

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>
27	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of Republican Senators up for re-election in 1972. 1 pg.
27	3	11/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Note written by Strachan reminding him to call Mitchell on November 24. 1 pg.
27	3	11/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a Friends of Richard Nixon Seminar. 1 pg.
27	3	11/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a meeting between RN and Massachusetts Governor Sargent. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.

<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>
27	3	10/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From unknown to Strachan RE: attached information for Strachan to handle. 1 pg.
27	3	10/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Parker RE: preparations for RN's possible meeting with Governor Sargent. 1 pg.
27	3	10/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Mitchell to Chapin RE: Governor Sargent's political support of RN for the 1972 campaign. 1 pg.
27	3	10/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: appointing Tom Reed as the Director of Targeted Communications for the CRP. 2 pgs.
27	3	10/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: the use of Tom Reed for direct mail and telephone campaigning. Information on Reed's qualifications attached. 4 pgs.

<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>
27	3	11/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: the role of Al Abrams within the CRP. 1 pg.
27	3	11/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a primary fight between Senator Margaret Chase Smith and "Monks." Handwritten notes added by Haldeman and unknown. 2 pgs.
27	3	10/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Huntsman to Haldeman RE: the United Republicans of California and their lack of support for RN. 1 pg.
27	3	11/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to various campaign topics, particularly Ed DeBolt. 1 pg.
27	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on various campaign topics, including Senators and governors up for re-election, polling information, and the use of television in the campaign. 8 pgs.

<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>
27	3	11/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: reactions to Salute to the President Dinners across America obtained by Nofziger. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 4 pgs.
27	3	11/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: breakdown of funds raised at Salute to the President Dinners held across America. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 2 pgs.
27	3	10/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan for the Record RE: a meeting involving Peter Dailey, Cliff Miller, and Haldeman relating to campaign advertising. 4 pgs.
27	3	10/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Haldeman's meeting with Dailey. Dailey's resume attached. 2 pgs.
27	3	9/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bill Marumoto to Chapin, Garment, Malek, Magruder, and Strachan RE: Dailey's professional history. White House interview rating form on Dailey attached. 3 pgs.

<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>
27	3	10/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a meeting between Haldeman and Dailey. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
27	3	10/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Haldeman RE: Dole's flagging political morale. Copy of newspaper article attached. 4 pgs.
27	3	10/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Parker RE: RN's policies on endorsements. 1 pg.
27	3	11/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached information. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
27	3	11/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From James R. Galbraith to "Harry" RE: administration participation in a conference. Information on important governors attached. 5 pgs.

<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>
27	3	11/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: an attached weekly report highlighting various issues. Polling information and a news article also included. 24 pgs.
27	3	11/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: support for RN from unregistered voters. 1 pg.
27	3	11/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: a Chicago Black Republican Conference. 1 pg.
27	3	10/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Marik to Magruder RE: information from Charles Armstrong on the Chicago Black Republican Conference. Letter from Armstrong to Mitchell and conference schedule attached. 4 pgs.
27	3	11/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: information on a recent political meeting, particularly regarding the New Hampshire primary. Information on field organization of the Republican Party attached. 4 pgs.

<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>
27	3	11/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: the New Hampshire primary and RN's announcement that he will seek re-election in 1972. 2 pgs.
27	3	11/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to RN's announcement to seek a second term as President of the United States. 1 pg.
27	3	11/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the newly-created New Hampshire Committee for the Re-Election of the President. 1 pg.
27	3	11/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	News article detailing McCloskey's challenge to a New Hampshire RN supporter to debate him. 1 pg.
27	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Selected cost estimates for the New Hampshire primary. 2 pgs.

<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>
27	3	11/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Moore to Haldeman RE: having RN personally announce that he will seek a second presidential term. 1 pg.
27	3	10/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From the Campaign Strategy Group to Mitchell RE: how to announce RN's decision to seek re-election. 3 pgs.
27	3	10/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Flemming to Mitchell RE: how to time RN's announcement with regard to the New Hampshire primary. 2 pgs.
27	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Selected cost estimates for the New Hampshire primary. Handwritten notes added in pencil by unknown. 2 pgs.
27	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Flemming to unknown RE: legal ramifications of dual entry in the New Hampshire primary. 1 pg.

<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>
27	3	11/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From "JDH" to Flemming RE: New Hampshire Primary and Election Laws as prepared by the New Hampshire Secretary of State. 2 pgs.
27	3	11/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Haldeman RE: choosing a Republican National Convention Platform Committee Chairman for 1972. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
27	3	11/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Haldeman RE: choosing a Republican National Convention Platform Committee Chairman for 1972. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
27	3	11/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From "Rob" to Strachan RE: attached information. 1 pg.
27	3	11/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Agenda for a meeting involving Magruder, Timmons, and Odle. 1 pg.

<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>
27	3	8/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: recommendations from the RNC's Delegates and Organizations Committee. 1 pg.
27	3	7/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Timmons to Magruder RE: specific proposals laid out by the Delegates and Organizations Committee to the RNC, its chairman, and its Rules Committee. 4 pgs.
27	3	7/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From the American Law Division of the Library of Congress to the House Rules Committee RE: differences between Robert's Rule of Order and the Rules of the House of Representatives. 5 pgs.
27	3	9/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: logistical information on the 1972 Republican National Convention provided by Timmons. 1 pg.
27	3	8/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Timmons to Magruder RE: hotel accommodations, travel arrangements, and convention seats for the 1972 Republican National Convention. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 3 pgs.

<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>
27	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Tentative agenda for a convention strategy task force. 1 pg.
27	3	10/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: positions in the 1972 Republican National Convention. 3 pgs.
27	3	10/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Timmons to Magruder RE: convention positions needed to be filled and ideal candidates for those positions. 4 pgs.
27	3	11/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Timmons to Haldeman RE: attached information. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
27	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Tentative schedule of events for a gathering to arrange the 1972 Republican National Convention. 2 pgs.

<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>
27	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Photograph	Handwritten notes on the Republican National Committee. 1 pg.
27	3	11/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Magruder to Strachan RE: attached information. 1 pg.
27	3	11/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: information on a film industry meeting. 1 pg.
27	3	11/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Herbert L. Porter to Magruder RE: a meeting of major figures in the film industry and their comments on RN. 3 pgs.
27	3	11/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: draft of a letter relating to a Friends of Richard Nixon seminar. Draft of form letter and list of recipients attached. 3 pgs.

<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>
27	3	11/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Armstrong to unknown RE: a "Friends of Richard Nixon" seminar designed to coordinate efforts between national and state officials supporting RN's re-election bid. 1 pg.
27	3	11/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Secretary of Transportation RE: the role of Cabinet members in the election. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
27	3	11/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Mitchell's desire to use Bud Wilkinson in the campaign. 1 pg.
27	3	11/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Colson RE: using Wilkinson as a campus speaker. 1 pg.
27	3	9/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Strachan to Magruder RE: using Bud Wilkinson in the campaign. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.

<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>
27	3	9/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: whether or not Wilkinson will run for Senator. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
27	3	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: Wilkinson's desire for an expanded role aiding RN. 1 pg.
27	3	11/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle to Strachan RE: discussions on the 1972 convention. 1 pg.
27	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten list of important White House and campaign officials. 1 pg.
27	3	11/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Mitchell, Haldeman, and Ed Morgan RE: busing and its role in the campaign. 1 pg.

<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>
27	3	11/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Mitchell RE: Republican election prospects in Virginia. 1 pg.
27	3	11/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Mitchell and Haldeman RE: the effects of a Wallace campaign on Florida in the 1972 election. 1 pg.
27	3	11/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Mitchell RE: a potential meeting between Dent and three Democratic Congressmen from Virginia. 1 pg.
27	3	11/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Wallace B. Henley to Dent RE: information on North Carolina politics from Charlie Jonas, Jr. 1 pg.

GOP SENATORS UP FOR RE-ELECTION

Hatfield - Oregon

Jordan - Idaho

Hansen - Wyoming

Allott - Colorado

Stevens - Alaska

Mundt - South Dakota

Curtis - Nebraska

Pearson - Kansas

Miller - Iowa

Percy - Illinois

Tower - Texas

Griffin - Michigan

Cooper - Kentucky

Baker - Tennessee

Thurmond - Carolina

Boggs - Delaware

Case - New Jersey

Brooke - Massachusetts

Smith - Maine

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Nov. 22, 1971

PHONE CALL

10:25 a.m.

ATTORNEY GENERAL

(Opr)

G → JSM 11/24

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM :

GORDON STRACHAN

G

SUBJECT :

Friends of Richard Nixon Seminar

Nope

The Attorney General may be calling regarding the Friends of Richard Nixon Seminar that Anne Armstrong is organizing for the RNC. She asked the Attorney General to write several Administration spokesmen urging them to attend.

You noted on my last political matters memorandum that the Friends of Richard Nixon Seminar and the Attorney General's letter was a "terrible idea". This view was relayed to the Attorney General by Bob Reisner who works for Jeb Magruder.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MS
FU
11/12

Administratively Confidential

November 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Request for President to
Meet with Governor Sargent
of Massachusetts

During your meeting with the Attorney General on November 4, he suggested that the President should see Governor Sargent for a "cosmetic meeting" so that Sargent can go out and do serious fund raising for the President's re-election. The Attorney General asked you to reconsider your decision "that the President will not participate in these political meetings".

The information for the meeting is the same as that which appears on the schedule proposal submitted by Dave Parker on October 14. The Attorney General was pushing hard for this Sargent meeting. However, it was not clear to me that you decided to permit Governor Sargent to see the President.

_____ Yes, President to see Governor Sargent

_____ No, President not to see Governor Sargent

_____ Raise this project again in one month

_____ Other

Meeting
Held
11/23

I will re-raise
w/ P

10/20

To: Gordon Strachan

Attached is for your
appropriate handling.

The writing on the cc
of the schedule proposal
is mine — copied from
the original. JF

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

1971 OCT 13 PM 4 26

October 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAVE PARKER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

G

SUBJECT:

Request for President to Meet
with Governor Frank Sargent
of Massachusetts

Harry Flemming talked to Dwight about the President meeting Governor Sargent recently. Dwight asked for a memorandum from the Attorney General. The October 8 memorandum signed with notations by the Attorney General is attached.

Would you keep me posted as to the status of this request?

Thank you.

October 8, 1971

TO Dwight Chapin
FROM John N. Mitchell
Attorney General
SUBJECT Request the President to meet with Governor Frank Sargent
of Massachusetts

The political situation in Massachusetts would indicate that, to be realistic, our ambitions there should emphasize putting together a good delegation for the convention and raising campaign funds.

Governor Sargent has indicated his willingness to assist us in both these areas, however, he strongly feels that in order to be most effective he should have the support of the President. I feel it would be very helpful to Governor Sargent if, in his efforts, he could indicate to our potential contributors that he had discussed these matters with the President. Therefore, would you please see what you can do to arrange such a meeting between the President and Governor Sargent.

*any appropriate time.
official subject to be worked out.*

brief

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

ON HOLD

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

October 27, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: TOM REED

We have recommended Tom Reed to be the Director of Targeted Communications. In that position he would be a member of the Campaign Strategy Group and be responsible for the direct mail and telephone operations in the campaign.

Direct mail encompasses the acquisition of mailing lists, the computer systems to process the lists, the development of letters and brochures to be mailed, and the production operations required to put the finished materials into the mail. Many of the steps may be carried out by vendors under contract, but careful supervision and coordination of all aspects of the program will be very important. With possible limits on campaign spending for mass media, and the fact that the President is already well-known to the public through television, direct mail should take on more importance as a means of influencing votes than ever before. We anticipate that the number of pieces of mail sent to targeted voters will total in the millions.

The telephone operation would include a program similar to the 1968 "Neighbors for Nixon" in all important states. However, once the telephones are available, they can also be used to identify the undecided voters and determine what issues will be most likely to influence them toward the President. Effective follow-up can then be made by direct mail or other appropriate means.

Someone of Tom Reed's political experience would be well-suited to these large scale campaign operations. His experience in high-level campaign responsibility with Governor Reagan in 1970 shows that he can coordinate a campaign organization and achieve practical objectives within given time deadlines.

CONFIDENTIAL

He should be on board, at least on a part-time basis, within the month of November to participate in final planning for his operation.

I have spoken with Tom in general terms about the position, and his reaction was enthusiastic. I would hope that we could arrange for minimal compensation beyond travel expenses. It would be helpful if you brought that point up with Tom in your discussion.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

October 15, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Tom Reed -- Direct Mail and Telephone

Part of our research proposal concerns direct mail and telephone. That proposal is at Tab A. Basically, we propose that Tom Reed be hired to handle the overall direct mail and telephone operation.

Tom is coming to Washington October 28. If you agree with our proposal, I would like to have him meet with you and finalize arrangements with him so he can begin working in this area.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

Under the assumptions outlined above, the 18 states represent a combined probable vote of nearly 60 million in 1972. About 6 million would be contacted by mail or telephone, and the effect on the election would be a shift of about 600,000 votes, or a plurality difference of 1.2 million. In about one-half of the states considered, that plurality is close to the margin of votes by which the election was decided in 1968. At a cost of \$.40 per target voter, and remembering that an average of more than one lives at each selected address, the total cost of the project would be about \$2.4 million.

In the sections below, specific experiences with telephone and direct mail in recent important state campaigns are discussed.

Telephone

There are two general approaches to campaign use of the telephone. One is a "boiler room" operation wherein a maximum number of telephone calls are made to potential voters, either for the purpose of seeking information on their demographics, attitudes and voting intent (as Humphrey did in Minnesota - Tab O), or to communicate to a particular voter group (as Rockefeller did in New York - Tab P). Humphrey used the telephone survey technique to identify and catalog "pro", "anti", and "swing" voters. Appropriate follow-up was made on an individual basis, to cultivate the swing voters and get the pro voters out on election day. Rockefeller worked the ethnic communities in New York City with great success, winning 21 of 29 target assembly districts, which ranged from 2 - 1 to 5 - 1 Democratic and where he was trailing by a substantial margin several months prior to the election.

The second type of telephone operation is in connection with raising volunteers for a neighborhood canvass operation. In 1968, Alan Peterson ran the "Neighbors for Nixon" program, which claimed to have contacted over 40 million people by telephone during the campaign. The volunteers thus recruited were then able to talk with millions of voters in their neighborhoods during the last week of the campaign, probably with a marked effect in certain states. The 1968 operation, which was run largely isolated from the rest of the campaign operation, had a budget of 2.75 million dollars. Alan Peterson has submitted a summary report of the 1968 experience, and we will talk with him in more detail before submitting the formal proposal.

Direct Mail

In California, Reagan concentrated a direct mail program on ethnic precincts in San Francisco County (Tab Q). His vote percentage increased in that normally liberal area, whereas it decreased almost

everywhere else in the state as compared to 1966. Rockefeller (Tab P) successfully utilized highly targeted, issue-oriented direct mail in his 1970 campaign.

The RNC is presently conducting an extensive national inventory of all aspects of direct mail, including all firms and their capacity, latest techniques, including costs and effectiveness; postal regulation considerations; and the mechanics of distribution. In addition, the inventory will evaluate several methods of operating a direct mail firm or project. Their final report will be issued shortly, in time to be included in the development of a final recommendation for a direct mail program, by October 31.

Program for 1972

Specific plans have not yet been developed for direct mail or telephone in the coming campaign. They will be submitted by October 31, 1971, with the participation, if possible, of the Director, as covered in the following recommendations.

Recommendation

That you approve the establishment of a Mail and Telephone Communications organization, reporting to the campaign management (Tab B) and having responsibilities in the areas discussed above.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Staffing

This operation will require a director who understands campaign strategy at the voter level, who can coordinate a high-volume, high budget activity within tight deadlines, and who can relate to other areas of the organization, such as Advertising and Research (particularly voter data). In short, it should be someone who has had meaningful experience in campaign management.

Working for the Director would be a manager for the national telephone effort and one for the direct mail program (Tab H). The detailed staffing recommendations for the total mail and telephone organization will accompany the operating plans.

Recommendation

That Tom Reed, currently National Committeeman from California and campaign manager for Ronald Reagan in 1970, be appointed Director.

Tom has had the desired experience and also has the technical sophistication to develop a strategy for targeting these media to specific voter groups. He would be hired as soon as possible, at least on a part-time basis, to develop specific plans in each area by October 31, 1971.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

*ON
Hold*

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

November 16, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

It is my understanding that Al Abrams is not going to be appointed as head of the Intergovernmental Relations Department.

Do you want me to explore other avenues of employment for him at the Committee?

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

mag

G.S.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

November 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Margaret Chase Smith -
Ambassadorship or Support

Tom Korologos told me this morning that Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R-Me.) is "somewhat upset" about a rumor in Maine that she will be offered an ambassadorship as a means of getting her out of a primary fight with a friend of Chuck Colson's named Monks. If Margaret Chase Smith has been offered an ambassadorship, Fred Malek doesn't know about it.

Larry O'Brien in Portsmouth, Maine helpfully noted yesterday that the story in Washington was that the White House was "pulling a Goodell" on Senator Smith.

Chuck Colson knows Monks personally, thinks he is a good man, and says that Monks would be more helpful to the President than Senator Smith, in spite of the fact that Monks is his own man and a bit of a maverick. Colson has not done anything to help Monks and believes that we should stay out of the dispute. This view has been relayed to Timmons and Korologos.

Bill Lewis, Senator Smith's administrative assistant, wants the President to indicate for Smith before the primary according to Korologos. Lewis mentioned to Korologos "a Delaware primary situation involving Boggs where a challenger was offered a federal job to stay out of the primary". Korologos was unfamiliar with the situation so did not obtain any additional facts.

Recommendations:

That Senator Smith and her administrative assistant, Bill Lewis, be informed by Timmons and Korologos that the President will not support either Smith or Monks until after the primary.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment ask Mitchell

→ Fleming - no endorsement until after primary, no deal.

That ~~Colson~~, Dent, Timmons, Neal Ball, Korologos, and Malek be informed of the decision.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

MEMORANDUM

FC
11/5
RM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

E.O. 12958, Section 1-102

By CP, date 3-25-82

CONFIDENTIAL

October 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

JON M. HUNTSMAN *JMH*

SUBJECT:

United Republicans of
California

It was requested that you note the report which appeared in the October 30, 1971 News Summary that the United Republicans of California announced that it would sponsor a "dump Nixon delegation in the California GOP primary.

Thank you.

cc: Alexander P. Butterfield

CONFIDENTIAL

↳ Ed De Bolt

↳ 200 me.

My. Chat

→ mad not on daily clip best

denting imp in camp

Needs guidance

Cent of \$

Everything

- How imp in camp

1st Reports, 1st profiles, pol bridging

\$4-5000
over course
of yr.

100 - papers +, -, leaning

HGK → been zinging
res die ashamed

mag / mail - biggest user - Reslyton.

Harper - 1/2 of what I receive

Money -

8-10 1st analysis → HGK

Info to get H of more politicized

* →

Q + JSM : De Bolt

G → ~~Adm~~
→ Tim
memo

Private with list
of Sens meet w/P
+ bloey line: Halfield, etc
Haley / great
interview
w/ get papers
w/ in
w/ Halfield

Mac Gon changing
law on TRAF
- to check on E
- get Neuman 10/22
- get it in top
reform, our cong
two in on sens
- sure to pass

Mac Gregor, Bill Timmons, H.

- ① Should receive good Newswell
basis of interview by Mac G
- ② Gal - Til heats - not given but
pop up to 54% - highest since Jan 71
- ③ Cong Candidates - Mac G can't remember
why asked for mby
 - a) Requests similar to Griffin +
how do we do it
 - b) Bill Scott wants to run
for Sen + send → AG
 - c) Howard Baker → referred → AG

H - Nov 9 Dinner - agreed last
Jan + did Rep Clomen + Rollins
as only pol events of 1971
- will do after Jan 1 - a series
of dinners for Nixon Pub
in Key St's

- not much
 - presump not Congmen
pick + chose will be pol,
w/ Ohio - must have talk
- Guest list will be tough best
P wants to do these dinners -
Seize - 20 per St, just
Nixon crew (in Fla - maybe 1/2 Dems)

~~Pol m's
memo → H
on plane
Mon.~~

Feeter -
Wed

Mark - new

G → Polder w/25

Timmons - suggests no Congmen
brief cause real trouble w/
old supporters w/no pur

H - Ill - pur in Ill + not have
Percy + Gov?

- P - crew brat in, ^① pol mtg
in afternoon, then briefed
by F + K on ^② issues, later
P lay on hands, - no pol
or friends not working
^③ quiet dinner - not business

Mac G

- If a Rep Gov up for Re Elec must
include - Cal + NY - Gov's allowed

H - Ind (Whit) - Ill (Ogilvie)

G < not up for Re Ele < Const prohib?

(check)

E → Mac G + T to get one Cong on Gen
as issues guy for it

Mac G - can't write off Cong in Camp

H - other problems

P - no more films for fundraisers
etc, but will do audio tape

but have
done film - w/ little preparation
for Percy + Guffin - not convinced that film
any better.

P will not do pol mtgs &
H agrees good argu Bee
gets into (close port, etc)

P must

~~P will not do anything (help
Rep's ^{opposing Dems} have helped on UN.~~

T - 76, not 40-50

H - T work w/ his friends
to get best of people we
will not oppose.

- Es both Byrds - not opposed by P

P will not do TV clips for Censor
Long when he is running in 72.
G'D tape + then read in name
but only for incumbents, not challengers.

Bob Wilson is hopeless in devel
a list of challengers for they
winnable seats - call it a
CallComm so as not to undercut
Wilson - AG + Pent have
action to get to Ford.

G FU
great moments
of Nixon -
Mae G

P will not do live telephone calls

World heads for Peace

T-H - a documentary film - 3 yrs,
so see things - 16 mm, film + sound
1 a mo - on cool basis then tape

fade out w/ still pic of P
on film (for 3 mins) then
have his audio tape,
or cut off at end.

Audio - have intro - "and now
a message for P - for

↑ transition fr/ film → voice
H can do w/ P + get a lot out of P.
Good crowds, motorcades,
Leonard type reaching out.
"visits of shots"

* Movie version of Leonard's
inserts on Mon - one
Domest + one Foreign

H - w/o "Repeal" etc

H - Wedding - RN + daughter
long bus ↑ Lincoln Room
1 night like ↑

100 w/ P working in ↑
H - P will not talk pol w/
Cong, etc.

H - whole ? of Campaigning -
will build up after Jan 1
probab "won't camp until after
conven + maybe not even then"
probab only 1-2 days a wk.

Memo
→ D.C.
10/26

Mac G -

Pre Conen: do much as done
in 71, several trips -

H → "non pol" ←
P talking about cutting these down
wiles getting out & so probol
may not cut down - gets
local mileage, need
nat'l mileage - good picture,
no more regional briefings
- Opera Homeran Ship P quiet
in SF - mili base away

H - Ill + Ohio - magnotes

Mac G/H - TX, Mo, Fla (the
- must do Jacksonville, Tampa)
- P later to do Disney World.

H - P strong feeling shld not sit
down + talk pol beef P gives
away too much

Mac G - T: - meet prob lead on +
G-FU → Mac AG to meet w/ Gen's up for
He - Elce + wants to know
what you need but P cant
meet pers

H → T - P. does not want to
be at all active at Convention
this is going in prob

T - raise proposal + could get TV

- ① Platform comm + adds
dramatic plank
- ② Tues - nomin by acclim +
have P. put name
of VP in nomin
- ③ Wed Night - accep spe
- big walk rally w/ P
- meet w/ Gov's at breakfast
- T { P stay
in S. P. }

H[↑] - must weigh pol effect
than when "people" see
him looking & acting like cond.

H → T don't commit full party
- must get what makes
good TV.

- Is his th it - better to stay
removed fr/ basic pol stuff?

MacG - don't think it
bec/ assumps invalid

1) Griffin request for issue
discussion would be good.

MacG - Case, Brooke - 2) could position Sen's
12 or so - not to raise party requests
could help P in Key Sts - big 12

T - P go to Ut for Stafford + have
spillover → NH - or

H - have a "non-pol" event in Ut
if Allen sick that week, but
take delegation →

G → Parker for proposal →

H - shld be meet as a grp?

Mae G - no - too pol, bad image

H - make a pt of getting each of

circles - Sen's in for 1/2 hr
w/ P on an structured, non published mtg

- A G - meet 1st + lay on no

no
picture
only Ollie

Hat, Pe, Case, Bro, Sm, Cooper
Miller ← P democracy ag/aim

Roscoe Drum piece - Key Cong → China
↳ "the P has decided to take Key Cong"

↑ wrong

H - after Hall gets back, announce
date + party to cut off

P, Rogers, HAK - office party,

Mae G - happy w/ no MCs on trip

Mae G - other intl travel -

H - probal must go to L.A. +
Eur (in + out of Russ?)

