/2 hour on ABC. Dailey will proceed with these purchases but would negotiate out if you disagree.

Peter Dailey strongly recommends against a Frank Sinatra Special pushed in opposite McGovern. He believes it is too expensive, too tricky, and not becoming of the Presidency.

GS/jb