H-T - must include the Dem Congt

H - No Congresses Gov, etc beif they help
or Col ride us - little Mansfield.

in Belie like can. pic's OK w/ Dems beif they
help us. P must be convinced to go right.

H - poll breakdown stuff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

November 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Salute to President
Dinners/November 9, 1971

Reaction to Dinners:

Lyn Nofziger made calls to individuals at several dinners to assess the enthusiasm and reaction to the President's address and dinner in general. The results are:

Chicago -- William Croft (Dinner Chairman)--"The President was great. Hope was terrific. Perhaps 1450 attendees. Good news coverage. We are sending Lyn clippings. Only complaint is that Percy took 8 minutes instead of 2 minutes which ran into extra time and will cost extra money."

Cleveland -- Gilbert Humphrey (Dinner Chairman)--"There were 330 attendees. Excellent reaction to the President's speech. Apparent teleprompter problems as Mr. Nixon didn't look up much. Their big problem is Standard Oil (mad about the North Slope) and Continental Oil (mad at Ruckelshaus). Neither helped very much. Usually big contributors."

Houston -- James Barnes (Dinner Co-Chairman) -- "It was a fine dinner with very favorable reaction from the guests. We lined up a nice evening and it was carried off well. I enjoyed the whole affair and we got just about the number which we expected which is 350."

Minn./St. Paul -- Donald Dayton (Dinner Chairman) -- "It ran very smoothly. Didn't have a hitch. Dominick was great. Good reception. The President got a lot of applause but it wasn't the same as in person. Otherwise it went very well. The VP got some good hands. We didn't loose any people. It was the toughest selling job for fund raising that I have ever done, but most people thought of it as the first of a new year and left with a lot of enthusiasm."

Atlanta -- Bo Callaway (Dinner Chairman) -- "It was great. Went very smoothly. Pat Boone was excellent. We should use him more. Goldwater, unfortunately, didn't speak well but everybody loves him anyway. The President's speech was great. All in all it went without a hitch."

Boston -- Dick Carlson -- "There were 300 attendees. Should net about \$100,000. Audience very impressed by President's talk. Good coverage in Herald today. Have not seen Globe."

Charlotte -- John Walker -- "The President laid 'em in the aisles. 263 attending. 207 paid. 25 newspapers. Front page in today's observer. Romney did stem-winder speech that brought them to their feet."

Miami/Orlando -- Joseph Fogarty -- "We were extremely pleased, everyone had an awfully good time." David Zachman: "It was extremely successful. There were over 350 in Miami and 120 in Orlando. I heard people's remarks on the President's speech that they liked his technique and hoped he would use it publicly -- he spoke from the heart. What impressed me most was that when we sent out 5,000 invitations, we got contributions from people who couldn't make it to the dinner, but just wanted to contribute--\$5 from one man, \$100, \$500, and even \$1,000. We have never had a financial effort in Miami that has come even close to half the money I have in hand to date (\$45,000)."

Nashville -- E. Bronson Ingram -- "We consider it successful. It was as much of a tribute to Tennessee as it was to the President."

New York City -- Bernard Lasker -- "I have never presided over a dinner that was better. The President was right on target. It had all the qualities of a private affair. It was gay, magnificent. The best dressed, best looking dinner ever. It was a giant step toward 1972 and we all feel that President Nixon will be re-elected."

Pittsburg -- Richard Scaife -- "Tremendous success. Highly enthusiastic. From leftwingers to rightwingers--the President was just fabulous. And they loved Bob Hope."

Rochester -- E. Ritter -- "It went very, very well. They had so much enthusiasm that we thought we were there -- it was even better than being in New York! Stans was very reassuring on Phase II. It was a very enjoyable evening. It started a commitment to 1972."

San Francisco -- Ransom Cook -- "It was very successful -- better than anticipated. The crowd was in a very happy mood. It was a first class job. The President's speech went over very well -- very strong, forceful, indicating excellent leadership."

St. Louis -- Lawrence Roos -- "It was the most successful fund raising dinner that Republicans have seen here in a long time. We sold out the facility, with no one but paid customers present. And the representation from civic leaders was unusually impressive. The speech was top notch. We couldn't possibly have sold so many tickets if those attending didn't think we would win in 1972."

Wilmington -- John Remer -- "It was just a flaming success -- we went over target. Secretary Richardson was sensational; we were extremely happy with the President's address. The whole affair went like clockwork. One thing we did for the first time was to solicit guests from groups who haven't contributed in the past, thus hoping to improve communications with them on a larger basis and hoping that they would contribute on a quarterly basis instead of this crash program. We certainly appreciated the help we got from the headquarters in Washington."

Lee Nunn also checked today:

Chicago -- Bill Fetridge -- "A spectacular success; superb; very well done. The show was good and the President excellent. The event went very well and the demonstrations did not detract from the overall success."

Washington -- Glee Goman -- "The President's message was good, though he was not as relaxed as usual. The only problem was timing; the event came too early in the evening."

Dick Howard ~~for Chuck Colson~~ -- "All believe the President and Bob Hope were great. They carried the show, but the speakers were generally dull and disasters -- example: Boston where Gerry Ford and Governor Sargent were terrible."

"At several places conservative contributors were conspicuous in their absence. No specifics available yet."

Bob O'Dell of the RNC reports that Bo Calloway thought it was great; he was ~~ex~~stastic. Calloway didn't think a dinner in Atlanta could be done at first.

There were demonstrations in virtually all cities, but no incidents in any cities. The best cities were not in the South but in smaller places where such fund raising events had never been held.

There were no TV hook-up problems. In fact in Charlotte the technicians were brought on to the stage for applause. The larger projectors really helped.

Pat Boone was very impressive in Atlanta.

Pete Peterson did a very good job in Miami but he came across as a guy at the White House who is really dedicated. Also in Miami, Bill Cramer introduced Gurney, a surprising event.

The Press covered the dinners heavily in all cities.

In Charlotte, Thurmond and Romney were the speakers and Romney was excellent -- the dinner sponsors had a birthday cake for his wife. He was e~~e~~static and his speech was very well received.

In Pittsburg the highlight of the very good dinner was Gloria Loring, an excellent singer and performer.

In Rochester, Stans threw away his prepared text and warmed up to the audience and did very, very well. The event was a high quality affair.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

November 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

~~BARRY HIGBY~~ H

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G

SUBJECT:

Salute to Presidential
Dinner/November 9, 1971

Discussion with Tom Evans, Lyn Nofziger, and Barry Mountain of the RNC developed the following information about the 19 fund raising dinners last night:

Finances:

- 1) The gross received was ----- \$4.5 million
 - a) Senate Campaign Committee automatically receives ----- 400
 - b) TV expenses ----- 200
 - c) Dinner costs ----- 200

Net to RNC ----- 1.75
Net to States ----- 1.75

2) City by city breakdown:

<u>City</u>	<u>1968 Received</u>	<u>1971 Received</u>	<u>1971 Goal</u>
+ Atlanta <i>new</i>	---	100 ++ 100	100 ✓
- Boston	183	- 33 150	500
+ Charlotte <i>new</i>	---	100 ++ 100	100 ✓
+ Chicago	556	700 ++ 144	750 ✓
- Cleveland	214	- 90 125	250
+ Dallas	70	220 ++ 150	200 ++
+ Houston	145	200 ++ 55	200 ✓
- Los Angeles	1 million	- 500 500	1 million
+ Miami/Orlando	43	225 ++ 182	200 ++
- Minn./St. Paul	181	- 16 165	500
+ Nashville	75	200 ++ 125	200 ✓

continued

<u>City</u>	<u>1968 Received</u>	<u>1971 Received</u>	<u>1971 Goal</u>
- New York	907	-57850	1 million
- Philadelphia	92	-11 81	250
+ Pittsburg <i>new</i>	---	165 + 165	250
+ Rochester <i>new</i>	---	90 + 90	150
+ San Francisco	125	200 + 75	200 ✓
+ St. Louis	10	100 + 90	100 ✓
Washington	163	250 + 67	500
Wilmington	113	-1100	100 ✓

Reaction to Dinners:

Tom Evans (RNC) -- The event technically ran very well. The closed circuit TV connection was done well. "I would have heard of complaints, had there been any." In spite of the fact that the entertainers were old, the speakers and entertainment came across very well. The dinner not only raised funds but morale. (Evans was at both New York and Chicago dinners.)

Lyn Nofziger (RNC) -- At the Washington dinner there was plenty of enthusiasm and spontaneous applause for the President and his speech "was better than I have seen in a long time. It was Dick Nixon at his best." There was some distortion on the closed circuit screen due to the cameras being too close "too tight" on him. His voice came over perfectly. Nofziger has not heard any complaints and will make calls today to the cities to check each dinner specifically.

Lee Nunn (Committee for the Re-Election of the President) -- Nunn checked several cities including Houston, Dallas, and Nashville and the "TV coverage was excellent". The only technical problem was Bob Hope's surprise when he was supposed to introduce the President. Nunn says he definitely would have heard of complaints and he has heard none. He will continue to check today for both reaction and confirmation of the financial situation.

AS is doing more checking.

As copy

October 30, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Haldeman, Cliff Miller,
Peter Dailey meeting -
Campaign Advertising

On October 26, Peter Dailey, who had just been hired by the Attorney General to be the Advertising Director for the Campaign, and Cliff Miller met with Mr. Haldeman for one hour to review difficulties in advertising from the '68 Campaign and Bob Haldeman's views about advertising for the 1972 Campaign.

Cliff Miller opened the meeting by saying that his purpose was to introduce Peter Dailey to all the "players" in the middle level strategy group (Dick Moore, Harry Dent, Len Garment, Jeb Magruder, Bob Marik, hopefully Dwight Chapin and definitely Pat Buchanan).

Haldeman reviewed his understanding of the current status - that there will be a "house agency; that it is Peter Dailey's primary responsibility to build a working agency; that the agency will be funded out of Committee funds for the time being but that eventually the Agency will be fully funded from "earned commissions."

Dailey raised the point about the AAA attitude toward the house agency rebates to clients, but both agreed that after discussion with John Crichton that there would be no AAA opposition to this arrangement by the Campaign though there would be some minor legal problems. Miller mentioned the Ahmanson/Galaxie-IRS problems but Haldeman discounted that as an obvious ploy and reaffirmed his view that we would not flout the law.

Haldeman discussed Dailey's biggest job, that of staffing the in house agency. He indicated that Dailey must establish rapport with the AAAs and draw on specific talent pools. It is Haldeman's understanding, confirmed by Peter Dailey, that the agencies would "make persons available at the out of pocket cost" from the donating agency. Dailey reviewed the anchor and loan program that 1) establishes a list of agencies that really want to

make people available, and 2) that the AAAAs can send a letter asking for people who are interested.

Haldeman emphasized that it would be Dailey's responsibility to "look for who you want not for who wants to help us." He emphasized that the three top jobs that Dailey should get are 1) a creative director; 2) a media director and 3) a TV director. Each would then begin work on recruiting their own staffs. Haldeman re-emphasized the importance of recruiting quality people, so that even Doyle Dane - though generally against us - may have an individual that we want and will use.

Haldeman went on to say that the two qualifications for the individuals would be a philosophical and political commitment to our cause and then top quality individuals.

Haldeman said that we would have to avoid automatically the turning to the people that have worked in previous Campaigns, such as Ruth Jones to be media buyer and Newton to be a consultant. He did not rule these people out but just urged Dailey to be careful.

Haldeman directed Dailey to contact Len Garment about who should be visited by Dailey at Fuller, Smith as well as all other people involved in advertising in 1968.

Dailey said he is basically pursuing people which will give him group security and good flexibility. Dailey also suggested that he may keep the key spot as our people, but go outside to contract individually for certain creative groups at approximately 2-3%. He suggested going outside for these groups because he is concerned about obtaining operational level people who have worked together before. Dailey would retain creative control at the top but use operational people outside.

Haldeman agreed and suggested that it would probably be best to have very few people in Washington. Only Dailey's immediate group - not most of the advertising staff - would be located here. This would not only be cheaper but would enable Dailey to retain more effective control, by being the man in Washington.

Dailey emphasized his five goals: security, tight control, fiscal responsibility, maximum flexibility, and return of commissions.

Haldeman said the first thing we should get is a number one business man to ride herd on money. This individual would be Washington based and tough.

Miller suggested that "Campaign Associates" be revitalized but Haldeman and Dailey urged the setting up of a separate corporation independent from the Committee for the Re-Election of the President which would incorporate in Washington or Delaware depending on Dean's advice. It should be an innocuous name such as "Communication Counsellors." The agency should not be closely associated with the President; the association can be done privately by momentos, tours, etc.

Haldeman emphasized that the biggest problem beside financial control would be creative in-put. Other problems that Haldeman emphasized Dailey would face include: the President is the ultimate client who will develop a clear basic strategy, and then as Dailey moves toward implementation he (The President) will change his mind. However, there is a strong feeling in the President's mind that certain themes should be used in the Campaign.

Haldeman made the point that the President feels strongly that he should not use TV spot ads at all. He might do 5 minute mini documentaries, but as opposed to 20, 30 or 60 second spots. He basically thinks that we should do very little advertising.

Haldeman suggested the possibility of a conspicuous non-advertising campaign. Miller emphasized this might correspond with the basic strategy of having a non-campaign.

Haldeman, Dailey and Miller are all agreed that too much "ad work" demeans the Office of the Presidency. Any advertising should be non-Campaign, low key, though informative. What is required is a subtle use of money.

Haldeman emphasized that the worst thing that we can do is to put the President on a par with the other candidates. Miller raised the problem that the thing that is falling into the cement of the bumper stickers/button syndrome. Haldeman said that only the RNC should be involved in this classic women - political troops - distribution of political junk aspect of the campaign. The campaign must be kept separate from the Office of the Presidency. Miller said this will take real muscle.

Haldeman said that he would prefer to get people to wear flag lapel pins instead of Nixon buttons so that the emphasis would be upon the Committee for the Re-Election of our President, rather than the President. The emphasis in the campaign will be peace, progress and prosperity and this should be personally associated with our President. We have to stay away from the "Old Dick Nixon" the campaigner.

Dailey emphasized that we can make the President a hero, but Haldeman said that the people around the President can't see him as a hero. These people must be made to realize that millions of Americans have never seen any President of the United States and he can appropriately become a hero.

Haldeman said that there is hero potential in the trips to China and Moscow, because the networks are more interested in these trips than in the moon landing, and now the Chinese have agreed to ground station and satellite coverage so that color events in the morning from 9-11 will be a prime time, 7 o'clock on the West coast and 10 o'clock on the East coast. In the meantime, the Democrats will be sloshing around in New Hampshire which is such an incredibly degrading place to have to campaign.

Haldeman said that most of the campaign money should be put into organizational work in precinct, stuffing mail boxes, dragging voters to the polls rather than buying media time.

Dailey said what we need, however, is an instantaneous controlled response to current events.

Dailey will join the staff full-time on December 1. He will leave his family in Los Angeles, though take an apartment here.

Haldeman said that when you (Peter Dailey) get back here it is "terribly important that you be included in everything - all strategy stuff - and political meetings."

Miller said that advertising, research and PR would all be included in the middle level strategy session.

Haldeman turned to GS and said that Peter Dailey should attend any political meeting regardless of what it is and what it relates to both at the Committee and here at the White House.

GS:elr

FU - Dec. 1 - Peter Dailey with cc of this memo.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 26, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : GORDON STRACHAN **G**

Peter Dailey's resume' is attached. You are scheduled to see him for 10 minutes today.

Cliff Miller is anxious to join you and Dailey in the meeting.

Approve Miller to attend

Disapprove Miller to attend

Other

Should I attend ~~the~~ meeting whether Miller attends or not?

Yes, Strachan attend

No, Strachan not attend

Other

Attachment

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

PETER H. DAILEY

Personal

Born New Orleans, Louisiana, May 1, 1930

Married: Jacqueline Ann Biggerstaff; five children - Michael Ann, 17;
Sydney Jean, 16; Peter H., Jr., 13; Elizabeth Mary, 11;
Patricia Lynn, 9

Education and Activities

University of California, Los Angeles, B.S. Degree, 1954
Football and rugby, 1951-52-53; Rose Bowl, 1954

Military

U.S. Navy, Lieutenant, 1954-56
Amphibious forces in Southeast Asia

Business

Erwin Wasey, Inc., Trainee to Vice President, 1956-63
Foote, Cone & Belding, Inc., Vice President, 1963-64
Campbell-Ewald Company, Vice President and General Manager, Los Angeles,
to Senior Vice President, Director of Western and Far Eastern
Regions, 1964-67
Dailey & Associates, President, 1968-

Memberships

California Club, The Family (San Francisco), Lakeside Country Club,
Saddle & Sirloin Club, Sportsmen of the South, Chi Psi Fraternity,
Los Rancheros Visitadores

Activities, Past and Present

Founding Trustee, UCLA Foundation
Trustee, Los Angeles Orthopaedic Hospital
Trustee, Villanova Preparatory School
Vice President for Development and Director, UCLA Alumni Association
Director, Big Brothers of Greater Los Angeles
Director, National Arthritis Foundation
Director, Southern California Choral Music Association
Young Presidents' Organization

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN
LEN GARMENT
FRED MALEK
JEB MAGRUDER
GORDON STRACHAN

FROM:

BILL (MO) MARUMOTO

SUBJECT:

Pete Dailey

Pete is currently President of Dailey and Associates, a Los Angeles headquartered advertising firm and is under consideration for the top advertising position for the '72 campaign staff.

Dailey and Associates was founded in 1968 and the firm now has operation in San Francisco, Portland, Tokyo, Sydney, Wellington, London and service facilities in New York.

Some of the firm's accounts include Del Monte, The Bank of California, Beatrice Foods and the Chevrolet Division of General Motors. Their billings are presently about \$14 million.

Immediately prior to his association with Dailey & Associates, he was Vice President and General Manager of Western & Far Eastern Regions, based in Los Angeles for Campbell-Ewald Company from 1964-1967. This firm billed approximately \$120 million.

From 1963-64, Pete was a Vice President with Foote, Cone & Belding, Inc., Los Angeles and also with Erwin Wasey, Inc., Los Angeles from 1956-63 where he started as a trainee and rose to a vice presidency.

He has been active in a number of civic activities including serving on the Board of Directors of The UCLA Foundation; Los Angeles Orthopaedic Hospital; Young Presidents' Organization; Villanova Preparatory School; Vice President for Development and Director-UCLA Alumni Association; Director, Big Brothers of Greater Los Angeles; Director, National Arthritis Foundation; Director, Southern California Choral Music Association.

Peter is 41 years old, married, a graduate of UCLA where he majored in marketing and advertising and won six varsity letters on football and rugby. He was the starting fullback in the 1954 Rose Bowl game against Michigan State.

He is a registered Republican.

Please complete the attached Candidate Rating Sheet and return it to me by September 20th.

Attachments

INTERVIEW RATING FORM

WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF EXECUTIVE MANPOWER

Candidate's Name: Peter H. Dailey Interviewed For: Advertising - Campaign Comm
Date Interviewed: September 17, 1971 Interviewed By: Garment

INTERVIEWER RATING: Eminently /
Qualified / Qualified / Average / Unacceptable

I. General Impression

- Management Skills
- Professional Stature:
- Motivation:
- Professional Competence:
- Relevant Experience:
- Diplomatic Skills:
- Demonstrated Track Record:
- Appearance and Bearing

First rate. Attractive, aggressive, qualified.

II. Response to questions

- Knowledge of area (Factual/Vague)
- Philosophy
- Loyalty

Would give him serious consideration for top spot.

III. Overall Evaluation
(circle one)

Eminently/
Qualified / Qualified / Average / Unacceptable

IV. Comments:

V. Recommendations:

- 1. Nominate for position
- 2. Hold for further consideration
- 3. No further consideration
- 4. Other _____

Please return immediately following the interview to William H. Marumoto,
Room 351, Old Executive Office Building, Washington, D. C. 20500.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**
SUBJECT: Peter Dailey

Cliff Miller called to urge that you meet with Peter Dailey for ten minutes on Tuesday, October 26 to welcome Dailey aboard and give him some basic, accurate marching orders for his assignment as Advertising Director for the Campaign. Miller feels that a quick recap of the 1968 mistakes and general guidelines for 1972 would be very valuable. No talking points have been prepared.

- 10:10 - when P sees VP.*
Set meeting Tuesday morning (Dailey leaves Tuesday afternoon).
(12-12:15)
- Set meeting later, with the Attorney General present
- Forget meeting.

- VP'S SCHEDULE SHOWS PERSONAL TIME UNTIL 10:00.0
- VP GETS 12-12:15
- NAM - 12:15

M

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*A neednt
see
in H/AG
tal pop
of 10/27*

October 25, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON *WC*
SUBJECT: Attached article

Since you were away this weekend, you might have missed the attached article by Paul Hope from Sunday's Star. As I read it, it is based on interviews with two people -- Scherle and Dole. From Scherle I would expect no better but the quotes that were attributed to Dole are simply incredible. If you needed any further evidence that his self confidence is shot and that he is in a terrible downbeat, this gives it to you. I just can't conceive of a national chairman talking this way. He sure as hell is not doing us much good boosting the spirits of the party's faithful, if this is the kind of stuff he puts out.

Farm Troubles Cloud Nixon Hopes for '72

By FARM HOUSE
Special Reporter

Political analysts — Republican and Democratic alike — generally agree that without the farm belt, President Nixon can just about guarantee his re-election chances fading. Most of them also agree that out on the farm belt is big trouble.

Criticism of the administration's farm program — or lack thereof — isn't confined to farmers and Democrats. Some Republican politicians are as worked up as anyone.

"The trouble is," said Rep. William J. Schickel, R-Iowa, "there isn't anybody down there at the White House who knows the difference between an ear of corn and a bale of hay."

The lack of knowledge about a bale of hay isn't so critical at the moment, but corn is a different matter.

Corn is causing out the ears of the nation's breadbasket — the biggest crop in history.

The rub is that corn prices are the lowest since the great depression of the 1930s.

New Program Starts

The administration is so troubled by the problem, both for the farmer and for its own political skin, that it took steps last week to try to reassure farmers that things are going to get better. A new program aimed at lifting prices and cutting the surplus was announced by the Department of Agriculture. But it's a delayed action sort of thing, if it works at all.

The corn crisis is only the latest of the administration's continuing political headaches in the farm country. If it isn't corn, it's wheat, or soybeans, or the price of hogs or beef animals, or a duck strike

that ties up farm exports.

The political problem for Nixon is this: In 1970 he carried all but two states of what is generally considered mid-west farm belt and barely made it to the White House.

Hard Road in '72

Two years later, the Republicans suffered significant losses in the rural areas in congressional and state elections. So if the trend continues in the 1972 presidential election, it's hard to see how Nixon can put together a winning combination.

The farm belt generally is defined for political purposes as that area where voters involved in the production or marketing of grain and livestock affect the political makeup of the states. Eleven states are in this group—North Dakota, South Dakota, Ne-

See FARM, Page A-6

... Kansas, Arizona, Oklahoma, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin and Indiana. (These states will have a total of 103 electoral votes in 1972. When carried all but Minnesota and Arkansas in 1972.)

Democracy's Threat

The Democratic party is likely to lose its majority in the House and Senate in the 1972 elections.

Wilson's great victory was in the Midwest. Sen. Robert Kennedy, D-Ill., in the Senate, and Sen. Frank Lautenberg, D-N.J., in the House, were elected in the Midwest.

At least every week, the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... in Chicago, the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

Farm's Top Priority

Three Republican Senate seats in the West are considered safe -- Jack R. Miller in Idaho, James B. Pearson in Kansas and the seat held by Sen. Mark E. Smith in South Dakota. The GOP also is worried about holding the seat of Sen. Lee P. Jordan in Florida, where ranching and farming constitute a big share of the economy.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

Democracy's Threat

The Democratic party is likely to lose its majority in the House and Senate in the 1972 elections.

Wilson's great victory was in the Midwest. Sen. Robert Kennedy, D-Ill., in the Senate, and Sen. Frank Lautenberg, D-N.J., in the House, were elected in the Midwest.

At least every week, the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... in Chicago, the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

tion is only 3 percent of the total. But in some states it exceeds 25 percent and more and in some congressional districts the vote is controlling.

The White House did not appear to want a full, open debate in the country on whether or not to raise the price of farm products. That was when most of Frank Lautenberg's House votes went Democratic, one for the first time since 1934, and seats were lost in Kansas, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Indiana and Minnesota.

Further west toward the farm belt, his side, led by farm votes, was defeated in Wyoming, New Mexico, Utah and Montana.

Republican governors went down in the West. In Utah, Sen. Frank Lautenberg, D-N.J., in the House, was elected in the West.

After that, the White House believed that it might be possible to get a "farm bill" passed in the House. But the House did not pass a bill in 1970. The House did not pass a bill in 1971. The House did not pass a bill in 1972. The House did not pass a bill in 1973. The House did not pass a bill in 1974. The House did not pass a bill in 1975. The House did not pass a bill in 1976. The House did not pass a bill in 1977. The House did not pass a bill in 1978. The House did not pass a bill in 1979. The House did not pass a bill in 1980. The House did not pass a bill in 1981. The House did not pass a bill in 1982. The House did not pass a bill in 1983. The House did not pass a bill in 1984. The House did not pass a bill in 1985. The House did not pass a bill in 1986. The House did not pass a bill in 1987. The House did not pass a bill in 1988. The House did not pass a bill in 1989. The House did not pass a bill in 1990. The House did not pass a bill in 1991. The House did not pass a bill in 1992. The House did not pass a bill in 1993. The House did not pass a bill in 1994. The House did not pass a bill in 1995. The House did not pass a bill in 1996. The House did not pass a bill in 1997. The House did not pass a bill in 1998. The House did not pass a bill in 1999. The House did not pass a bill in 2000. The House did not pass a bill in 2001. The House did not pass a bill in 2002. The House did not pass a bill in 2003. The House did not pass a bill in 2004. The House did not pass a bill in 2005. The House did not pass a bill in 2006. The House did not pass a bill in 2007. The House did not pass a bill in 2008. The House did not pass a bill in 2009. The House did not pass a bill in 2010. The House did not pass a bill in 2011. The House did not pass a bill in 2012. The House did not pass a bill in 2013. The House did not pass a bill in 2014. The House did not pass a bill in 2015. The House did not pass a bill in 2016. The House did not pass a bill in 2017. The House did not pass a bill in 2018. The House did not pass a bill in 2019. The House did not pass a bill in 2020. The House did not pass a bill in 2021. The House did not pass a bill in 2022. The House did not pass a bill in 2023. The House did not pass a bill in 2024. The House did not pass a bill in 2025. The House did not pass a bill in 2026. The House did not pass a bill in 2027. The House did not pass a bill in 2028. The House did not pass a bill in 2029. The House did not pass a bill in 2030.

But the prospect of a new bill has been a local issue. There have been no new bills in the House since 1970.

Up for Grabs

Republican National Chairman Robert Dole of Kansas finds it hard to be very optimistic about politics in the Midwest. The best he could say the other day was that the area, which used to be a Republican stronghold and was Nixon's in 1972, is "up for grabs" in 1972.

"Farmers don't like 90-cent corn," he said. "While caught in the old box of building surpluses and low prices. It's a perfect storm."

"We can have a dialogue with the farmer and a visit to Moscow and Mr. Brezhnev agreement, and the farmer will say that's good. But they're looking more at prices. It's not a new and better. The farmer is going to vote his pocketbook."

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

Democracy's Threat

The Democratic party is likely to lose its majority in the House and Senate in the 1972 elections.

result and spring in the market being decided with beef and a drop in beef prices.

The major reason for the huge corn crop is that farmers overplanted because of a fear that corn might really cost more than it is now. The price didn't look as if it'd 1970.

Price of the Rise

When the Department of Agriculture ran the harvest rolling in and the price of corn fell, the farmer's margin was cut. The farmer's margin was cut. The farmer's margin was cut.

Secretary Clifford B. Hardin announced in a weekly report that the farmer's margin was cut. The farmer's margin was cut. The farmer's margin was cut.

When the price of corn fell, the farmer's margin was cut. The farmer's margin was cut. The farmer's margin was cut.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

Democracy's Threat

The Democratic party is likely to lose its majority in the House and Senate in the 1972 elections.

Wilson's great victory was in the Midwest. Sen. Robert Kennedy, D-Ill., in the Senate, and Sen. Frank Lautenberg, D-N.J., in the House, were elected in the Midwest.

At least every week, the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... in Chicago, the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

Democracy's Threat

The Democratic party is likely to lose its majority in the House and Senate in the 1972 elections.

said the feed grain program announced by Hardin last week is a "step in the right direction" but he still fears that the administration could be "steering away the White House."

"If we go through the same type of program over and over, we're not going to be around," said the body congressman, who comes from a farm in Iowa.

"I don't want to raise the question of the seriousness of the problem," he said.

Scherle upset protocol when he jumped up at a White House press conference and said the secretary was the one going to do about farm problems.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

Democracy's Threat

The Democratic party is likely to lose its majority in the House and Senate in the 1972 elections.

Wilson's great victory was in the Midwest. Sen. Robert Kennedy, D-Ill., in the Senate, and Sen. Frank Lautenberg, D-N.J., in the House, were elected in the Midwest.

At least every week, the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... in Chicago, the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

Democracy's Threat

The Democratic party is likely to lose its majority in the House and Senate in the 1972 elections.

Some believe the solution should be a "lightning take the heat off the farm" when things go wrong. Some believe the solution should be a "lightning take the heat off the farm" when things go wrong.

Not Willety Man

At one time, one of the farm leaders and Hardin, the farm leader, was the one going to do about farm problems.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

Wilson's great victory was in the Midwest. Sen. Robert Kennedy, D-Ill., in the Senate, and Sen. Frank Lautenberg, D-N.J., in the House, were elected in the Midwest.

At least every week, the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... in Chicago, the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

... the Democratic National Committee has a list of farm leaders to contact.

Democracy's Threat

The Democratic party is likely to lose its majority in the House and Senate in the 1972 elections.

Democratic Chairman Lawrence H. Hays recently rapped the Nixon administration on farm problems.

He was criticizing the president for failing to do an independent study of farm problems and demanding that the Nixon administration, the appropriate farm partners' top officials on farm matters.

Although the Republicans are split on farm matters, they are working on a bill for next year's congressional session.

Some serious shaky

Three Republican Senate seats in the farm belt are considered shaky — Jack R. Mills in Iowa, James B. Pearson in Kansas and the seat held by Bill Carlisle in South Dakota. The GOP also is worried about holding the seat of trailing Len B. Jordan in Idaho, where ranching and farming constitute a big part of the economy.

Dozens of House seats in and out of the farm belt could hang on what rural America will do in the Nixon administration in January 1972.

Remember, the farm popula-

tionwide radio address on the farm belt of American agriculture. He sent a farm message to Congress. The Democratic caucus announced a step up in work budget. The president has a farm message to visit the farm country. The Department of Agriculture got a new chief of public relations. The Republican National Committee got a new chairman from the farm belt.

But the basic problem of income hasn't been solved. Costs have gone up faster than income.

'Up For Grabs'

Republican National Chairman Robert Dole of Kansas finds it hard to be very optimistic about politics in the midwest. The best he could say the other day was that the area, which used to be a Republican stronghold and was Nixon's in 1968, is "up for grabs" in 1972.

"Farmers don't like 90-cent corn," he said. "We're caught in the old box of building surpluses and low prices. It's a pocketbook issue."

"We can have a dialogue with Cuba and a visit to Moscow and a Sino-American agreement, and the farmers will say that's good. But they're looking more at prices than at Moscow and Peking—the guy on the tractor is going to vote his pocketbook."

Dole believes the farm belt is crucial to Nixon's success next year. And he said farm prices are going to have to go up to assure victory there.

Dole, who owns his selection as national chairman in part to his forceful denunciations, draws the arguments of expiating the Nixon administration to Republican audiences in the farm belt. It isn't always easy.

Wishes on 'The Price'

He emphasizes the importance of agricultural independence, the problems, blames the Democrats in Congress where he can, tells them the Nixon administration is deeply concerned about them. But when you come right down to it, he says, "I really can't tell them anything unless the price is right."

Corn, at the moment, is the basic price that isn't right.

The crop of 3.4 billion bushels far exceeds the previous record of 2.8 billion in 1967. The glut has dropped prices in some places to below 60 cents a bushel, which is less than the cost of producing it.

In the business of farming, one surplus is likely to lead to another. Since the price of corn is so low, many farmers may use it to feed a livestock instead of selling it, which could

Dole said the initial reaction to the new program from the farm belt has been favorable.

But the Democratic committee's Nixon said the program will not keep the farmers out of year and probably a number of months in their income next year. He admitted he doesn't think that Nixon doesn't really have a farm program.

'Compromises' Wades Out

Dole agreed that it is "a difficult road" to get the best possible deal for the farmer. It was a road paved with compromises worked out largely by Republicans and Democrats and concurred in by the White House. He said it is a new farm program than before, giving the farmer more leeway to plant what he wants.

Republican Rep. Scherle

user's program is "pretty makeshift" and he blamed it largely on Hardin and a lack of agreement with farm expertise at the White House.

He said that Harold former chairman of the University of Nebraska, is a "liberal" youth "what we need is action."

After the 1970 election, there was a good deal of speculation that Dole would be the best person to lead him, and in fact, Nixon publicly praised the secretary.

Unlike some recent secretaries — Orville Freeman under the Democrats and Donn Tait Denver under Eisenhower — Hardin maintains a low profile. There is some disagreement among Republicans on whether this is good or bad.

Whitaker, who worked for John D. Ehrlichman, says Democratic policy is a geological engineering Department once described him as a "guy but a city boy."

"We need somebody there with a working edge of agriculture," said.

Dole said there was a lot of talk for this year of adding experts to the White staff but nothing has happened yet. He said it was largely "symbolic" since man can't solve all the problems "but I think it is plus."

Exports Also 'a

Sagging exports are adding to the woes of the farm. The dock strike at

Dent Magawden

*cc: Chapin
Stacker*

ADMINISTRATIVELY
CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1971 OCT 7 PM 5 54

October 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR :

DAVE PARKER

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN *H*

For your long-range guidance, the President does not intend to do television shorts for the Senate or House candidates next year. He will, in some cases do simple endorsements that we release, but no films. He will do pictures for incumbents up for re-election, but will not do pictures for new candidates - particularly those who are running against Southerners who are supporting us.

As a further bit of guidance, the dinners for the political groups from the various states are to be attended by the Nixon people in those states, not the usual range of party people. They are supposed to be gatherings of Nixon loyalists in every case.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*H
need
see
9
11/15*

Date: November 11, 1971

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT *HD*

Please handle _____

For your information

*Governor
Projects 1972*

Phone: (202) 484-6620

From the desk of

JAMES R. GALBRAITH

November 10, 1971

*Copy to
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy*
Harry--

Thanks for your help on the Administration's participation in the Conference. The economy panel could well be one of the highlights of the meeting.

We thought you would find this update useful in advance of the Conference.

JRG
Republican Governors Association
310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

KANSAS Democrat Dale BUMPERS

Bumpers is not regarded as vulnerable at this time; no Republicans have yet surfaced as possible challengers and the State Chairman has said there may not be a GOP candidate.

(A - endorsed)
(P - potential)

D - Dale BUMPERS
(Governor)

EDUCATIONAL
VOTE
(1968 or '70)

R- 197,418 ('70)
D- 375,648

Total 609,198

Republican percent of total (RPT): 32.4%

EDUCATIONAL
VOTE
1968

R- 190,759
D- 188,231
O- 240,982

RPT: 30.8%

SELECTION DATE
(P - Primary)
(C-convention)

P June 27, 1972

Run off July 11

(A special convention may be called to change the date)

DELAWARE Republican Russell W. PETERSON

Budget deficit (\$5M) may be damaging to Peterson; of the Democrat contenders, McGinnis (former House speaker) or Tribbetts (ex-LT Gov) appear to be most likely candidate. Republican David Buckson says he may make race as independent.

R - Russell Peterson
(Governor)
D - Earl McGinnis - A
(former speaker)
D - Sherman Tribbetts - P
(ex-Lt Gov)
D - Sam Shipley - P
(PR man)
D - William Quillen - P
(St. Sup. Cr. Judge)

R- 104,474 ('68)
D- 102,360

Total 206,834

RPT: 50.5%

R- 96,714
D- 89,194
O- 28,459

RPT: 45.1%

C (A post-convention primary can be called if action is contested)

ILLINOIS Republican Richard B. OGILVIE

Ogilvie has been on the improve; recent Presidential visits helped. Simon has received Labor endorsement; Walker, the walker, is making waves; Daley "Slate-makers" to meet in December.

D - Daniel Walker - A
D - Paul Simon - A
(Lieut. Gov.)
D - Michael J. Howlett
(St. Aud.) - P
D - Thos. A. Foran - P
(former US Atty)
D - Alan J. Dixon - P
(St. Treas)
D - Matthew Welsh - A
(former Gov.)

R- 2,307,295 ('68)
D- 2,179,501

Total 4,506,000

RPT: 51.2%

R- 2,174,774
D- 2,039,814
O- 405,161

RPT: 47.1%

P March 21, 1972

INDIANA Republican Edgar D. WHITCOMB
(Barred from re-election)

Welsh was a popular governor (1961-65) and will be a formidable opponent with the power struggle among Republican party leaders. Several Republicans are interested in the race, but there is no front-runner at present.

D-Larry Conrad-P
(Secy of St)
R-Wm. Ruckelshaus-P
(US EPA)
R-W.W. Hill Jr-P
(PSC Chrmn)
R-Robert Konkle-P
(St Police Super)

R- 1,080,271 ('68)
D- 965,816

Total 2,049,072

RPT: 52.7%

R- 1,067,885
D- 806,659
O- 249,053

RPT: 50.3%

C (date to be set)

IOWA Republican Robert D. RAY

The potentially bitter Ray-Jepson primary fight may have undesirable backlash in general election.

R- Robt. Ray
(Gov)
R-Roger Jepsen-A
(Lieut. Gov)
D-P. Fransenburg-P
D-Wm. Gannon-P
D-L. Worthington -P

R- 403,394 ('70)
D- 368,911

Total 791,241

RPT: 51.0%

R- 619,106
D- 476,699
O- 72,126

RPT: 53.0%

P June 6, 1972

November 1, 1971

	CANDIDATES (A - announced) (P - potential)	GENERAL/PRIMARY VOTE (1968 or '70)	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE 1968	SELECTION DATE (P - primary) (C - convention)
<p>KANSAS Democrat Robert DOCKING</p> <p>Docking hasn't announced whether he'll run for re-election or challenge Sen. Pearson. Shultz says he'll run; Wells just resigned his FCC post and is about to step into the starting blocks.</p>	<p>I-Manuel Fierro-A R-Robert Wells-P (FCC Comm) R-Don Concannon-P (Former StChrmn) R-Reynolds Schultz-P (Lt.Gov.)</p>	<p>R- 333,227 ('70) D- 404,611 Total 745,196 Republican per cent of total RPT: 44.7%</p>	<p>R- 487,674 D- 302,996 O- 91,113 RPT: 54.8%</p>	<p>P August 1, 1972</p>
<p>LOUISIANA Democrat John J. McKeithen (Barred from re-election)</p> <p>There are 18 Democrats in the primary. Republican Treen's primary opponent, Robert Ross, has withdrawn although his name will appear on ballot.</p>	<p>R-David Treen-A R-Robert Ross (has withdrawn) 18 democrats</p>	<p>R- No candidate ('68) D- 372,762 Total 372,762 RPT: 0.0%</p>	<p>R- 257,664 D- 309,615 O- 530,300 RPT: 23.5%</p>	<p>P December 18, 1971 General election: February 1, 1972</p>
<p>MISSOURI Democrat Warren E. HEARNES (Barred from re-election) Democrat Congressman Richard Ichord surprised the experts by withdrawing. Lt. Gov. Morris is the strongest Democrat but Blackwell has a shot at nomination. Republican nomination will probably be between King and Bond.</p>	<p>R-Bus King-P R-Gene McNeary-P R-Kit Bond-P D-Wm. Morris-A D-Edward Dowd-A D-Earl Blackwell-A D-Joseph Teasdale-A</p>	<p>R- 688,300 ('68) D- 1,063,495 Total 1,751,795 RPT: 39.2%</p>	<p>R- 811,932 D- 791,444 O- 206,126 RPT: 44.9%</p>	<p>P August 8, 1972</p>
<p>INDIANA Democrat Forrest ANDERSON</p> <p>Anderson has announced he will not seek re-election; Lt.Gov. Judge, who probably would have challenged him in the primary, is now a key Demo. contender. Anderson was growing increasingly unpopular, reflected in a mid-August poll. Woodahl is seen as leaning more toward the Senate race.</p>	<p>D-Thomas Judge-P (Lt.Gov.) R-Jim Lucas-P (Hse.Spkr.) R-Robert Woodahl-P (Atty.Gen.) R-Frank Dunkle-P (Game Comm)</p>	<p>R- 116,432 ('68) D- 150,481 Total 278,112 RPT: 41.9%</p>	<p>R- 138,835 D- 114,117 O- 21,452 RPT: 50.6%</p>	<p>P June 6, 1972</p>
<p>NEW HAMPSHIRE Republican Walter PETERSON</p> <p>Peterson is having sales tax woes and may be facing primary opposition again; among those mentioned is the U.S. Ambassador to Spain, Robert Hill.</p>	<p>R-Walter Peterson- (Gov) R-Robert Hill-P (Amb.toSpain) R-Meldrin Thomson-P D-Roger Crowley-P</p>	<p>R- 102,298 ('70) D- 98,098 O- 22,045 Total 222,441 RPT: 46.0%</p>	<p>R- 154,903 D- 130,589 O- 11,808 RPT: 52.1%</p>	<p>P March 7, 1972</p>

Republican Governors Association
 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

NORTH CAROLINA Democrat Robert W. SCOTT
 (Barred from re-election)

Morgan and Taylor are apparently the front runners among Democrats. Hols-
 houser has been busy laying groundwork for a professional campaign.

NORTH DAKOTA Democrat William L. GUY

Larsen is seen as having a crack at the Governorship whether Guy seeks a 5th term or not. Liberal Link would be candidate if Guy bows out.

PUERTO RICO Republican Luis A. FERRE
 (New Progressive Party)

RHODE ISLAND Democrat Frank LICHT

Governor's race will be tied closely to Pell-Chafee Senate race. DeSimone has already started to build campaign organization.

SOUTH DAKOTA Democrat Richard F. KNEIP

Kneip will be hard to beat; there is no apparent Republican front runner at this point.

CANDIDATES (A - announced) (P - potential)	GUBERNATORIAL VOICE (1968 or '70)	PRESIDENTIAL VOICE 1968	SELECTION DATE (P - primary) (C - convention)
D-Pat Taylor-P (Lt. Gov.) D-Robert Morgan-P (Atty. Gen.) D-Hargrove Bowles-A (St. Sen.) R-Jim Hols houser-P (St. Chmn.) R-James Gardner-P ('68 candidate)	R- 737,075 ('68) D- 821,232 Total 1,558,307 RPT: 47.3%	R- 627,122 D- 464,113 O- 496,188 RPT: 39.5%	P May 2, 1972 Run Off May 30, 1972
D-William Guy (Gov.) D-Arthur Link-P (Cong.) R-Dick Larsen-P (Lt. Gov.) R-Robert Melland-P (St. Sen.)	R- 108,382 ('68) D- 135,955 Total 248,000 RPT: 43.7%	R- 138,669 D- 94,769 O- 14,471 RPT: 55.9%	P Sept. 5, 1972
D-Frank Licht- (Gov.) D-Joseph Doorley-P (Prov. Mayor) R-Herbert DeSimone-P (DOT Asst. Secy.)	R- 171,549 ('70) D- 173,420 Total 344,969 RPT: 49.7%	R- 122,359 D- 246,518 O- 16,061 RPT: 31.8%	P Sept. 12, 1972 (Legislature can change the date)
D-Richard Kneip (Gov.) R-Robert Bartron-P R-Gordon Mydland-P R-Joe Barnett-P R-Carl Thompson-P R-Robert Burns-P R-Dexter Gunderson-P	R- 108,347 ('70) D- 131,616 Total 239,963 RPT: 45.2%	R- 149,841 D- 118,023 O- 13,400 RPT: 53.3%	P June 6, 1972

			1968 (1968 or '70)	1968 1968	(primary) (convention)
TEXAS Democrat Preston SMITH	D-Preston Smith (Gov.) D-Ben Barnes-A (Lt. Gov.) D-R. Yarborough-P (Former US Sen.) D-Dolph Briscoe-A (Rancher) R-Henry Grover-P (St. Sen.)	R- 1,037,723 ('70) D- 1,197,736 Total 2,235,857 RPT: 46.4%	R- 1,227,844 D- 1,266,804 O- 584,568 RPT: 39.9%	P May 6, 1972	
TEXAS Democrats' involvement in finance scandals damaging to Party. Barnes is still the strongest candidate. Neither Smith nor Yarborough has announced 1972 intentions.					
UTAH Democrat Calvin L. RAMPTON	R-Byron Fullerton-P (1970 LtG. Cand.) D-Calvin Rampton (Gov.)	R- 131,729 ('68) D- 289,283 Total 421,012 RPT: 31.3%	R- 238,728 D- 156,665 O- 27,175 RPT: 56.5%	Pre-primary endorsements. (With 70% of delegate vote, primary not required)	
RAMPTON would be hard to beat, however he is believed to want to run for the Senate in 1974. If he does he can't run for Gov. in '72 because State Law prevents a Governor from running for the Senate.					
VERMONT Republican Deane C. DAVIS	R-Deane C. Davis	R- 87,458 ('70) D- 66,028 Total 153,528 RPT: 57.0%	R- 85,142 D- 70,255 O- 6,006 RPT: 52.8%	P Sept. 12, 1972	
Davis has not yet decided whether to seek another 2-year term. The outcome of the special Senate and House elections will have some bearing on his decision.					
WASHINGTON Republican Daniel J. EVANS	R-Daniel J. Evans (Gov) R-Slade Gorton-P (Atty. Gen.) D-Martin Durkan-P (St. Sen.) D-Wesley Uhlman-P (Seattle Mayor)	R- 692,378 ('68) D- 560,262 Total 1,265,355 RPT: 54.7%	R- 588,510 D- 616,037 O- 99,734 RPT: 45.1%	P Sept. 19, 1972	
Evans has not announced for a third four-year term, although he is expected to do so. If he doesn't run, Attorney General Slade Gorton would probably get the nod. A recent poll gives Durkan a slight lead over the Governor, however at this point GOP chances in '72 are good.					
WEST VIRGINIA Republican Arch A. MOORE Jr.	R-Arch Moore (Gov.) D-J.D. Rockefeller-A (Secy. of St.)	R- 378,315 ('68) D- 365,530 Total 743,845 RPT: 50.9%	R- 307,555 D- 374,091 O- 72,560 RPT: 40.8%	P May 9, 1972	
Moore and Rockefeller are the only two candidates at this time although Moore hasn't announced whether he'll go for re-election or seek a Senate seat. Demos generally concede Moore would be hard to beat in either race.					

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 9, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Per your request, attached is our weekly report. Only items of information are included herein -- those matters which require your decisions will be separately submitted.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

✓ bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE SPACE

Suite 404, adjacent to the law firm at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, has been leased and is being readied for occupancy by approximately November 22. A telephone system has been installed which will service the needs of the campaign through November of 1972.

CONVENTION

The convention strategy task force has had several meetings and its proposals will be discussed with you on Friday at a meeting with Bill Timmons and Rob Odle.

CAR AND DRIVER

The President's former office steward, Monico Bungato, has been hired as the staff driver-messenger and will begin work November 15. A car has been leased for \$800 per year and the driver (as well as Messrs. Flemming and Magruder) can now be reached through a "Bellboy" telephone system while out of the office.

YAF

Randal Teague, former Executive Director of YAF, was "eased out" of his position a few days ago. YAF's new Executive Director is Wayne Thorburn, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Maryland. David Keene of the Vice President's staff, and former head of YAF, has talked with Thorburn and considers him "more flexible." Keene feels that YAF would be receptive to a meeting between the Campaign Committee and Thorburn to get acquainted. Keene is willing to act as the go-between to arrange such a meeting.

YAF KITS

The YAF kits are in the process of being distributed. However, at the request of the Veterans Administration, the written materials (Human Events, "Conscience of a Conservative", etc.) will not be included in the kits.

MC CLOSKEY

Pete McCloskey issued an invitation to debate Governor Dwinell over the radio on Saturday, October 30, from Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire. As of Friday, November 5, there has been no follow-up from either McCloskey or his staff. We have contacted our people in New Hampshire and they will not respond to the invitation. Also, they have been advised not to use Jack Kemp against McCloskey.

LINDSAY

It has been reported that Lindsay will announce his candidacy after the New Hampshire filing deadlines, and will make his first try in Florida. It is understood that his campaign manager will be Dick Aurelio and that his headquarters will be in New York City.

ELDERLY VOTE

Howard Weber, Senior Citizens Chairman of the Republican State Committee of Florida, will be in Washington beginning on November 8 to help draft the campaign operating plan. He will collaborate with Bernard Van Renssalaer of the RNC. An outline has already been drafted.

Target date for completion: November 30, 1971. (The Executive Director of the Older Voters activities has not yet been selected. Screening of candidates is continuing.)

BLACK VOTE

A draft plan, compiled by the high Black appointees, will be submitted to the Committee within a week. The final plan will require additional development on our part.

Target date for completion: November 30, 1971. (The search is still in progress for the Executive Director.)

DIRECT MAIL AND TELEPHONE

The RNC completed a comprehensive review of techniques, vendors and contacts involved in a large scale direct mail operation. That information will be incorporated in specific strategy recommendations for the campaign with regard to the telephone. We have reviewed the Neighbors for Nixon program of the 1968 campaign, as well as alternative large scale uses of the telephone, based on recent successful state campaigns. Additional work is required to determine the cost and staffing requirements for each alternative and to determine which is likely to be most effective in the Presidential campaign.

Target date for completion: January 1, 1972.

POLLING

Bob Teeter has recently joined the campaign organization as the polling director. He is now in the process of reviewing the operating plan as outlined in the research memorandum of September 30, and developing final specific recommendations and a budget.

Target date for completion: December 15, 1971.

LIAISON WITH THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

In the course of the past few weeks Larry Goldberg has been covering several of the national Jewish organization conventions and the following are some tentative conclusions:

1. The security of Israel issue with a prime focus on the delivery of the Phantoms and a secondary focus on the diplomatic initiatives is the overwhelming concern of the Jewish community. There seems to be general confidence that the Phantoms will be delivered, but there is concern that the timing of that delivery will be used by the U.S. to pressure Israel into negotiating positions and proposals which she does not wish to make. The statements of Israeli leaders to Jewish organizations have been quite fair and helpful in emphasizing the positive side of Administration support for Israel even while continual criticism of the State Department comes from official Israeli sources.

2. General assessment of issues important to the Jewish community pretty much follows the ones described by Max Fisher in August of 1971, with one additional item worthy of mention. The potential legislative program of the Administration which could give aid to non-public schools is of tremendous concern to the Orthodox Jewish community.

The Orthodox movement has about 400 Hebrew Day Schools or almost 90% of the total. Two-thirds are in New York. The Orthodox segment is about one-third the number of the organized Jewish community nationally, and is heavily concentrated in New York. Its leadership eagerly awaits the results of the Presidential Commission on School Finance with its Panel on Aid to Non-Public Education and this is a very fertile source for potential support.

3. Soviet Jewry. Although the Attorney General's initiative on the use of parole authority received wide coverage in the Anglo-Jewish press and was favorably received by the leadership, there is a continuing need on the issue of Soviet Jewry for additional activity by the Administration so that we can build a record.

Although there was some disappointment that one of the Supreme Court nominees was not Jewish, the potential vigor of opposition by many in the organized Jewish community has been diminished due to the acknowledged intellectual ability and competence of both Powell and Rehnquist. There is still substantial criticism of the other names which were part of the public discussions.

VOTER DATA

A candidate has been identified to supervise our efforts in the area of compilation and analysis of demographic and voter behavior data. He could be on board before the end of November on a part time basis. His first task would be to finalize recommendations for the type of data required and the staff and computer costs necessary to prepare and analyze data for the campaign.

Target date for completion: December 15, 1971.

SIMULATION

A recommendation on the use of Simulation as proposed by D.M.I. is in preparation.

Target date: December 15, 1971.

COUNTDOWN '72 RALLY - KANSAS

Our participation on the "Countdown '72" conference on October 30 in Manhattan, Kansas, was a solid success. Since returning to Washington all the principal Republican figures who were involved felt the results were well worth the effort.

The total registration of the three day conference was about 320. At least 150 of these were active members in either YR's, CYR's, or TAR's. Senator Bob Dole, Congressman Jack Kemp, and various Republican State Representatives were present. The young, non-committed delegates were impressed by the Republican Party's interest in them.

Lowenstein's speech twisted the issues, however, he cut up the Democrats along with the President. He mentioned no special candidate and left the impression he has not yet found a candidate to support.

About 850 people attended the rally. The people in Kansas are pleased with the results; they feel they nullified what would have surely been a "Dump Nixon," anti-Republican effort. The Kansas Party got excellent press coverage with the exception of one article released by Countdown '72 complaining that Dole did not give any advance notice that he was coming. Huck Boyd feels this backfired, making people wonder what the objection was to having a United States Senator visit the workshop.

RENNIE DAVIS - EVICT NIXON RALLY AT GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

On October 21, Rennie Davis, a co-defendant of the "Chicago 7" trial, spoke at Georgetown University in an attempt to raise support for the "Evict Nixon" demonstrations planned for the week. Out of an enrollment of some 7,000 students, only 250 turned out to hear Davis speak. This is a strong indication of the growing lack of support for the radical movement on campus. The majority of the 250 who came for the speech were in fact not of the radical background, but they came out of curiosity and were only slightly interested in what Davis had to say.

Davis' emotional speech failed to raise the usual audience response of "Evict Nixon" and the lack of audience support was underscored by those who walked out of the speech. In his speech Davis conceded the President has pacified the young people (i.e. solved the nation's problems), and that this was making inroads to the peace movement support. In a left-handed compliment Davis said never before has the Justice Department and an Administration been so cooperative in arranging the parade permits, etc., that are necessary for mass demonstrations.

The backers of the speech, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, were extremely well organized. Every person in the audience received a button, a newspaper and a flyer urging them to support the demonstrations. Yet, even with this fine organization and a well developed publicity drive, the Coalition failed to turn the students out. The obvious conclusion of the evening was that the PCPJ could expect little support from the Georgetown student body which has been quite active in the three previous demonstrations.

The lack of interest expressed by the Georgetown students seems to reflect the mood of students across the nation, since the number of participants in this demonstration is dramatically lower than in the previous demonstrations.

This would appear to be the first sign of a declining movement. If next May, better weather and spring fever does not revive support for the radical movement, the possibilities for future demonstrations will be very dim. The radical leaders will not be eager to display their lack of support by poorly attended rallies.

Should the peace movement experience another failure in May of 1972, they would be sufficiently disorganized so that their role in the '72 elections would be minor. Their broad base of support among students would be at an all time low. While most of this student base may not vote for the President, it is significant they no longer feel the need to take to the streets and demonstrate against him and his Administration.

YOUTH AND YOUNG VOTERS

The October voter registration information indicates that the trend we outlined in September has continued -- young voters are registering by party in about the same proportion as older voters. The total registration statistics, however, are down because many states closed registration in October.

Following are total registration figures in several key states:

	<u>Number 18-20</u> <u>Registered</u>	<u>Potential</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Florida	59,472	323,500	18.5%
California	87,471	573,900	15.2%
Massachusetts	19,160	154,900	12.4%
Pennsylvania	96,942	586,900	16.5%
Oregon	15,000	109,000	13.7%
Nebraska	3,000	81,800	3.7%
Iowa	6,000	150,000	4.0%

And, college registration, while successful in some areas, has not been a booming success. Here are the statistics from several colleges:

Michigan:

A Michigan State registration drive had added about 7,500 students to the rolls when registration closed October 4, 1971. There are 44,600 students attending Michigan State.

Oregon:

Portland State University had one of the more successful student registration drives. They registered 1,000 out of a possible 8,800 in a two-day period.

Maryland:

A registration drive at the University of Maryland tried out a new technique; it brought registrars from all 22 Maryland counties to campus. 3,623 of a possible 46,500 students were registered.

Tennessee:

The University of Tennessee carried out what was perhaps the most elaborate registration effort. The Student Government Association sponsored a 10-day drive which included free bus transportation leaving every half-hour to the registrar's office and back. Also, an extensive ad campaign was carried on. 1,540 of a possible 30,000 students registered.

During our registration activity at the Univeristy of Tennessee, we conducted a voter canvass. Following are the results from one dormitory. A total of 287 males and females were contacted and questioned.

157 of the 287 were registered.
115 were registered at home.
42 were registered at school.

Of the 287 questioned -
76 were Republicans.
71 were Democrats.
140 were Independents.

When asked Presidential preference -
94 were for Nixon.
75 were for the Democratic candidate.
108 were undecided.

Of the 140 independents -
30 were for Nixon.
32 were for the Democratic nominee.
65 were undecided.
13 had no opinion.

The latest registration figures in key counties by state:

	Registered New Voters		CALIFORNIA Total Registration		Potential New Voters	% of Total New Voters That Are Registered
	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican		
Alameda	28,085	11,253	326,641	158,857	186,857	21%
Los Angeles	257,885	111,742	1,753,229	1,193,254	1,061,819	17.5%
San Diego	53,418	38,924	263,372	260,122	283,404	26.1%
Santa Clara	19,474	11,644	273,850	140,649	170,841	18%
Orange	37,628	37,761	252,590	326,459	217,453	27.6%

FLORIDA

	Registered New Voters			Total Registration		Potential New Voters	% of Total New Voters Registered
	Democrat	Republican	Other	Democrat	Republican		
Hillsborough	7,838	880	591	184,148	32,416	75,364	4%
Dade	25,021	1,790		380,774	79,007	170,026	4.7%
Broward	15,336	1,494	969	142,228	106,248	71,332	5.2%
Orange	3,604	1,163		81,868	42,984	53,665	2.7%
Duval	10,603	971	411	175,831	23,754	92,039	6%

Registered New Voters (18-21)
Democrat Republican

Hillsborough	7,838	880
Dade	25,021	1,790
Broward	15,336	1,494
Orange	3,604	1,163
Duval	10,603	971

Total 18-21 Registration State-wide			Regular Registration State-wide		
Democrat	Republican	Independent	Democrat	Republican	Independent
41,137	13,472	4,933	2,024,387	711,090	61,523

ILLINOIS

	Registered New Voters (No registration by party) (18-20)		Potential New Voters	% New Voters That Have Registered
		Total		
Cook County	not available			
Chicago	48,812	79,812	780,040	1.7%
Lake	7,784	11,281	71,792	2.7%
DuPage	5,817	13,183	64,372	2.9%
St. Clair	not available		40,960	
Kane	not available		36,099	

INDIANA

	Registered New Voters	Potential New Voters	% of Total New Voters Registered
Marion	7,179	196,680	3.5%
Lake	3,110	80,805	3.7%
Allen	1,241	44,266	2.8%
St. Joseph	not available	41,171	-
Tippecanoe	1,511	29,956	5%

Registration closes the first week in October. The final 1971 registration figures for Indiana should be included in the 11/1/71 report.

NEW JERSEY

	Registered New Voters	18-21 Total Registration	All Voters Total Registration	Potential New Voters
Essex	18,207	14,078	396,661	302,199
Union	12,310	7,941	269,634	71,086
Bergen	29,213	24,470	479,761	111,719
Middlesex	33,466	11,994	272,388	97,105
Hudson	21,872	11,779	281,284	87,275

OREGON

	Registered New Voters			Total Registration		Potential New Voters	% of Total New Voters Registered
	Democrat	Republican	Other	Democrat	Republican		
Multnomah	3,226		1,000	164,896	106,309	69,208	7%
Lane	5,573	1,954	598	57,420	40,850	30,343	26%
Clackamas	2,195	1,311	352	43,904	35,110	15,134	23%
Washington	491	307	159	33,804	37,564	16,289	6.2%
Marian	not available						

OHIO

Ohio's registration is on a constant purge system; therefore, the total registration since the first of the year is often a minus figure. The 18-21 year old registration for our key counties was attainable, however, and it is:

	Registration 1/1/71 to present(18-21)	Potential New Voters
Cuyahoga	52,000	249,090
Hamilton	18,782	150,853
Franklin	28,000	138,349
Montgomery	12,440	95,619
Summit	19,000	83,946

PENNSYLVANIA

	Registered New Voters		Total Registration		Potential New Voters	% of Total New Voters Registered
	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican		
Montgomery	2,272	2,372	75,232	209,458	83,833	5.3%
Bucks	5,511	4,098	69,395	93,705	58,131	16.4%
Philadelphia	16,444	6,215	550,719	367,167	283,916	8%
Allegheny	15,261	5,072	510,352	281,997	227,363	4.4%
Delaware	2,301	3,946			87,366	6%

TENNESSEE

	Registered New Voters (No registration by party)	Potential New Voters	% of Total New Voters Registered
Shelby	4,634	124,756	4%
Davison	not available	75,045	
Hamilton	3,516	37,480	5.4%
Knox	2,205	49,021	4%
Sullivan	853	18,946	2.7%

TEXAS

No new registration figures are available in Texas until 11/1/71. Registration did not reopen until 10/1/71. Texas registration law has been changed, however, and starting in October, registration will continue until 30 days before the 1972 election rather than closing in January as in past years.

WISCONSIN

	Registered New Voters (No registration by party)	Potential New Voters	% of Total New Voters Registered
Milwaukee	5,380	161,368	3.3%
Winnebago	not available	25,187	
*Dane	5,019	64,957	7.8%
Racine	1,518	24,182	6.2%
Waukesa	not available	30,098	

*Registration statistic of 7,500 for Dane County shown in the 1/1/71 report was incorrect. It included registration from August 1970.

Senator Brock has been briefed on the statistics that he can use, and he will start to make some on-the-record remarks to reporters.

Our Orlando voter registration drive was kicked off Monday with a highly successful workers rally (about 500). Over the next three Saturdays precinct workers will ring over 150,000 doorbells in search of new voters. Those new voters who support the President will be registered. This activity is all under the direction of our youth fieldman. An article about the kickoff rally is attached.

A voter registration drive in San Diego will begin next week. Our convention activities coordinator will be helping to set up the drive and supervise it.

In Wisconsin the new voter registration drive will be organized to begin in early spring. Other drives we are currently involved in are New Hampshire, Tennessee, and Texas. States we will be working in the next month to set up drives are California, Oregon, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and Virginia.

The New Hampshire petition drive for Young Voters is under way. Over the next five Saturdays the New Hampshire youth organization will conduct both a mass solicitation of signatures and a targeted drive for 18 to 25 year-olds. Our job is complicated by the fact that those signing nomination papers for the President have to be registered Republicans and so few young people are registered in our party. Running with the signature canvass is a voter registration drive. A complete schedule is attached.

Our efforts to supply the Kansas Republican Party with a speaker for a supposedly bipartisan registration rally met with great success. Congressman Jack Kemp spoke and with his help and the help of Tom Bell who was sent out to control the situation, what would have been a "Dump Nixon" effort was turned around to favor the President.

Though most young people remained generally apathetic about the local November 2 elections, some effects of the youth vote were felt. In Bloomington, Indiana, home of the University of Indiana, Francis X. McCloskey, a prostudent candidate and recent graduate of the University law school, defeated incumbent Republican Mayor John H. Hooker, Jr. largely because of the support he got from the University precincts. In East Lansing, Michigan two city council winners attributed their success to the large student vote turned out from Michigan State University. In Cedar Falls, Iowa John Crews, 24, defeated Frank Williams, a city councilman who had been serving out the term of the previous mayor.

Some other new young officeholders who have attributed their victory at least partially to the newly enfranchised young voters were:

David Passman, 19, for city council is a sophomore at Central Florida Junior College. He will not face the incumbent in a runoff on November 16.

Ron Hooker, 19, won as a write-in candidate for mayor in Newcomerstown, Ohio.

Russell Stanton, 21, a student at Southwest State College, was elected to the city council over two other candidates.

We are checking all young people elected to see if they are supporters of the President. Those who are will be recruited.

Staff additions:

George Gorton will become College Director on November 15. He will set up and coordinate all of our campus activities including speakers, registration drives, and mock elections and conventions. Gorton was college director for Senator Buckley and did a particularly good job on mock elections winning all 12 that he organized. He was youth coordinator in San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson's campaign.

Mike O'Donnell will coordinate the youth activities at the Republican National Convention. He will also set up voter registration drives and coordinate all our activity in California from Los Angeles County south. Mike was with the California State Central Committee working under Gordon Luce.

Ken Smith, formerly of the White House, will head our youth speakers bureau. He will meet biweekly with the White House Youth operation, the RNC, etc. to coordinate all speech making efforts directed at the young voters.

At our request, the Young Republicans have scheduled two seminars on voter registration for state YR leaders. The purpose will be to get each state YR club to adopt registration as their main project. The first session will be held this weekend in Washington.

STRICTLY
CONFIDENTIAL

NEW HAMPSHIRE CALENDAR

- NOV. 5 - Names of registered new Republican voters supplied to Scully at Concord Headquarters.
- First round of appointments set.
- NOV. 6 - Signature drive begins. Workers go door to door. (List made of unregistered voters.
- Small group of workers assigned to keep appointments made by Concord Headquarters.
- Nov. 11 - Additional names of registered new supplied to Concord Hdqtrs.
- Second round of appointments set
- NOV. 13 - Signature drive continues. Workers go door to door. (List made of unregistered voters. Small group of workers assigned to keep appointments made by the Concord Hdqtrs.
- NOV. 18 - Additional names of new voters supplied to Concord Hdqtrs.
Third round of appointments set.
- NOV. 20 - Signature drive continues. Workers go door to door. Lists made of unregistered voters. Small group selected to keep appointments.
- NOV. 24 - Additional names of registered voters sent to Concord Hdqtrs.
Fourth round of appointments set.
- NOV. 27 - Signature drive continues. LIST unregistered voters. Small groups to keep appointments.
- DEC. 2 - Additional names sent to Concord. Fifth round.
- DEC. 4 - Signature Drive. List unregistered voters. Workers keep appointments.
- DEC. 6 - Begin registration week. All unregistered voters who have signed support petitions should be called night before registration office opens, informed of location and time of registration.
- DEC. 11 - WORKERS THANK YOU PARTY. ALL PETITIONS COLLECTED. SPEAKER FROM WASHINGTON.

Nixon Wants Agnew, Sen. Brock Insists

By JACK McDAVITT

Sentinel Staff

U.S. Sen. Bill Brock, R-Tenn., a key figure in President Nixon's 1972 campaign plans, Monday pooh-poohed reports that Vice President Spiro Agnew might be dropped from the ticket.

"If he's not on the ballot, it'll not be by the President's choice," said Brock, the man expected to head the Nixon campaign in the South. Brock was in Orlando to kick off a GOP voter registration drive.

"THE VICE PRESIDENT has said privately and publicly his No. 1 goal is the reelection of Richard Nixon," he said, adding that Agnew might remove himself from the ticket if he felt it would help Nixon.

"But," said Brock quickly, "I see no prospect of that.

"I certainly expect to see the vice president on the ticket," he said. "This country needs an honest politician and the vice president is just that."

In fact, said Brock, "Most of us in Congress have come to deeply respect and admire him."

ON THE Democratic side, Brock said he "wouldn't be too surprised" to see a repeat of the 1968 ticket, even though Sens. Hubert Humphrey and Edmund Muskie might switch roles.

And, he said, he has no doubts about Mr. Nixon's ability to defeat that ticket, regardless of who leads it.

The millionaire son of the Brock candy family hinted Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., would be the toughest Democrat to beat.

"He's an excellent person," said Brock. "And he has some strong support in areas where the President ran well."

But the Republican senator said, he doubted Jackson could get the nomination in the liberal dominated Democratic party.

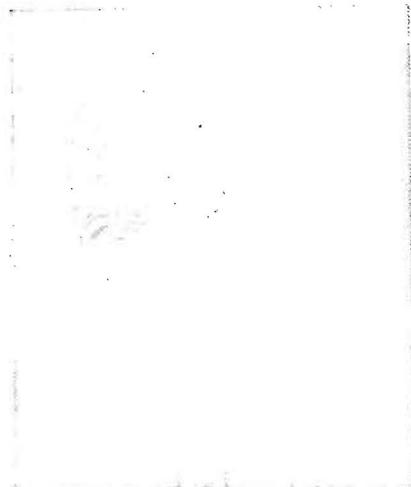
"HE HAS ONLY a slightly better chance of getting the nomination than I do," he laughed.

At an airport news conference immediately after his 4 p.m. arrival, Brock chided the Democratic presidential aspirants for their constant attacks on Mr. Nixon's economic policies.

"We had to do something about the economy," said Brock. And, even though the President's wage-price freeze was "a difficult thing to do, the people support him."

In fact, he said, Mr. Nixon's economic policies are "his greatest political asset."

Brock said the Democrats are "just whistling Dixie" in their attacks on the administration's economics. "The people are looking



SEN. WILLIAM BROCK

... Talks politics in Orlando

for someone who delivers, rather than brags. They simply won't accept it."

At the airport, Brock, who won his Senate seat last year by defeating veteran Albert Gore, was greeted by some 20 teen-age Republicans from local high schools and Florida's Republican National Committeewoman Paula Hawkins. Also on hand was Bill Shafer, Seminole County GOP executive committee chairman.

At a joint meeting of the Orange and Seminole party committees at the Maitland Civic Center, Brock called for heavy emphasis on signing up new voters for the 1972 election.

"If we have a low turnout of voters, we suffer," he said. "The greater the vote, the greater our turnout."

AND, BROCK added, the youth of the nation will support Mr. Nixon if asked to do so. "Since the President initiated his dramatic new steps for peace and economic stability, his youth support has skyrocketed. Every young person yearns for peace, as do we all."

"These young people have a positive voice to contribute to this nation," said Brock. "We must offer them an opportunity to register and get active in the elective process."

UNLESS THE youth of America is given a voice in government they will be left with only two choices — to tune out and turn off, or throw bricks, Brock warned.

In fact, Brock said, the youths are not unlike their parents in that they feel they no longer have any voice in government.

The freshman Senator warned GOP leaders against becoming discouraged by Democratic press releases claiming the youth vote. "No party owns these young people. They will vote on issues, not labels. And on issues, we can win."

IN FACT, Brock said, registration among Florida's young people so far represents a gain for the GOP. "Prior to the 18-year-old vote, nearly 77 per cent were registered as Democrats," he said. But, the Democrats are claiming only 63 per cent of the younger voters.

Still, he said, not enough of the newly enfranchised voters have registered, only about 60,000 of the 323,500 eligible.

"So, your work is cut out for you," Brock told the GOP leaders.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Attached are graphs showing trends of the President's approval rating (Gallup-Tab A). The approval ratings of LBJ (Tab B) and JFK (Tab C) are shown for purposes of comparison. Also included are trends of head-to-head poll results for:

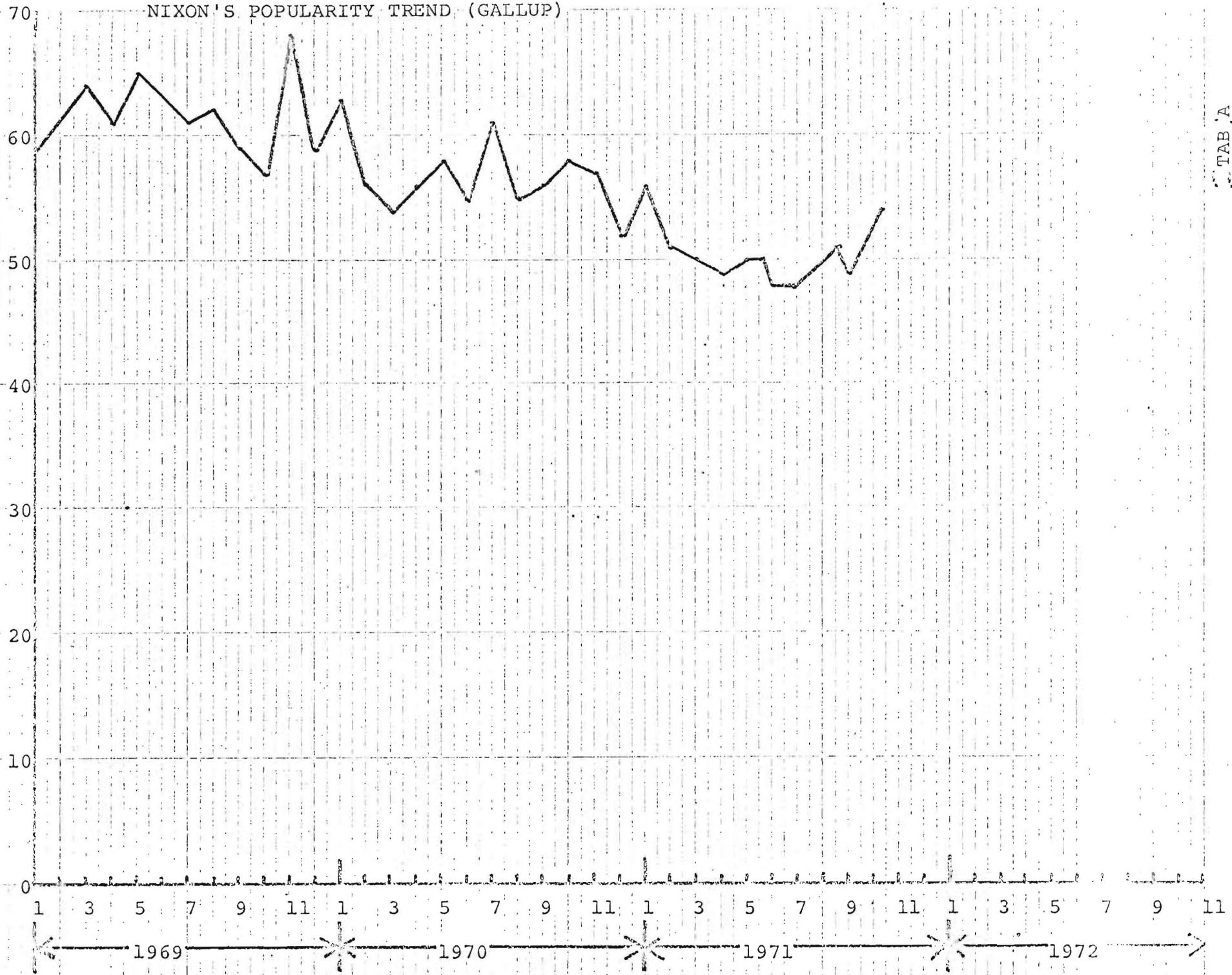
Nixon-Kennedy-Wallace (Gallup-Tab D and Harris-Tab E)

Nixon-Muskie-Wallace (Gallup-Tab F and Harris-Tab G)

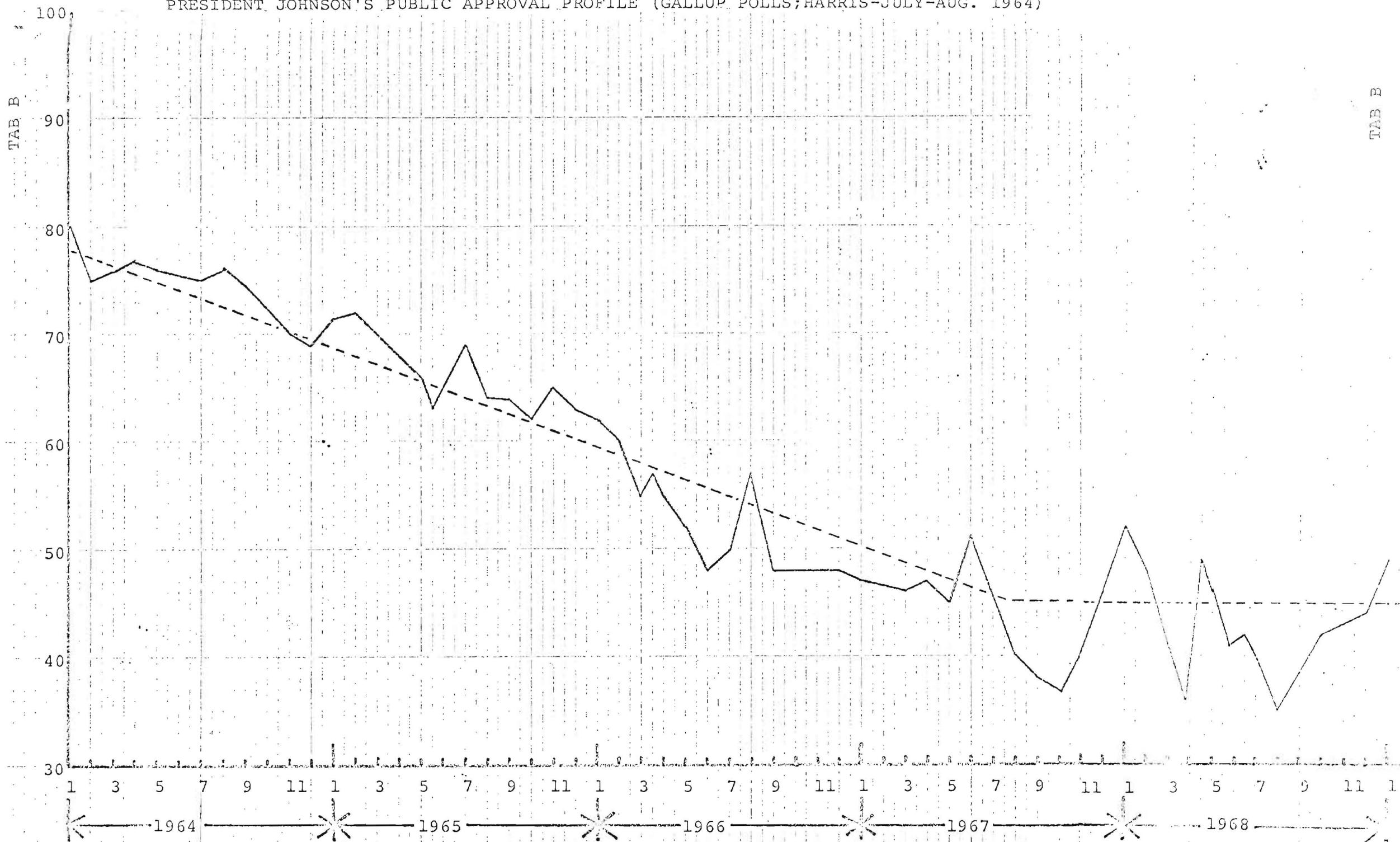
NIXON'S POPULARITY TREND (GALLUP)

TAB A

TAB A



PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S PUBLIC APPROVAL PROFILE (GALLUP POLLS; HARRIS-JULY-AUG. 1964)

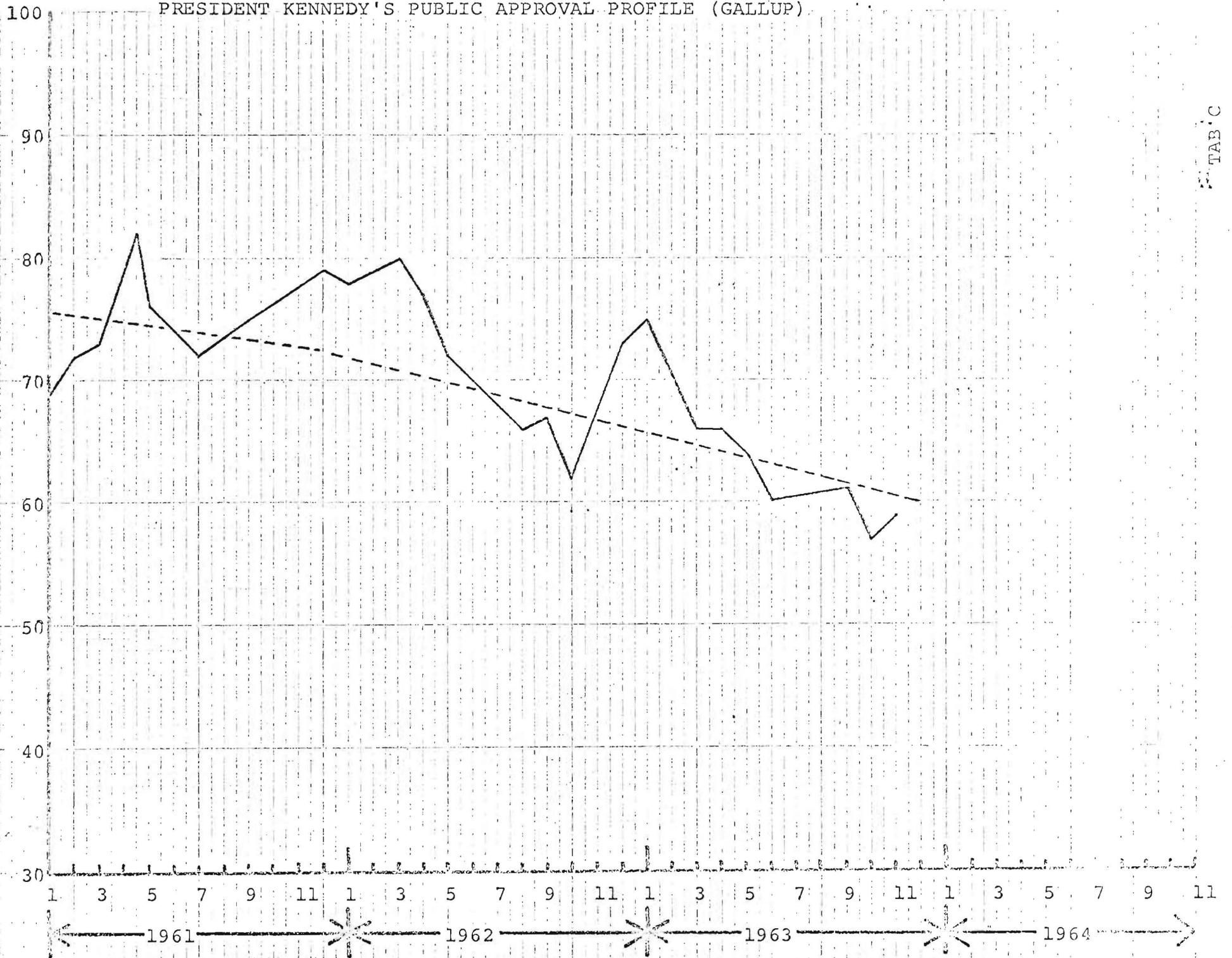


TAB B

TAB B

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S PUBLIC APPROVAL PROFILE (GALLUP)

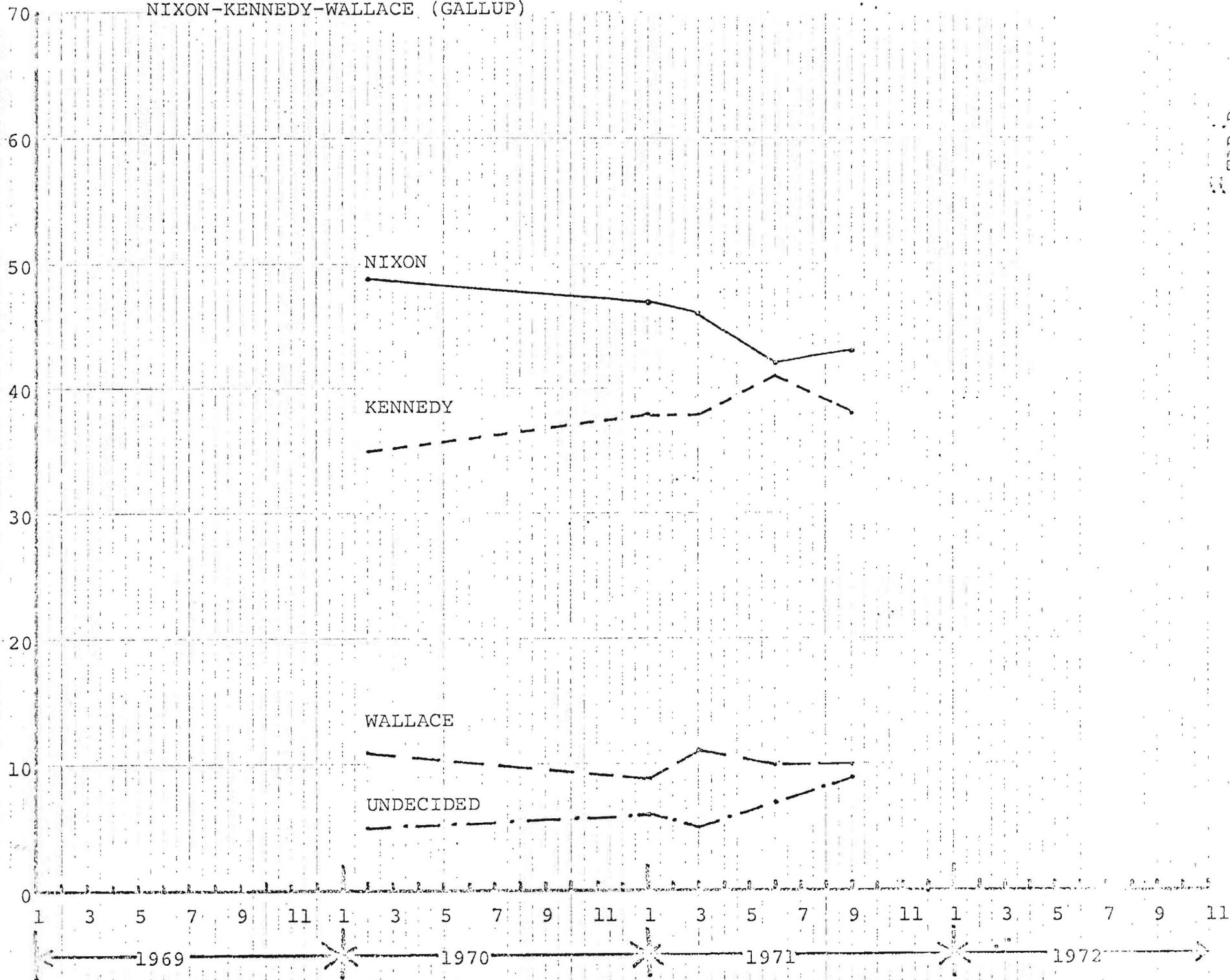
TAB C



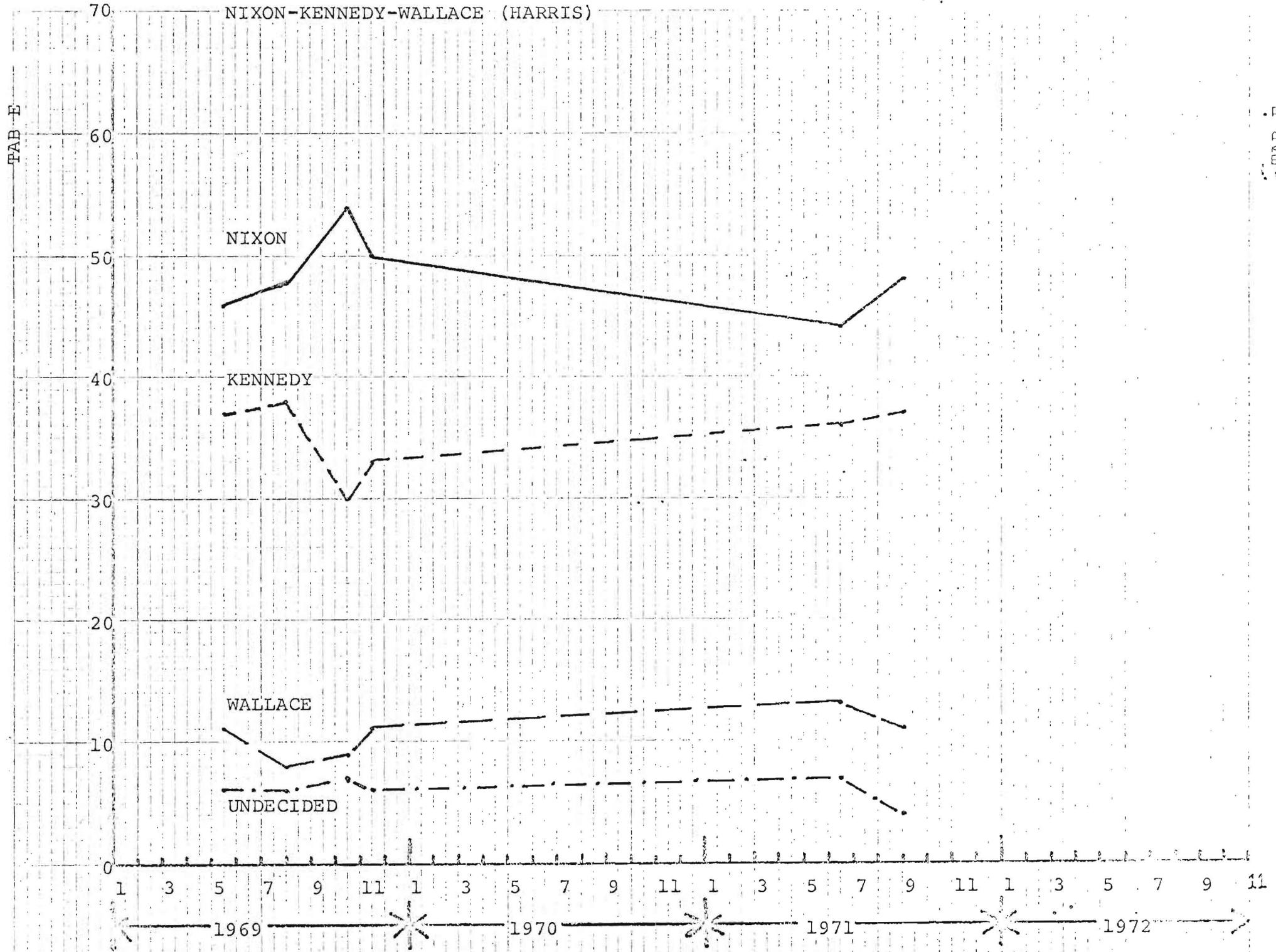
TAB C

NIXON-KENNEDY-WALLACE (GALLUP)

TAB D



TAB D

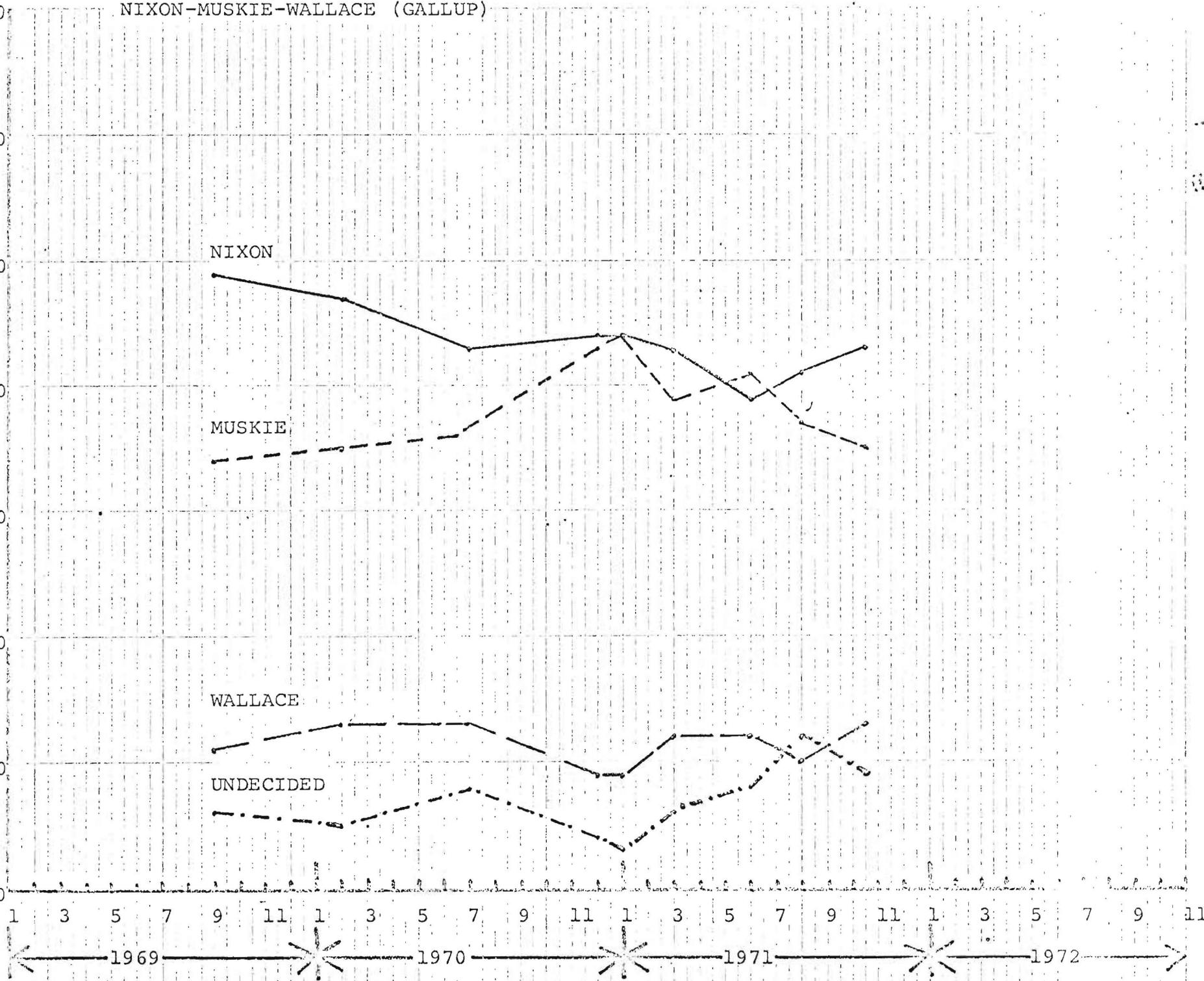


TAB E

NIXON-MUSKIE-WALLACE (GALLUP)

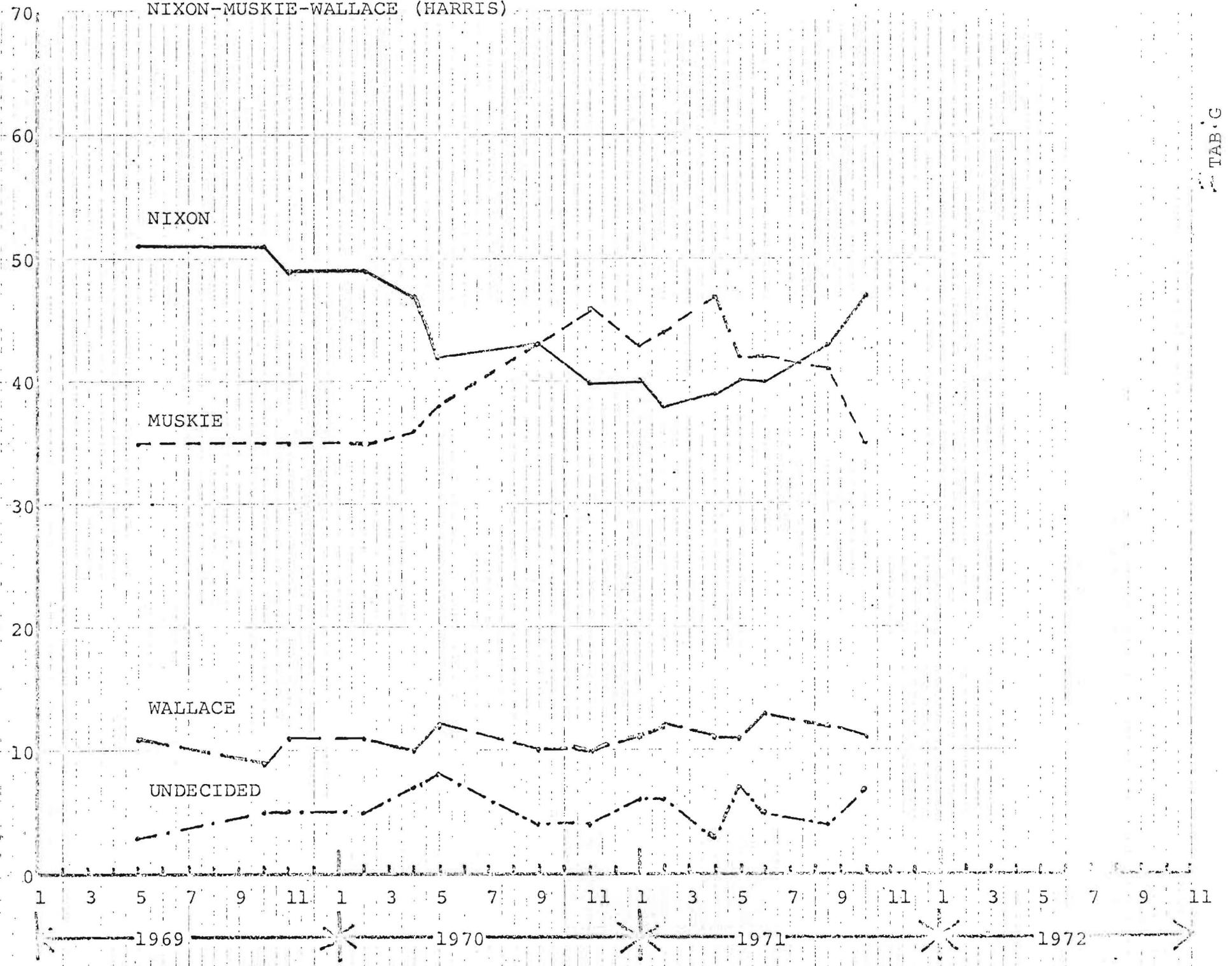
TAB F

TAB F



NIXON-MUSKIE-WALLACE (HARRIS)

TAB G



TAB G

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 8, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Last Saturday's session in the Orlando, Florida voter registration drive set up by our youth organization yielded some interesting results. All statistics are not available, but in a sample of 1,500 households surveyed, 53% responded. Of those responding, 77% supported the President. Of those who responded and supported the President, however, 33% were not registered.

This means that in those 1,500 households surveyed there are 202 households where people support the President and are not registered to vote. Although we will receive more complete statistics later in the week, this would seem to justify the activity we have undertaken to encourage and set up voter registration activity in high percentage Republican areas with large youth population.

The Orlando drive will continue over the next two weekends.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

*H
needn't
be
advised*

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

November 1, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: CHICAGO BLACK REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

We have checked out the background of the letter you received from Charles Armstrong, relating to a scheduled Black Republican Conference in Chicago. The results are summarized in the attached memorandum.

Bob Brown and Ed Sexton feel that the conference should be postponed, and that they can coordinate that decision with Mr. Armstrong without losing his good will.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachments

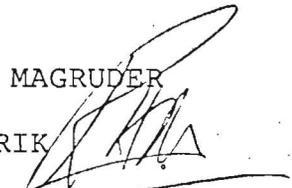
CONFIDENTIAL

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

CONFIDENTIAL

October 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MARIK 
SUBJECT: CHICAGO BLACK REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

I have talked with Ed Sexton, Bob Brown and Stan Scott regarding the attached letter to the Attorney General. The background of the proposed Black Conference is as follows, according to their views:

Charles Armstrong called Ed Sexton several weeks ago, to indicate that he wanted to do something for the Party in Chicago. Ed gave him specific instructions to confer with the local Black Republican Party structure, which includes several local elected officials. After they had drafted a program together, Ed would assist them in finalizing the plans. Ed also advised Mr. Armstrong that it would be necessary to write to the invited participants well ahead of the program, to obtain their commitment to participate.

As it turned out, Mr. Armstrong apparently did not confer with the local Republicans and did not secure the commitment of Administration officials before drafting his Conference Schedule and distributing it to several people. The local Blacks are not happy, and the Administration people have schedule conflicts and cannot participate.

Bob Brown will write to Mr. Armstrong, advising him that it would be best to postpone the conference, because of schedule conflicts of many listed participants. Bob will give assurance that we are interested in working with him on a better coordinated basis in the future. A copy of the letter will be sent to us and to the Attorney General.

*Send TO
John Mitchell
to check
to out*

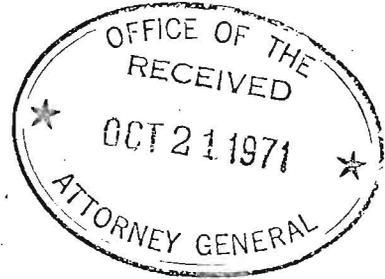
CHICAGO-SOUTH SUBURBAN NEWS

"AMERICA'S GREATEST WEEKLY NEWSPAPER"

14717 SOUTH PAGE AVENUE — HARVEY, ILLINOIS 60426

PHONE: 312-339-4432

October 19, 1971



John Mitchell,
U.S. Attorney General
U.S. Attorney General's Office
Washington, D. C.

To The Honorable John Mitchell:

Recently Mr. Edward Sexton, Assistant to the Republican Committeeman and Director of the Black Political Division, requested that I organize a Black Republican Conference for the '72 Elections here in Chicago Illinois.

I honored the request and set up the conference for November 12th and 13th, 1971. Mr. Sexton stated that many blacks in the Nixon Cabinet would participate in the Conference. I have enclosed the programs and names of the participants for the two-day Conference.

Purposes of the Conference are to unite for Republican victories in '72, and to plan strategy to bring about these victories. Surveys conducted recently by this newspaper indicated that votes for the Nixon Administration and other Republicans can be increased 100% in 1972--if we work as a united black front. I know that this can be done.

On Monday of this week I learned that there are forces among Republican blacks who do not want the Conference to be a success, and do not support the concept of black Republicans uniting.

I am requesting that if you are in accord with the purposes of this and other conferences of this type that you use your influence for 100% black participation.

Black Republicans in the State of Illinois have pledged full Conference participation. I am forwarding copies of this letter to Herbert G. Klien, White House Communication Director; Senator Robert Dole (R-Kan); and Senator Charles Percy (R-Ill.), requesting their support for a successful Black Republican Conference.

If you, and others who have been asked for their support, are not in accord with the Conference kindly let me know at once so that I am able to cancel the plans immediately.

I have pledged to finance the Conference, and am not making any demands on the Republican Party. I do this out of my sincerity and knowledge of the values to be obtained from strong black participation in the Republican Party.

Sincerely,

Charles Armstrong

Charles Armstrong, editor & publisher

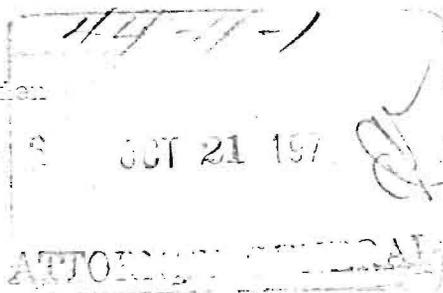
cc: Herbert G. Klien

Senator Dole

Senator Percy

encl:

CA/sjd



November 12th and 13th 1972

10:00AM-11:00AM Roberts Motel 333 East 63rd Street
Room 501 Chicago, Illinois 60637
AC 312 955 8800

All workshops Friday November 12th. Panelist Edward Sexton-Assistant to the chairman Republican National Committee, Director Black Political Division. (10:00AM -11:00AM)

11:15 - 11:45

Panelist Lewis Langston, Administrative Aide to the Governor State of Illinois.

12:00 Noon - 12:45

John Jenkins, Director of Office Minority Business Enterprise

1:00PM

Luncheon - Main Dining Room Speaker: Sen. Edward Brooke (R. Mass)

2:15 PM - 3:00PM

Panelist Robert Brown, Administrative Assistant to the President of the United States of America.

3:15PM-3:45PM

State Senator, Richard Newhouse (Indep) State of Illinois

4:00 PM - 4:30PM

Panelist Connie Mack Higgins, Assistant Director of SBA

4:45PM - 5:30PM

Panelist Norman Houston Assistant Sect. of HEW

9:00PM Until 12:00

Room 502 Coctail Party - By Invitation Only

November 13th (Sat)

10:00AM - 10:45AM

Room 502

Panelist Eugene Dibble, Cook County Republican Sanitary District Trustee

11:00AM - 11:45

Panelist Samuel Cornelius OEO, Midwest Regional Director

12:00Noon - 12:45

Panelist Dr. Arnita Boswell

1:00PM

Luncheon Main Dining Room Speaker: Arthur Fletcher Asstant Sect of Labor-U. N. Delegate designee

2:15PM - 2:45PM

William H. Robinson, Director Illinois Department of Education - Registration

3:00PM - 3:30

Panelist Colston Lewis EEOC Commissioner

3:45 - 4:30

Panelist Samuel Jackson - Assistant Sect. of HUD

4:45PM - 5:30PM

Panelist Atty. John T. Dixon-21st Ward Republican Committeeman

5:30PM 6:15PM

Plenary Session Charles Armstrong, Editor Publisher, Conference Chairman and William O. Stewart Republican State Central Committeeman.

Charles Ellis Gaines Assistant to Illinois State Atty General, Panel Moderator.

Other conference participants: Joseph Simon, Staff Placement Action Corp.
Stan Scott, Assistant Director of communications.

Ward Committeemen: 2nd Ward Mack Leonard, 3rd, Genoa S. Washington
4th Hamilton B. Talbert, Jr., Robert H. Holloway 6th, 16th Strainger Cooke,
17th Eddie Mack Jones, 20th J. Horace Gardner, 24th, Moses Walker, Jr.
27th Freddy C. Peavy, 28th Curtis Foster, 29th Samuel Taylor, 34th, Louis
A. Watson. (Saturday November 12th)

11:00PM Until - in 500 Room

Floor Show, Fashion Show-Dance 500 Room - Roberts
Admission \$5.00

Sincerely,

Charles Armstrong - Edward Sexton
Charles Armstrong and Edward Sexton
Conference Coordinators

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 9, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: INFORMAL MEETING OF THE CAMPAIGN STRATEGY
GROUP - NOVEMBER 8, 1971

The following subject areas were covered at the November 8 Strategy Group Meeting:

The New Hampshire Announcement. The memorandum of November 3, outlining the strategy for a December 23 filing in New Hampshire and a January Presidential announcement was reviewed. Some other thoughts were raised by the group.

(1) Firmness of the New Hampshire filing date. The filing period is from December 23 to January 6. It would be necessary to file early only to assure that another group does not submit a petition and gain credit for placing the President on the ballot. If we could be sure that would not occur, the filing by the New Hampshire Committee could follow after a Presidential announcement in early January. (The top slot on the primary ballot does not depend on early filing of petitions. It is rotated equally among the ballots across the state.)

(2) Method of announcement. It was felt that it would be preferable for the President to make the announcement. Although a low profile is desirable, the announcement should reflect careful deliberation, possibly after a weekend at San Clemente, Key Biscayne or Camp David. Having made and

announced this decision, however, the President then would be seen to return to the ongoing affairs of his office. It was indicated that the President might appear on television in early January for an extended interview. That could provide the optimum forum for the announcement, or for follow-up questions after an announcement earlier that day.

It was felt that no comment should be made restricting the President's options to campaign in New Hampshire, although the strategy would not contemplate his active participation.

Recommendation

That two strategy options be developed. In each case, if you approve, we will follow through to see that the necessary documents are drafted:

(1) (Preferred option) A Presidential announcement in early January, followed by the New Hampshire filing before January 6. In that announcement, the President should mention that his timing is related to the New Hampshire filing date.

(2) (Secondary option) That the New Hampshire filing take place on December 23, if necessary to precede other filing efforts. The announcement would take place in January, as recommended in the November 3 memorandum.

Develop both options. Aim for implementation of option (1).

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Use of TV in New Hampshire. The preferred option would be not to use television in New Hampshire. With most stations originating outside the state, it would look too much like a "big money" campaign, rather than a local, spontaneous effort. Moreover, the President,

in his incumbency, will be seen continuously in the news. In order to be prepared for any eventuality, however, commercials should be produced and held in reserve if needed.

Recommendation.

Develop primary campaign plans for New Hampshire assuming no use of television. Produce commercials to have available if required.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Expected Vote in New Hampshire. Our public posture should be that a vote of 60%-65% would show an overwhelming support for the President and rejection of McCloskey. It should also be borne in mind that our total vote may decline from 1968 in several primary states because the contested races will be on the Democratic side.

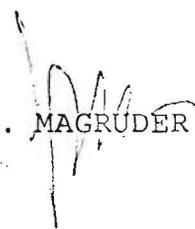
McCloskey. Our intelligence suggests that McCloskey's money sources have largely dried up and that he is operating on very modest resources.

Polling Plans. In the near future, recommendations will be developed regarding:

- (1) A poll in New Hampshire
- (2) Surveys to develop and test campaign themes
- (3) A series of statewide "baseline" polls in key states.

Operating Concepts in the Field Organization. Harry Flemming outlined the structure he has been developing for the field organization. The major points are outlined in Tab A.

JEB S. MAGRUDER



FIELD ORGANIZATION PLAN

- I. Recruitment and training of state chairman
 - A. Assessment of political situation in each state
 - B. Development of recommendations from all political sources
 - C. Recommendation to AG
 - D. Approach selected candidates
 - E. Training session for primary chairmen to be held in first week of January
 - F. Regional chairmen meeting in early Spring
 - G. Large electoral chairmen meeting in early Spring
 - H. Fifty state chairmen in June

- II. Role of State Chairman
 - A. Nomination
 - 1. Primary states
 - a. Set up and run campaign
 - b. Where necessary/or possible, make certain delegates selection serve our interests
 - 2. Convention states
 - a. Survey likely delegate candidates
 - b. Assist in their election
 - 3. San Diego Convention
 - a. Develop background information on all delegates and alternates
 - b. Oversee selection of loyal delegates to all important convention committees
 - B. Campaign
 - 1. Assess GOP organization on precinct by precinct basis
 - 2. Develop organizational plan to staff all weak GOP precincts
 - 3. Recruit budget and finance committee
 - 4. Develop plan for full utilization of volunteers (including women and youth)

- III. Development of materials and motivation campaign

- IV. Audit of performance
 - A. Monitor organization
 - B. Test projects to assess performance
 - C. Visits
 - D. Troubleshooter organizations

- V. Service organizations
 - A. Ombudsman group
 - 1. Service oriented
 - 2. No political decisions

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 3, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: NEW HAMPSHIRE

The memorandum of October 27th from the Campaign Strategy Group recommended an announcement of the President's candidacy for a second term prior to the December 23 filing deadline in New Hampshire. Since that time, we have developed an alternate scenario which better conforms to the stated objective of the President to be non-political in 1972:

December 23: Governor Dwinell files the New Hampshire petition signed by first-time voters. He holds a press conference and emphasizes the volunteer aspect of the petition efforts. These are young citizens asking the President to seek re-election because they believe in what he has done.

December 24 - January 4: The press debates what the President will do. There is no reaction to the filing from the White House.

January 4 - January 6: The President announces he will run and will do it in the appropriate way by putting his name on the ballot in several primaries. He will seek his party's nomination and the mandate of the people for a second term. At the same time, he announces his slate of pledged delegates in the New Hampshire primary. The announcement of candidacy should be positive, direct and with purpose, emphasizing the President's leadership and incumbency and reflecting his desire to complete the initiatives that he has begun during the first term.

CONFIDENTIAL

January 10 or later: The Attorney General resigns and announces that he will run the campaign. All subsequent announcements relating to the campaign, the primaries, delegate selection, etc., will be made by the Attorney General, with consent coming from the White House.

Recommendation

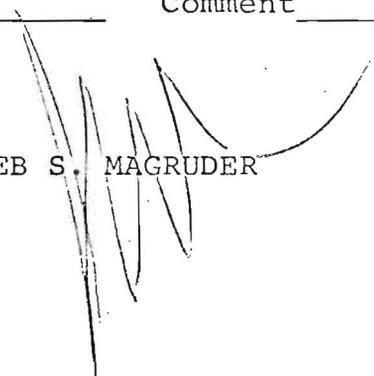
That the schedule for the President's announcement of his candidacy for a second term be approved. We will then follow through to see that the necessary documents are drafted.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER



bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

11/1

Flemming

Allen Walker

rest of
comm in
2 wks.

Lane Swinell will announce
NH Comm for Re-Ed of P

- Announce today

Hary Flem for names

- love day

- have talked w/us.

Walters - Col - go ahead
per TSM

→ Wires - announced.

Concord, N. H. at 11a

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 1, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT: New Hampshire Announcement
of Committee for the Re-Election
of the President

Lane Dwinell and Allen Walker announced the formation of the New Hampshire Committee for the Re-Election of the President today at 11:00 a.m. from Concord, New Hampshire. The names of all committee members will be released within two weeks according to Harry Flemming, who has been working with Dwinell.

Dwinell acknowledged that he had been in touch with the national Committee for the Re-Election of the President, but it was emphasized that there was no direct link.

Gerry Warren has been advised of the announcement.

The story ran on the wires this afternoon, but McCloskey got the coverage by challenging Dwinell to a debate. (Wire story attached.)

Attachment

UPI-84

(McCloskey)

LEDGON, N.H. -- REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CHALLENGER REP. PAUL MCCLOSKEY TODAY CHALLENGED THE HEAD OF A NIXON RE-ELECTION COMMITTEE TO DEBATE HIM.

THE CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN, WHO VISITED NEW HAMPSHIRE DURING THE WEEKEND, MADE THE CHALLENGE IN AN INTERVIEW ON A LOCAL RADIO STATION (WTSL).

MCCLOSKEY SAID HE WOULD GARDLY DEBATE FORMER GOV. LANE DWINELL, WHO ANNOUNCED FORMATION OF A COMMITTEE TO WORK FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF PRESIDENT NIXON.

11-1 8P1224PES

NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY
SELECTED COST ESTIMATES

1970 Registration:

Republican	162,000	(41.9%)
Unaffiliated	125,000	(32.2%)
Democrat	100,000	(26.0%)

<u>Campaign Materials</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
---------------------------	-------------------

Bumper Stickers: 10,000 @ 10¢ each	\$ 1,000
---------------------------------------	----------

Buttons: 20,000 @ .05¢ each	1,000
--------------------------------	-------

Brochures: 5 major brochures @ 20,000 each = 100,000 cost: \$30.00/thousand	3,000
---	-------

Direct Mail: 75,000 Republican households X 2 mailings = 150,000 pieces 55,000 Independent households X 1 mailing = 55,000 pieces Total cost - 15¢ each (max. cost)	31,000
--	--------

Telephone:

Assume:

Calling times - 5:30 PM - 8:30 PM = 3 hrs/day
X 6 days per week = 18 hours per week
Four-week campaign period = 72 calling hours

If one operator can reach 20 homes per hour,
then each telephone can reach about 1,500 homes

A bank of 50 telephones can reach 75,000 homes

Cost per telephone

Installation -	\$15
Intra-state WATS line	\$250

\$265 per telephone

Total cost = 50 X \$265 =	\$13,250
---------------------------	----------

Paid operators: 100 hrs @ 2.00 per hr = \$200 per operator	
50 X \$200 =	10,000

Telephone (continued)

Supervisors - 5 X 100 hrs. X \$3.50/hr	1,750
	<u>\$25,000</u>
Newspapers:	
9 dailies - B & W page (5 exposures @ 1 per week)	16,800 *
Manchester Sunday News (once)	1,225 *
Billboards	
119 billboards across state 1 month showing	5,100 *
Radio	
25 stations 15 60-second spots per station for five weeks	11,630 *
TV	
(Manchester-Portland-Boston: 3 week coverage used in 1968)	73,000 *

* 1968 costs

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: DICK MOORE *DM*

On reflection, I would like to amend the section of my memo of November 5 which dealt with the announcement of the President's plans for New Hampshire.

While it will come as no surprise, this will be the first formal acknowledgement that he is receptive to re-nomination for President of the United States. I think the country would expect this to come from him, rather than from any other person.

The announcement could take one of several forms, such as a written statement, a letter, a brief announcement before the TV cameras, or a statement at the opening of a Press Conference. I still think that the announcement should be fairly low-key, geared to the technical necessity of complying with primary laws. Thus the candidacy is only technical and does not detract from RN's full time role as the President who is wholly engaged in completing vital ongoing programs, domestic and foreign.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

October 27, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: THE CAMPAIGN STRATEGY GROUP
SUBJECT: The New Hampshire Primary

The Campaign Strategy Group has been considering various options for an announcement of the President's candidacy for a second term. With the approach of early spring primaries in New Hampshire, Florida and Wisconsin, a decision will be required on whether to make a formal announcement before certain events demonstrate the President's intentions. For example, the filing of petitions to place his name on the ballot in New Hampshire will take place on December 23, 1971. Although no explicit action is required by a candidate whose name is being filed, he will have to sign off on the delegate state, to be filed no later than January 20, 1972. The specific legal requirements and dates for filing in New Hampshire have been outlined in a memorandum from Harry Flemming to the Attorney General, dated October 27, 1971.

The Strategy Group has felt that two criteria should hold:

- A. The announcement should be straightforward, and in no way mislead the press or the public.
- B. It should be low-key, acknowledging the necessity to inform the public of the President's intentions, but not creating the image of a "political" President.

The following options were considered:

- A. Timing of the President's announcement with relation to the resignation of the Attorney General to become Campaign Manager.
 - 1. The two announcements made simultaneously.

CONFIDENTIAL

2. The Presidential announcement first, followed after a brief period by that of the Attorney General.
 3. The Attorney General resign first to return to private law practice and assume direction of the campaign and the President announce his intentions later.
- B. The vehicle for the announcement.
1. Ron Ziegler release a letter from the President to Governor Dwinell, head of the New Hampshire Re-Election Committee. The letter would either state his candidacy or approve the list of committed delegates for the New Hampshire primary.
 2. Ron Ziegler make the announcement at a regular news briefing.
 3. The President announce his candidacy at an unscheduled, but on-the-record press conference in the Oval Office.
 4. The President make the announcement to open a formal, televised press conference.
 5. The President go to New Hampshire, reminiscent of his announcement in 1968, to announce for a second term.
 6. The President have a White House meeting with Governor Dwinell, indicating appreciation for his efforts and offering that he will seek a second term.

An additional option would be for Governor Dwinell to hold a press conference in New Hampshire immediately following an announcement from the White House.

It was the consensus of the Strategy Group that the Presidential announcement should be made first, followed later by a separate announcement relating to the Attorney General. The President's statement should come during the week prior to the December 23 filing deadline in New Hampshire.

The form of the announcement should be a statement by Ron Ziegler at a regular news briefing, in keeping with the objective of a low-key, non-political atmosphere. The tone of the message might be along the lines of "Many important initiatives begun by the Administration will not be completed after four years. For that reason it is my intention to seek the mandate of the people to serve a second term."

The group also felt that a reference to New Hampshire would be appropriate and very helpful to campaign efforts in that state. It could be in the form of a part of the Presidential announcement, or a letter to Governor Dwinell, released by him.

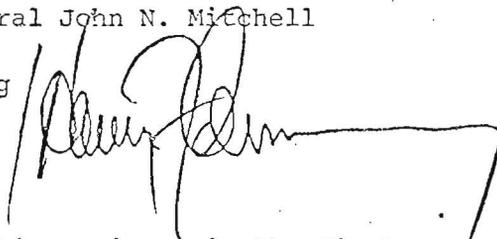
Recommendation

That you approve the issuing of a Presidential statement of candidacy for a second term, to be made shortly prior to the December 23 filing deadline in New Hampshire. The announcement will be made through Ron Ziegler at a regular news briefing. A letter would simultaneously be sent to Governor Dwinell, for release by him in New Hampshire, affirming the President's entry into that primary. If you approve of this plan, we will follow through to see that the necessary documents are drafted.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

October 27, 1971

TO Attorney General John N. Mitchell
FROM Harry Flemming



The New Hampshire primary is the first occasion that presents us with a decision on the announcement of the President's intention to seek a second term. In the past, some subsequent candidates have allowed this opportunity to pass without formal announcement of their intention to seek the Presidency. This can be done by having a committee file the requisite petitions and in turn file a delegation or a list of potential delegates and alternates listed as leaning to the candidate. This method, however, involves a number of risks which are unnecessary to take. For example President Johnson followed this route in 1968. There is no method, however, other than gentle persuasion to control the number of delegate candidates filing under the "leaning to" provision and, as a result, historically many more candidates for delegate file than there are delegate positions for the convention. Thus we have the situation where Johnson received the plurality of the votes but McCarthy, who received a lesser total vote, won the majority of the delegates to the Democratic Convention. On the other hand, General Eisenhower in 1952 and Henry Cabot Lodge in 1964 pursued the noninvolvement route successfully.

With your earlier decision to pursue a pledged delegation and thus limit the number of delegates in the field, we are faced with direct action on the part of President Nixon in the New Hampshire primary. He need not take direct action in the Presidential Preference Primary but will have to sign off on the list of pledged delegates. The dates surrounding these actions are as follows:

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY

First date for filing petition	December 23, 1971
Last date for filing petition	January 6, 1972

Petitions require 500 signatures from each of the two Congressional Districts and a filing fee of \$500.00. If the President does not wish to announce his intention to run prior to January 6th, the New Hampshire

October 27, 1971

Committee could gather the signatures and file the petition. Immediately upon the filing of the petition the Secretary of State will notify the nominee who has 10 days to withdraw his name. One potential, although remote, danger in not having the President take an active role at this stage is that an unauthorized group could gather the petitions, pay the filing fee and thus steal the thunder from our better managed and better orchestrated effort. If the President chose to announce on or around the 23rd of December he could, in his announcement, give recognition to Governor Dwinell's organization and thereby convey official status to them.

DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES

First date for filing	December 23, 1971
Last date for filing	January 20, 1972

Again, on the basis of earlier discussions we are pursuing a concept of a pledged delegation. Governor Dwinell is in the process of sifting names for the 14 delegate and 14 alternate positions. If the President opted to announce within the time frame of the Presidential Preference filing deadlines, he could defer the decision to as late as January 20th when it would be necessary to obtain his ascent for the final list of delegates and alternates which Governor Dwinell and his committee put together.

SUMMARY

There are two courses of action and therefore a range of approximately 30 days in which the President can time his announcement for the New Hampshire primary. The first option and the one which I definitely prefer, is to have the President announce his intention to seek a second term before or during the filing period for the Presidential Preference Primary. This would assure us full control of the events in New Hampshire and as well, give a certain morale boost to our troops in the state. Subsequent action would be required on or before January 20th in the form of a sign-off on the 14 delegate and 14 alternate slate.

The second option would be to finesse the Presidential involvement in the Presidential Preference Primary by having the New Hampshire Committee file the petitions and pay the filing fee without acknowledgment from the White House or this Committee and thus delay the announcement date until January 20th when, again, he would be required to sign off on the pledged slate. The next date in which an action would be required by the President would be January 31, 1972 which is the filing date for the Wisconsin primary. Ohio and Florida follow that within a week.

NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY
SELECTED COST ESTIMATES

1970 Registration:

Republican	162,000	(41.9%)	
Unaffiliated	125,000	(32.2%)	- <i>Assume can vote in either primary</i>
Democrat	100,000	(26.0%)	

Campaign Materials Total Cost *1968*

Bumper Stickers:
10,000 @ 10¢ each \$ 1,000

Buttons:
20,000 @ .05¢ each 1,000

Brochures:
5 major brochures @ 20,000 each = 100,000
cost: \$30.00/thousand 3,000

- Direct Mail:
75,000 Republican households X 2 mailings²
= 150,000 pieces
55,000 Independent households X 1 mailing
= 55,000 pieces
Total cost - 15¢ each (max. cost) 31,000

- Telephone:
Assume:
Calling times - 5:30 PM - 8:30 PM = 3 hrs/day
X 6 days per week = 18 hours per week
Four-week campaign period = 72 calling hours

If one operator can reach 20 homes per hour,
then each telephone can reach about 1,500 homes

A bank of 50 telephones can reach 75,000 homes

<u>Cost per telephone</u>	
Installation -	\$15
Intra-state WATS line	\$250
	<hr/> \$265 per telephone

Total cost = 50 X \$265 = \$13,250

Paid operators: 100 hrs @ 2.00 per hr = \$200 per operator
50 X \$200 = 10,000

Telephone (continued)

Supervisors - 5 X 100 hrs. X \$3.50/hr	1,750
	\$25,000

Newspapers:

9 dailies - B & W page (5 exposures @ 1 per week)	16,800 *
Manchester Sunday News (once)	1,225 *

Billboards

119 billboards across state 1 month showing	5,100 *
--	---------

Radio

25 stations 15 60-second spots per station for five weeks	11,630 *
---	----------

TV

(Manchester-Portland-Boston: 3 week coverage used in 1968)	73,000 *
---	----------

27

*Grant of 13
in the
- 2000 00*

*950,000-2000
- (end of year on)
full of
- see*

* 1968 costs

- Open

*- VSA
if 1000000, but have
some cards of 100000*

*1000000 - 1000000
1000000 - 1000000*

*Palwell
1000000
1000000*

This is a legal interpretation of the
New Hampshire Primary Law as it affects
dual entry.

Harry Flemming

MEMORANDUM

November 17, 1971

TO: HF

FROM: JDH

RE: New Hampshire Primary Laws (Dual Entry)

Based upon my review of the 1972 compilation of New Hampshire Primary and Election Laws prepared by the office of the Secretary of State of New Hampshire, a presidential aspirant should not be permitted to enter both primaries in New Hampshire.

Chapter 58 of the New Hampshire Revised Statutes Annotated (hereinafter RSA) governs the Presidential Preference Primary. For our purposes, the operative Sections are 58:3 RSA and 58:4. Section 58:3 RSA provides:

58:3 Nomination Petition. The names of any persons to be voted upon for candidates for president and vice president shall be printed on the ballots solely on petition of New Hampshire voters of the same political party as the prospective candidates. The time limits for filing such petitions with the secretary of state shall be not more than seventy-four days nor less than sixty days before the primary. In order to qualify the name of any person to appear on such ballot, a petition in support of his candidacy must be signed by at least five hundred qualified voters from each congressional district of the state. The petitions shall be in such form as may be prescribed by the secretary of state and shall contain an affirmation under the penalties for perjury that each signer is a qualified voter in his congressional district and is a member of the same political party as the proposed candidate. A separate petition shall be presented from each congressional district. The decision of the secretary of state as to the regularity of petitions shall be final.

As the underlined provision makes clear, the petition format will be utilized for placing presidential candidates on the ballot, and such petition shall be signed by 500 voters who affirm that they are of the "same political party as the proposed candidate."

Although Chapter 58 RSA does not contain a specific reference to dual filings, §58:4 RSA which addresses the question of Notification also indicates that a candidate should be a bona fide member of the political party if he is to have his name placed on the ballot:

58:4 Notification of Candidate. Whenever the secretary of state shall receive petitions which appear to qualify the name of a candidate for president or vice president to be placed on such ballot, he shall forthwith notify the prospective candidate by the most expeditious means of communication and shall advise such prospective candidate that unless he withdraws his name from the ballot within ten days after receipt of such notice, his name will appear on the ballot of his party at such presidential preference primary. If a candidate signifies his desire to withdraw his name within the above time limit, the secretary of state shall not print his name on the ballot.

When these sections are read together, it would be reasonable for the Secretary of State to exercise his general supervisory power over primary elections to determine that petitions from voters of two parties would be inconsistent in that each group of voters would have to affirm under oath that the proposed candidate is a member of its political party.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 12, 1971

G.S. call Jeb
#5 for your
confidential Jeb
L.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Chairman of the 1972 Republican National Convention
Platform Committee

While both you and the Attorney General have approved our recommendation that no convention officials be appointed until after the first of the year, it is felt now by John Ehrlichman, Bill Timmons, and others that we should quietly decide on a Platform Chairman so that we can begin to work with him. The Platform Chairman is always the first official to be announced, usually in the spring.

Senator Hugh Scott and Representative John Rhodes both want the job. John Ehrlichman, Bill Timmons, and the Attorney General feel Rhodes should get the nod, but in a meeting with the Attorney General this morning, he asked that this be run by the President.

If the President approves, we will quietly move to lock in Rhodes now, although this will not be announced for some time.

cc: ~~The Attorney General~~
✓ Mr. John D. Ehrlichman
Mr. William E. Timmons

OK
H

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 12, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Chairman of the 1972 Republican National Convention
Platform Committee

While both you and the Attorney General have approved our recommendation that no convention officials be appointed until after the first of the year, it is felt now by John Ehrlichman, Bill Timmons, and others that we should quietly decide on a Platform Chairman so that we can begin to work with him. The Platform Chairman is always the first official to be announced, usually in the spring.

Senator Hugh Scott and Representative John Rhodes both want the job. John Ehrlichman, Bill Timmons, and the Attorney General feel Rhodes should get the nod, but in a meeting with the Attorney General this morning, he asked that this be run by the President.

If the President approves, we will quietly move to lock in Rhodes now, although this will not be announced for some time.

cc: The Attorney General
Mr. John D. Ehrlichman
Mr. William E. Timmons

CONFIDENTIAL

L → G 11/16: advise
JSM by phone -
nothing in writing -
to lock Rhodes
as Chairman.
G → JSM 11/16: locked

November 11, 1971

GORDON -- FYI

ROB

CONFIDENTIAL

Agenda

Friday, November 12, 1971, 10:00 a.m.

Subject: 1972 Republican National Convention

Present: Jeb Magruder, Bill Timmons, Rob Odle

1. August 11 memorandum (Tab A) regarding RNC's DO Committee recommendations which need action by the Attorney General.
2. September 1 memorandum (Tab B) regarding hotel accommodations, transportation, seating, etc.
3. Discussion of current convention strategy task force thinking on convention sessions, format, and program. The paper at Tab C can serve as a point of departure.
4. Review of decision to hold off on appointment of convention officials and discussion of other convention personnel.
5. Discussion of security in San Diego and related problems.
6. Television floor coverage: we want the Democratic Convention to be covered from the floor so should we announce now that floor coverage will be allowed at our convention?

✓ bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

CONFIDENTIAL

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

August 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

As you know, under the rules adopted at the 1968 Republican National Convention, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee was empowered to appoint a special Delegates and Organizations Committee to study three areas of Republican activity: conventions, methods of delegate selection, and party structure. The special committee -- called the DO Committee -- has now made its recommendations on the convention, and at the July meeting in Denver, made its recommendations on delegate selection. We have run the first set of recommendations -- having to do with the convention -- through our convention task force, and in the attached memorandum from Bill Timmons now ask for your concurrence with our analysis of the various recommendations. In a few weeks, we will be ready with an analysis of, and recommendations for, the second set of the DO Committee's recommendations, which have to do with methods of delegate selection.

Once you have passed on the attached recommendations, your decisions will have to be communicated to Chairman Dole for implementation. In some cases, he will need to further communicate those decisions to the various convention committees, which were just appointed in Denver, or to the National Committee itself. It seems to me that either you or Bill Timmons should communicate our decisions to the Chairman.

Ask Bill Timmons to communicate decisions to Chairman Dole.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

X

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

- 2. It is recommended that the Chairman of the RNC appoint a committee to study ways the party platform may be presented to the Convention.

My recommendation: Concur

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

- 3. It is recommended that the Chairman of the RNC appoint a committee to consider the use of electronic equipment to assist the convention chairman and others in the conduct of the convention.

My Recommendation: Concur but only so long as convention tradition is not upset by usage of computers, flashing lights, etc.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

III.

TO THE COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

- 1. It is recommended that the report of the Committee on Convention Reforms presented to the Republican National Committee in 1967 be reviewed to ascertain the progress made in the 1968 Republican National Convention and evaluate the potential success of these solutions in 1972.

My Recommendation: Concur

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

- 2. It is recommended that the Arrangements Committee consider all of the comments made in answer to the questionnaire on those matters which would fall within its province.

My Recommendation: Concur

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

- 3. It is recommended that subject to limitations demonstrations be permitted only for candidates for President who have substantial delegate support.

My Recommendation: Concur

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

- 4. It is recommended that the Arrangements Committee provide for the seating of the Members of the Republican National Committee on the floor of the convention with their respective state delegations.

My Recommendation: Concur

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

IV.

TO THE RULES COMMITTEE

- 1. It is recommended that Rule No. 7 of the Rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention be amended to read:

"Robert's Rules of Order Revised shall be the Rules of this Convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the Rules herein set forth provided, however, the Convention may make its own rules concerning the reading of Committee reports and resolutions."

My Recommendation: Reject the change. There are many reasons why Roberts Rules should not be adopted and they are summarized in Tab A. Basically, the House Rules provide for firmer control by the Chairman and are better for expediting business while Robert Rules are more "democratic."

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

- 2. It is recommended that Rule No. 12 of the Rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention be amended to read:

"Upon all subjects before the Convention, except the Call of the Roll for nominations for the President and for the Vice President, the States, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands shall be called in alphabetical order.

"For the Call of the Roll for nominations for the President and for the Vice President, the first state to vote shall be chosen by lot, and the roll call proceed alphabetically from that state, including the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, until each State, District and Territory shall have had an opportunity to cast its vote."

My Recommendation: Rejection. This is too confusing to delegates and permits uncertainty in campaign planning.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

3. It is recommended that Rule No. 16 of the Rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention be amended to read:

"In making the nominations for President and Vice President and voting thereon, in no case shall the Call of the Roll be dispensed with.

"(a) No nominating speech for any candidate for President or Vice President shall exceed ten (10) minutes in length; nor shall there be more than two (2) seconding speeches for any candidate for President or Vice President and each of said second speeches shall not exceed two (2) minutes in length."

My Recommendation: Change to allow fifteen minutes to be used as the "serious candidate" sees fit. It may be to our advantage to divide the time: 5 minutes for nominators, and 2 minutes for 5 seconders.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

^X
"(b) For 'favorite son' candidates the total time of the nominating speech and seconding speeches shall not exceed five (5) minutes."

My Recommendation: Lump in this "favorite son" category those who are not qualified as "serious candidates" in paragraph (c) below. This will accommodate primary winners in one or two states that do not have "favorite son" status.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

^X
"(c) To be considered a serious candidate for President, evidence of delegate support from five (5) states must be presented."

My Recommendation: Define delegate support as 10% of convention delegates (134 votes). Under the DO Committee's proposal "evidence" is left to the permanent chairman. Unless the Rule is clarified, anti-Nixon forces will surely complain that the Chairman is prejudiced if he doesn't recognize other candidates as "serious". If the Rule is clear, dissidents cannot criticize the President for influencing the chairman to "railroad" the convention.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____



THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20540

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

July 6, 1971

To: House Rules Committee
Attention: Mr. Hynes

From: American Law Division

Subject: Difference Between Robert's Rules of Order and the Rules of the House of Representatives with Regard to Both Approaches to Parliamentary Procedure and Actual Major Differences

In regard to your request for information regarding the differences between Robert's Rules of Order and the Rules of the House of Representatives with respect to both major actual differences in procedure in the two and differences in their approach to parliamentary procedure, the following is submitted.

It should be noted at the outset that Robert's Rules of Order are adapted from the Rules of the House of Representatives for the purpose of serving deliberative bodies as opposed to legislative bodies. As General Robert himself noted when the first edition of his work appeared, "A work on parliamentary law is needed, based, in its general principles, upon the rules and practice of Congress, but adapted in its details to the use of ordinary societies....The object of Rules of Order is to assist an assembly to accomplish in the best possible manner the work for which it was designed....Experience has shown the importance of definiteness in the law; and in this

country where customs are so slightly established and the published manuals of parliamentary practice so conflicting, no society should attempt to conduct business without having adopted some work upon the subject as the authority in all cases not covered by its own special rules."

The Rules of the House of Representatives and Robert's Rules of Order differ then not only in substance but in philosophy because each is designed to serve a different function and a different type of assembly. Robert's Rules are designed to serve almost any type of assembly from a local garden club to a convention of a national organization. In order to accomplish this the Rules as set forth are very flexible, and provide for alternative solutions to many problems that might arise in the course of a meeting. Also for the benefit of the layman in the field of parliamentary law many of the "rules" contain a great deal of commentary that, to a certain extent, is almost indistinguishable from the "rule", yet upon close examination is obviously not a part of it. The Rules of the House of Representatives, on the other hand, are very succinct and to the point. Any elaboration or explanation that is necessary is obtained from interpretations of the Rules by the various Speakers.

The Rules of the House of Representatives enjoy a further advantage over Robert's Rules in that those bodies which use them have available to them almost all of the precedents of the House of Representatives in the eight volumes of Hinds' and Cannon's Precedents.

The following is a partial listing of some of the specific differences between the Rules of the House and Robert's Rules of Order.

(1) Quorum - For the House, the quorum requirements are set forth in the Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 5, Clause 1 which provides that, "...a majority of each House shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members,..."

Robert's Rules provide that unless the by-laws provide for a smaller quorum, the quorum of a body of delegates is a majority of the number enrolled as attending the convention. As Robert's notes, p. 258, "This may differ greatly from the number elected or appointed."

(2) Motion to lay on the table - As it has developed in the House the motion to lay on the table, if adopted, effectively kills a bill because, with a few exceptions, a matter once laid on the table can be taken therefrom only by unanimous consent or the motion to suspend the rules. However, it may be reconsidered.

Robert's Rules provide that the object of such a motion is only to enable an assembly, in order to attend to more urgent business, to lay aside the pending question in such a way that its consideration may be resumed at the will of the assembly as easily as if it were a new question, and in preference to new questions competing with it for consideration. Also, such motion may not be reconsidered after a vote "because, if lost the motion may be renewed as soon as there has been material progress in debate or business, or even before, if anything unforeseen occurs of such an urgent nature as to require immediate attention; and if adopted the question may be taken from the table as soon as the interrupting business has been disposed of and while no question is pending, and business of this class, or new or unfinished business, is in order" Robert's Rules, 1959 Ed., p. 107.

(3) Previous Question - In the House it takes only a majority to vote the previous question; under Robert's Rules two-thirds is required.

(4) Limitations on debate - While the Rules of the House provide for several situations which result in limitations on debate such as the hour-rule or the five-minute rule and additionally the more or less standardized practice of, in the special order providing for the taking up of a measure, providing for a specific time limit for debate, the practice of Robert's Rules is to require two-thirds to limit debate on a question.

(5) Seconds - In the House of Representatives seconds are not required for ordinary motions, only for a motion to suspend the rules and a motion to adjourn on new call of the House. Under Robert's Rules all motions usually require a second. 1951 Ed., p. 36.

(6) In the House there is no appeal provided for from a decision of the chair as to who is entitled to the floor. Under Robert's Rules, Sec. 3, any two members may so appeal, one making the appeal and the other seconding.

(7) Leave to withdraw motions - House Rule XVI, Sec. 2 provides that motions may be withdrawn at any time before a decision or amendment. Under Robert's Rules, Sec. 27, a motion may be withdrawn even though it has been amended.

(8) Robert's Rules, Sec. 36, provides for a motion to reconsider and have entered on the minutes, a motion unknown in the House. The purpose of such a motion under Robert's Rules is to prevent a temporary majority from taking action that is opposed by the majority of the society.

(9) In accord with Robert's Rules predeliction toward free and extended debate, many motions which would have the effect of cutting off debate require a two-thirds vote for adoption, whereas in the House the two-thirds requirement is limited because of the press of business.

In the House a two-thirds vote is required to (1) pass a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution, (2) to pass a vetoed bill; (3) to dispense with calendar Wednesday; (4) to dispense with the call of the Private Calendar; and (5) to consider a special rule immediately; (6) expulsion of a member.

Under Robert's Rules a two-thirds vote is required to (1) amend, annul, repeal, or rescind any part of the constitution, by-laws, or rules of order, previously adopted; previous notice also required; (2) amend or rescind a standing rule, a program of order of business, or a resolution, previously adopted, without notice being given at a previous meeting or in the call for this meeting; (3) take up a question out of its proper order; (4) suspend the Rules; (5) make a special order; (6) discharge an order of the day before it is pending; (7) refuse to proceed to the orders of the day; (8) sustain an objection to the consideration of a question; (9) order the previous question; (10) limit or extend the limits of debate; (11) extend the time appointed for adjournment or for taking a recess; (12) close nominations or the polls; (13) expel from membership or office; also requires previous notice and trial unless for offense committed in the assembly; (14) depose from office that is not held for a definite period, and previous notice has not been given; (15) discharge a committee when previous notice has not

been given; (16) reconsider in Committee when a member of the majority is absent and has not been notified of a proposed reconsideration.

The above list of noted differences is by no means exhaustive but should serve to indicate how very different the House Rules are from Robert's Rules.



Robert L. Thornton
Legislative Attorney
Ext. 6006

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

September 1, 1971

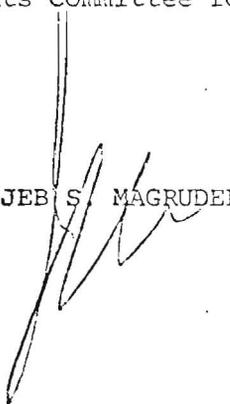
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: '72 Convention

Enclosed for your approval or disapproval is a memorandum from Bill Timmons regarding hotel accommodations, transportation, and seating for major officials in the Administration. Bill is being pressed by the RNC Arrangements Committee for answers to these various questions.

JEB S. MAGRUDER



Enclosure

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *WT*
SUBJECT: 72 Convention

The RNC Arrangements Committee is pushing me for answers to questions about hotel accommodations, transportation and convention seats for major officials in the Administration.

While White House personnel will be located with the campaign staff and President and Vice Presidential parties, Cabinet and subcabinet officials probably could best serve by being housed with their home state delegations. Also, we need to know how many of the subcabinet and agency heads and their staff will be attending the convention. There are two approaches: we can tell them who is to attend, where they'll stay, etc. -- or we can ask them who in their department will be in attendance. I prefer the latter course and recommend I be authorized to contact each Cabinet officer and agency head to request information.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

*But
BT
reach
more
people
not v. st.*

It is my hope that the above officials will be honored guests of the RNC for the convention and that seats and ground transportation will be provided by the National Committee. However, airline transportation and hotel rooms and charges will be the responsibility of the individual Cabinet officer.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

Attached are listings of the principal officers who may be included in your consideration, however, I question including anybody from regulatory bodies.

Incidentally, I anticipate that George Shultz and his principal personnel will be housed with the White House staff.

1.	William P. Rogers	Secretary of State
2.	John B. Connally	Secretary of Treasury
3.	Melvin Laird	Secretary of Defense
4.	John Mitchell	The Attorney General
5.	Winton Blount	The Postmaster General
6.	Rogers Morton	Secretary of Interior
7.	Clifford Hardin	Secretary of Agriculture
8.	Maurice Stans	Secretary of Commerce
9.	James Hodgson	Secretary of Labor
10.	Elliot Richardson	Secretary of HEW
11.	George Romney	Secretary of HUD
12.	John Volpe	Secretary of Transportation
13.	Robert F. Froehlke	Secretary of the Army
14.	Robert Seamans	Secretary of the Air Force
15.	John Chafee	Secretary of the Navy
16.	George Bush	Ambassador to the U.N.
17.	David Kennedy	Ambassador At Large
18.	Dr. Arthur Burns	Chairman, Federal Reserve Board
19.	Dr. Edward David	Science Advisor to the President
20.	Virginia Knauer	Consumer Advisor to the President
21.	Paul McCracken	Chairman, Council of Economic Advisors
22.	Russell Train	Chairman, Environmental Quality Council
23.		Director of OEO
24.	George Lincoln	Director of OEP
25.	Nils Boe	Director of Intergovernmental Relations
26.	Carl Gilbert	Special Representative for Trade Negotiations
27.	Clay Whitehead	Director, Office of Tele- communications Policy
28.	Donald Whitehead	Federal Co-Chairman, Appalachian Regional Comm.
29.	William Ruckelshaus	Administrator, EPA
30.	William Brown	Chairman, EEOC
31.	Robert Kunzig	Administrator, GSA
32.	Dr. James Fletcher	Administrator, NASA
33.	Thomas Kleppe	Administrator, SBA
34.	Frank Shakespeare	Director, USIA
35.	Donald Johnson	Administrator, VA
36.	Dr. John Hannah	Administrator, AID
37.	Joseph Blatchford	Director, ACTION

LIST OF THOSE NOT INCLUDED

Chairman, AEC Commission (Jim Schlesinger)
Director, Arms Control Agency
Chairman, CAB
Chairman, Civil Service Commission
President, Exim Bank (Henry Kearn)
Governor, Farm Credit Administrator
Chairman, FFC (Dean Burch)
Chairman, FDIC
Director, Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service
Chairman, FPC
Chairman, FTC
Chairman, Foreign Claims Settlement
Chairman, Indian Claims Council
Chairman, ICC
Chairman, National Commission on Consumer Finance
Administrator, National Credit Union Admin.
Chairman, National Foundation on the Arts & Humanities
Chairman, NLRB
Director, National Science Foundation
President, Overseas Private Investment Corp.
Chairman, Renegotiation Board
Chairman, SEC
Director, Selective Service System
Chairman, SACB
Commissioner, Tariff Commission (Catherine May)
Chairman, TVA
Chairman, FHLB Board (Preston Martin)
Chairman, Federal Maritime Commission (Helen Bentley)
President, FNMA (Oakley Hunter)

Ideas on a Tentative Agenda

Dick Kleindienst's statement sums up the thinking of our convention strategy task force: "Let's throw away the 'book,' start fresh, and put on a three day show which will most help the President -- we should pay off our debts to the politicians in the morning sessions and use the evenings to sell the President and his accomplishments."

Monday, August 21, 1971

Daytime: Procedural details.

Evening: 1972 version of traditional Keynote Address.

Film of Foreign Travel.

Salute to Mrs. Nixon.

Tuesday, August 22, 1971

Daytime: Committee reports; procedural details.

Evening: Nomination of President.

Nomination of Vice President.

Possible Presidential drop-by.

Vice President's Acceptance Speech.

Wednesday, August 23, 1971

Daytime: Business session if necessary.

Evening: President's Acceptance Speech.

Adjournment.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

October 19, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: 1972 Republican Convention Positions

Harry Flemming has mentioned to us your desire to have some preliminary recommendations for key positions at the 1972 convention by the time of the Republican governors meeting in November. Governor Milliken, chairman of the R.G.A., had requested in a meeting with you that some of the key positions go to governors this time.

Others have also begun to make requests: Representative Ford has written the President that he desires to be Permanent Chairman again, Senator Scott and Representative Rhodes have both let it be known they would like the Platform Committee, etc.

The initial goal of our convention task force was to submit to you by this time a preliminary set of recommendations for the various posts. But in a series of meetings of the task force, it became clear that such a set of recommendations would be premature.

Normally, these posts are filled on a catch-as-catch-can basis, according to past political traditions and the relative clout which those who desire the various positions have. This year, the task force believes a fresh start should be made and that selections should be based not primarily on these factors, but on what serves the President's best interests in terms of presenting a television image to the nation which most appeals to those segments of the citizenry which we wish to influence, and those issues which we want to address, at the time of the convention. What these groups and issues are may not be known until after the Democratic convention.

While a few selections (e.g., Platform Chairman) will have to be made by spring, most can and should be held until after the

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

Democratic convention. It is then that we will know what mood and tone we wish to set, and which issues we will want to address.

Hence, the attached memorandum from Bill Timmons transmits the task force's recommendations to you (see p. 4) that no commitments be made at this time, that Chairman Dole be responsible for stopping the lobbying for the various positions, that we hold off for as long as possible on some of the high-visibility positions, and that candidates for the various posts be judged first on the image they project.

If this general strategy was approved, either you or Bill Timmons could communicate it to Chairman Dole. In French Lick, we would assure the governors that they will play a prominent role in the convention, but give no specific commitments. (Certainly at least three governors -- Milliken, Reagan, and Rockefeller -- will have convention roles, so there should be no problem here).

Those who have participated in our meetings include Pat Buchanan, Harry Dent, Dick Moore, Don Rumsfeld, and Bill Timmons. There is unanimous agreement in this group on these recommendations.

There is a second course of action which Harry Flemming urges be considered. Since there could be a problem if Chairman Dole did not enforce the "no lobbying" agreement, we could make some preliminary decisions before French Lick and before the jockeying for positions began in earnest. For example, in order to pull both wings of the party together, governors Reagan and Rockefeller could be named co-chairmen of the Platform Committee. Harry feels this would be a signal to all that the party and its '72 Platform Committee would be united, and it would please the R.G.A. (The negative points are that having co-chairmen might prove impractical, particularly if they disagreed, and that neither governor is familiar with the House rules under which the committee operates).

Then, a member of the House and Senate (e.g., Representative Ford as Permanent Chairman and Senator Brooke as Temporary Chairman), would be selected in advance of French Lick. Having made commitments to these three groups, decisions on the other posts would be held until next year. By making these symbolic gestures now, Harry feels, we would not be affected by the bartering that is certain to occur later, particularly if Dole could not keep everyone who wanted a position cooled off.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

3

If you approve of this second course of action, we will run this through our task force and come back with specific suggestions for a governor, Senator, and Congressman, in order that they can be decided upon before French Lick.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

If you approve the task force strategy, either you or Bill Timmons could communicate it to Chairman Dole.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

Have Timmons discuss it with Dole.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

cc: Mr. Harry S. Flemming

✓ bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS **BT.**

SUBJECT: '72 REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

There are a number of important convention positions which must be filled before August of next year. The most important posts with high public visibility are:

1. Temporary Chairman
2. Permanent Chairman
3. Keynoter
4. President's Nominator
5. Vice President's Nominator
6. Platform Chairman
7. Campaign Floor Leader

Other important appointments with some less public exposure are:

1. Secretary
2. President's Seconders (3)
3. Vice President's Seconders (3)
4. Rules Chairman
5. Credentials Chairman
6. Chief Page
7. Sargeant-At-Arms (Ody Fish already selected)
8. Parliamentarian
9. Individuals to introduce others in program (probably 5)
10. Platform Vice Chairman (to present various planks -- 5)

There are twenty-nine positions in the two categories above. In addition, there are other minor assignments such as a committee to notify the President of his nomination, committee to escort the President, permanent organization chairman, etc.

By virtue of their office there are some who will automatically be on the program. They are:

1. Mayor Pete Wilson (assuming his election) - greeting
2. Governor Ronald Reagan - welcome
3. Senator Bob Dole - National Chairman
4. Dick Herman - Arrangements Vice Chairman
5. Bill Milliken - Chairman, Republican Governors Association
6. Don Sundquist - Chairman, National Young Republicans
7. ? - President, Women's Federation
8. Representative Bob Wilson - Chairman, House Campaign Committee
9. Senator Peter Dominick - Chairman, Senate Campaign Committee
10. The Vice President
11. The President

There is a "must" list of those who should have prominent roles in the San Diego Convention. They are:

1. Ronald Reagan (Big State - Conservative)
2. Nelson Rockefeller (Big State - Liberal)
3. Edward Brooke (Black - Liberal)
4. Gerald Ford (Minority Leader - Conservative)
5. Hugh Scott (Minority Leader - Liberal)
6. Barry Goldwater (former candidate - Conservative)

There is a second group which should be carefully screened for possible key convention appointments:

1. Senator Jim Buckley (appeals to youth, N.Y., conservative)
2. Senator Howard Baker (appeals to suburban votes)
3. Senator Bill Brock (appeals to youth)
4. Senator Jacob Javits (Jewish, New York, Liberal)
5. Senator Charles Percy (Illinois, Liberal)
6. Representative Jack Kemp (youth)
7. Representative Bill Steiger (youth)
8. Governor Winfield Dunn (good image)
9. Governor Linwood Holton (good image)
10. Mayor Richard Lugar (attractive, Indiana)
11. Anne Armstrong (attractive, woman, Texas)

And from the Administration consideration of some exposure should be considered for:

1. John Connally (probably in a category to himself)
2. Joe Blatchford (youth)
3. Rogers Morton (former RNC Chairman, big image)
4. George Bush (youth image)
5. Bill Ruckelshaus (attractive, ecology)
6. Bob Finch (to balance Reagan)
7. Don Rumsfeld (youth)
8. Art Fletcher (Black)

Among others who may be given consideration are:

1. Representative John Rhodes (requested platform committee)
2. Senator Margaret Smith (woman)
3. Representative Peggy Heckler (woman)
4. Virginia Knauer (woman - consumer)
5. Secretary John Volpe (Italian)
6. Secretary George Romney (Mormon)
7. Senator Hiram Fong (Oriental)
8. Bill Brown (EEOC - Black)
9. Governor Bob Ray (farm)
10. Senator Bob Griffin (tough race)
11. Senator Lowell Weicker (youth)
12. Senator Bob Packwood (youth)
13. Senator John Tower (Texas)
14. Senator Ted Stevens (tough race)
15. Senator Jack Miller (farm)
16. Governor Dick Olgivie (tough race)
17. Representative Bob Mathias (youth)
18. Representative John Anderson (Illinois leader)
19. Representative H. Allen Smith (expects to be parliamentarian)

There are forty-four individuals listed in these four resource categories. They break down into 17 Senators, 14 from Administration, 9 Representatives, 8 Governors, 5 from GOP and 2 Mayors. The group includes 3 Blacks and 5 women. Of course there are other prominent Republicans outside local, state and federal government who may be able to make a contribution to the Convention.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That Chairman Dole, Attorney General Mitchell and others involved make absolutely no specific or general commitments on convention posts at this time.
2. That Bob Dole be charged with responsibility for "cooling off" pressures generated by candidates for specific positions.
3. That January 1, 1972 be our target date for firming up lists of individuals who could be appointed convention jobs. Several will have to be named in early spring but many decisions should be held until after the Democratic Convention in July.
4. That we agree on criteria for evaluating candidates to be:
 - (1) Image on television and ability to hold audience
 - (2) Loyalty to President
 - (3) Negatives in non selection
 - (4) Political benefits in appointment
 - (a) youth
 - (b) women
 - (c) minority/ethnics
 - (d) regional/target states
 - (e) compromise/pay off
 - (f) philosophical/ issues

Timmons

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 11/10/71

TO: H R Haldeman

FROM: William E. Timmons

Please Handle _____

For Your Information

Other

11/12 Timmons - no action
necessary by H

TENTATIVE

GENERAL SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

SHERATON-PARK HOTEL -- WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 8-11, 1971

ALL TIMES GIVEN HERE ARE EASTERN STANDARD TIME

Wednesday, December 8, 1971

- 12:00 Noon - 2:00 p.m. - Reception and Luncheon for Republican State Chairmen
- 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. - Meeting of Republican State Chairmen

Thursday, December 9, 1971

- 10:00 a.m. - 12:00 Noon - Meeting of Committee on Arrangements for the 1972 Republican National Convention
- 12:00 Noon - 2:00 p.m. - Reception and Luncheon for Members of Committee on Arrangements
- 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. - Continuation of Meeting of Committee on Arrangements
- 10:00 a.m. - 12:00 Noon - Meeting of Committee on Rules
- 12:00 Noon - 2:00 p.m. - Reception and Luncheon for Members of Committee on Rules
- 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. - Continuation of Meeting of Committee on Rules
- 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. - Meeting of Committee on Call
- 6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m. - Reception for Members of the Republican National Committee and Spouses

Hosts: Bob Dole
Anne Armstrong
Tom Evans

Friday, December 10, 1971

- 8:00 a.m. - 9:45 a.m. - Breakfast Meetings:
 - Regional State Chairmen's Associations
 - National Committeemen
 - National Committeewomen

(OVER)

Friday, December 10, 1971 (Continued)

- 10:00 a.m. - 12:00 Noon - Meeting of Republican National Committee
- 12:00 Noon - 2:00 p.m. - Reception and Luncheon for Members of the Republican National Committee (Speaker to be announced later)
- 2:00 p.m. - 5:30 p.m. - Continuation of Meeting of Republican National Committee
- 7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m. - Reception and Dinner for Members of the Republican National Committee and Spouses

Saturday, December 11, 1971

- 8:00 a.m. - 9:45 a.m. - Breakfast Meeting for Members of the DO Committee
- 10:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. - Continuation of Meeting of Republican National Committee
- 1:00 p.m. - Adjournment

* * * * *

Peter Thompson
for Vancouver
for Cedar

SD - area

agreed on bluffing
strategy ahead

Bill Herman out Tues
to solve problem.
Caribner.

may appear in paper

(RNC)

our letter of intent weak

November 15, 1971

FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

For your information. The Attorney General has
not seen this as yet.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 15, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached for your information is a copy of a memorandum from Bart Porter reporting on the Movie Industry meeting which was held in California on November 10.

I have indicated to Porter that we should not have a press conference announcing formation of this group until the President announces his candidacy and you join the campaign as Director.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

November 12, 1971

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

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER *Barf*
SUBJECT: Report on Movie Industry Meeting
November 10, 1971
List of Attendees Attached at Tab A

DISCUSSION

Taft Schreiber opened the meeting by reviewing what the Nixon Administration had done for the movie industry. He called on those assembled to offer their assistance in helping to provide a more youthful image to the Administration to help in the President's re-election.

The Attorney General spoke of the absolute necessity to re-elect Richard Nixon, stating that the "salvation of the country" was at stake. He reviewed the possible Democratic candidates and there was agreement that none of them held a candle to the President. The Attorney General reviewed how in 1968 Hubert Humphrey's campaign was given life by several celebrities from the movie industry at a rally in the Houston Astrodome. This appeared to be a turning point in Humphrey's campaign.

The Attorney General stated that he was greatly encouraged that such a group would come together and reminded them that organization will be the key to this movie industry committee being successful.

ACTION BEING TAKEN

1. Space. American International Pictures has offered space for the committee in its offices on Wilshire Boulevard. Taft Schreiber is following.

2. Key Contacts. Each Individual present at the meeting was asked to name a key contact in his company, to act as liaison between his company and the movie industry committee. Taft Schreiber is following.
3. Professional Staff. The group agreed to support the activities of a full-time professional staff man from within the industry, plus two secretaries. This person would be the chief contact between the movie industry committee and the campaign committee, including the White House. Taft Schreiber is following.

PROPOSALS

Taft Schreiber is proposing that Dick Zanuck and Bob Evans serve as Chairmen of this yet-to-be-named movie industry committee. Zanuck has already agreed and Evans is being approached. Should Evans be reluctant, Taft will work through Charles Bludhorn, Chairman of Gulf & Western, to convince Evans to take the job. Paramount Pictures, Bob Evans company, is owned by Gulf & Western. Taft says Bludhorn told him that he (Bludhorn) will support the President.

In addition, Taft would like to have four or five other younger members who attended the meeting to act as co-Chairmen of the committee. This group would include Mike Maitland, President, MCA Records, and Peter Gruber, from Columbia Pictures. Taft is trying to set up a luncheon meeting for Thursday, November 18 at his offices, which would include the above-mentioned six or seven people. The purpose of the meeting would be to begin the organizational planning required to insure the group's effectiveness.

Taft thinks this group should become highly visible, at the appropriate time, with the first order of business being a full-blown press conference (date to be determined) to announce the formation of the committee. I have asked Taft to proceed slowly here and to be sure to review all plans with me. I will keep you informed.

May I have your comments?

LIST OF ATTENDEES

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

BART PORTER

RICHARD MOORE

RICHARD ZANUCK, Executive Vice President - Warner Bros.

ROBERT EVANS, Vice President, Worldwide Production Chief -
Paramount Pictures

DOUGLAS NETTER, Executive Vice President, M-G-M

PETER GUBER, Motion Picture Production Vice President, Columbia
Pictures

JACK WARNER, Now producing motion picture "1776" (with Columbia
release)

SAM SCHULMAN, Vice Chairman of Board - National General

MIKE MAITLAND, President, MCA RECORDS (including Decca, Kapp
and Uni)

RONALD JACOBS, President, Thomas Spelling Productions (Danny
Thomas Productions)

ARTHUR L. PARK, Partner in firm of Chasin-Park-Citron (agents)

OTIS FROST, Vice President, Transamerica (United Artists)

TAFT B. SCHREIBER, MCA, Inc.

JAMES NICHOLSON, President, American International Productions

CHARLES BOREN, Executive Vice President, Association of Motion
Pictures

STUART ERWIN, JR., Represents Universal Pictures on day to day
basis

EDWARD P. PRELOCK, Represents Disney Pictures on day to day
level

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 12, 1971

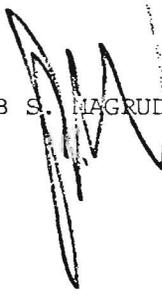
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is a draft letter sent to me from the RNC for your signature, with a list of people to whom it might be sent, and an explanation of the "Friends of Richard Nixon" seminar.

I understand that Anne Armstrong has discussed this letter with you, and would appreciate your sending it out.

I have read the draft and it appears to be a satisfactory letter. However, I think that the list to whom it will be sent should be changed. Would not Donald Rumsfeld or Paul McCracken be a good person to speak on the economy? And would not Dolf Droge be a good person to speak on foreign affairs?


JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachments

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT

November --, 1971

Dear -----:

The Republican National Committee is planning a two-day Washington seminar (December 14-15) to assist in the development of spokesmen to speak before young audiences. All participants are elected state officials who have been carefully selected for this purpose.

Entitled "Friends of Richard Nixon," the program is designed to discuss current national issues in the guest speaker's area of expertise, as well as to provide the participants an opportunity to gain personal acquaintance with leaders in the Administration. All sessions will be held during the afternoon at the Statler Hilton.

I urge you to accept the forthcoming invitation to speak at the seminar. Your presence will help insure the success of a program I believe will be highly effective in gaining increased support from a large portion of young voters. A brief outline of the program is enclosed and you will be contacted shortly with further details.

Sincerely,

John N. Mitchell

Enclosure

LIST OF INDIVIDUALS TO
WHOM LETTER SHOULD BE SENT

Joseph Blatchford

John Connally *Don Rumsfeld*

John Ehrlichman

Henry Kissinger - *Salvatore Droge*

Virginia Knauer

Rogers Morton

Curtis Tarr



Republican
National
Committee.

November 9, 1971

Tobin Armstrong, Co-Chairman

"Friends of Richard Nixon"

The National Committee recently launched its program to meet the immediate need for developing state and local speakers to support the Administration before young audiences.

We are planning a two-day Washington seminar at the Statler Hilton in December (14th and 15th) for the purpose of bringing approximately two elected officials from each state for discussions with chief Administration spokesmen. The officials will be chosen by state party leaders on the basis of their rapport with young people and their ability to effectively promote Administration policy within their states. They will pay their own expenses as well as the registration fee of \$25.00.

The seminar is designed to stress issues, furnish the facts to support the President's achievements and to give the participants an opportunity to gain personal acquaintance with members of the Administration. Upon their return home, the participants will be active in scheduling speaking engagements before young audiences for themselves and in securing other youth-oriented speakers in their states.

We at the National Committee feel very strongly that this program will be a major asset for the President and the Party. For a minimal investment of time and funds, we can develop youth spokesmen and campaign contacts in the states that will complement present and future efforts. Early responses from state party leaders have been most enthusiastic, and we have received suggested names for participants from 25 states.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

covered
in H/AG
11/4

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

November 11, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

In a recent memorandum to the President you raised several questions regarding the participation of Cabinet members in the campaign.

Inasmuch as you were unable to attend the Cabinet meeting which was held on November 5, I am furnishing you the following information which was discussed at that meeting.

Question 1. Should Cabinet Officers retain a voting residence in their home states?

Answer: There is no legal problem here. They may do so if they desire and, in most cases, it probably makes political sense.

Question 2. Should Cabinet Officers, if eligible, become delegates to the National Convention from their home States?

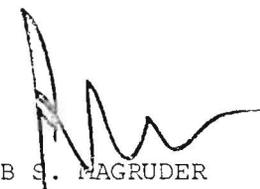
Answer: Yes, if they wish to. Some Cabinet Officers will be asked specifically to do so.

Question 3. What role, if any, should members of the Cabinet play in the Presidential primaries in New Hampshire and elsewhere?

Answer: In the November 5 Cabinet meeting the President asked the members of the Cabinet to be ready to act as surrogate spokesmen in the primaries and in the campaign. You will certainly be asked to assist the President, Mr. Secretary, in New Hampshire and in other primary states.

If I can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman


JEB S. MAGRUDER

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 12, 1971



ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**
SUBJECT: Bud Wilkinson

The Attorney General saw Bud Wilkinson two weeks ago and expressed interest in using him in the campaign. Magruder received the assignment to follow up with Wilkinson. Magruder checked with Colson and Wilkinson will be involved in the campus speakers program, but scheduled by Bart Porter of the Committee.

may Howard

November 3, 1971

advised
it

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK COLSON
FROM: L. HIGBY
SUBJECT: Bud Wilkinson

Bob asked that we check out the possibility of having Bud Wilkinson go on some of the campuses for us as part of our campus speaker's program. I'm not sure who the best person would be to approach Wilkinson, but will you please see that someone gets in touch with Bud. I'd suggest Rumsfeld, Finch or Magruder.

Thank you.

cc: James McLane
Ken Reitz

LH:pm:
LH:kb

Magruder

11/15

FU
9/24

September 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
 FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
 SUBJECT: Bud Wilkinson

Harry Dent prepared the memorandum indicating that Bud Wilkinson would not be running for the Senate in Oklahoma this year. Dent may raise this with the Attorney General tomorrow.

In any event, you and I should figure out how Bud Wilkinson should be used in the campaign, for as Mr. Dent indicates "Wilkinson is interested in helping in the campaign in a manner that would be 'appropriate'."

Maybe we should do this on Friday after the meeting with the Attorney General.

*Spokesman Resource + Celebrities
 JSM call Bud Wilkinson
 now + ask to be
 surrog cand*

GS:elr

10/19

*Saw A.G. last wk,
 no substance
 likes dillc
 front job, not full
 time*

Dent

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY L
SUBJECT: Bud Wilkinson

To H
w/ note
Bul G
9/20
X R
attach
cc of
Dent's
memo
on Wilkinson
return for
my campaign
file

Please find out by Monday, whether or not Bud Wilkinson is going to run. If not, we should be making plans to use him in the Campaign, especially with Youth and to build up enthusiasm.

I imagine Dent should be the contact on this, but if there is somebody who is closer to Wilkinson, i. e., Harlow, let's have him make the call. You should not make the call.

Harlow → H 10a?

G + J & M plan → Sears, etc
Jay

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN
FROM: HARRY DENT 
SUBJECT: Bud Wilkinson

I have checked on Bud Wilkinson and have talked directly with him. He says it is unlikely that he will make the race for the Senate, primarily because he believes no Republican can win in view of Congressman Ed Edmundson's entry into the race. Former Governor Bartlett will definitely run and is working harder now than he did for re-election as governor. Wilkinson thinks he could beat Bartlett in a GOP primary. He thinks astronaut Tom Stafford cannot get the necessary money together and that former state chairman Bud Stewart, now running one of our regional economic development commissions, is only talking about running for publicity purposes.

Bud feels very keenly that he has not been used as a special consultant to the President in the past four months. He wants to resign the position unless he is to be used in some way. He said he will talk with the Attorney General about this on his next trip to Washington.

Wilkinson is interested in helping in the campaign in a manner that would be "appropriate." Harlow and I agree he would do best in rounding up the sports stars and in keeping the President executing the right sports PR moves. He is good on TV and for public appearances. Also, he is a Member of the Republican National Committee.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

FO
11/15

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

November 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM:

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR. R

Following your suggestion that someone talk to Tom B. Evans about the convention, I discussed this with Bill Timmons. Bill did not think it appropriate for him to discuss the convention with Evans, since Dole had asked him not to. Therefore, on Bill's suggestion, I called Dick Herman, Vice Chairman of the Arrangements Committee for the convention, and asked him to talk to Evans at an opportune time. Herman said he would -- and also said that he had been told by Dole that he had his permission to deal with Evans from time to time on matters relating to the convention. Thus, Herman will discuss with Evans what we have done thus far on the convention and the facilities which are available in San Diego for us.

cc: Mr. William E. Timmons

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 4, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
H.R. HALDEMAN
ED MORGAN

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HSD*

The question of busing is still a hot issue, as per the latest Gallup Poll--76% opposed--and the action of the liberal Michigan Legislature against busing.

We need to at least come out for an anti-busing amendment which is anti-forced busing but will not take us back to dual schools. We need only be general but for such a principle. We can use a response to a letter from Senator Griffin to get out our position. We don't have to endorse his proposal, which he tells me will carry liberal ole Michigan--just a general idea.

The Time Is Now!!

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 5, 1971

TO: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: HARRY S. DENT

Virginia is now ripe to get the Republicans and Harry Byrd together in view of the second Holton disaster and the defeat for former governor Mills Godwin's efforts to revive conservative control of the Democratic party in the state. Actually, it was good for us that liberal Herb Howell won the lieutenant governorship. This insures his domination of the Democratic party and further discourages Byrd-Godwin forces from trying to re-take the Democratic party and "go back home." It also shows that Holton cannot produce with his brand of liberalism in Virginia.

What we need in Virginia is to have Congressman Kenneth Robinson to be our presidential campaign chairman. Byrd leans toward him, he is in good shape with the state GOP Chairman and Holton, and he is recommended very highly by our Republican friends who support Byrd.

I recommend that you and I see Mills Godwin right away, as he and his forces will be looking around now and trying to figure what to do for the future.

We have three Democratic Congressmen who are susceptible to supporting the President in 1972. They are Dan Daniel, Dave Satterfield, and Wat Abbitt. Daniel is the most likely to switch parties and Satterfield next.

These gentlemen also would like to meet with someone and have suggested the possibility of getting together with me.

Jim Olmstead and Dick Short, our two good friends who support Byrd and the GOP, should be involved in anything we do.

copy: H. R. Haldeman 

November 5, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
H.R. HALDEMAN —

FROM:

HARRY DENT 

It now appears that Florida may be safe for 1972 if Wallace goes forward with plans to run in the Democrat primary. A ruling has been made that he may run as a Democrat and that if he does and subsequently runs as an Independent in the general election, he forfeits any electoral votes he might win to the second highest candidate. The Secretary of State there wants to cut Jackson down in the primary. Also, Lester Maddox helped force this ruling by declaring that he would run in the primary if Wallace didn't.

Thus, if Wallace makes his decision to run in the primary this may be an indication he is willing to forfeit Florida's electoral votes and must therefore not be serious about running next November.

Dent

11/15

November 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *(Signature)*

Three Virginia Democrat Congressmen -- Daniel, Abbitt, and Satterfield -- want to have a meeting with me right away on the recommendation of Dick Short, who is a close friend of Senator Byrd. Daniel indicated some interest in running for U. S. Senate as a Republican.

Please give me your advice.

✓ bcc: H. R. Haldeman

Dent → AG

for answers

*Dent → AG last wk talk +
get back w/ info
leaving to*

*Ken Robinson to be
Nixon Chmn for Va
War. F. Lem - won't
do unless for
Gov - being up
w/ Holten*

Dent

November 9, 1971

TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Wallace B. Henley
SUBJECT: Conversation with Charlie Jonas, Jr.

I had a telephone conversation about North Carolina politics with Charlie Jonas, Jr., following his visit here with the North Carolina group last week.

Jonas said he had a long conversation with Jim Gardner on the flight back to North Carolina. Gardner, he says, is in a very penitent state. He regrets all that has happened in the past to alienate him from his political friends and he wants to do better.

Gardner wants to run for the Senate. He believes that the party regulars are convinced that - win or lose - it's Jim Holshouser's turn to go for governor. Gardner thinks that even if he ran for governor and came up with the nomination, he'd have a divided party on his hands.

Jonas says, upon reflection, he can muster some enthusiasm about a Holshouser-Gardner ticket. He believes he can convince Holshouser that it's the right thing. Jonas thinks Gardner's candidacy would:

1. Help the President with North Carolina conservatives.
2. Help Holshouser with the same group.
3. Unite the party by giving everybody a place on the ticket.

cc: The Attorney General
H. R. Haldeman

I agree - HSD

AG refused to work
H need not do anything

meeting
may
have
primary
fight

Gard-Sen
Hols-Gov.