

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>
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Harry Dent. 10 pgs.
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Fred LaRue. 1 pg.
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Cliff Miller. 2 pgs.
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Jack Gleason. 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>
28	2	1/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: (unk). 1 pg.
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Don Rumsfeld. 20 pgs.
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Magruder's projects. 5 pgs.
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Dailey's excellent meeting with the Attorney General. 22 pgs.
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Page 17 of possible news summary. 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>
28	2	1/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to (for) the President's File RE: Meeting with the Attorney General, Jan. 3, 1972. 11 pgs.
28	2	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Republican National Convention/use of flag placards. 5 pgs.
28	2	1/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Roberts to Strachan RE: attached memo concerning books on various Interest Groups. 7 pgs.
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Monday campaign strategy meeting. 1 pg.
28	2	1/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to unk recipient ('action memo') RE: "approach to Blacks." 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>
28	2	1/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Attorney General approved letter listing delegates for the New Hampshire primary. 7 pgs.
28	2	1/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rietz to Strachan RE: ORC presentation on youth polling results. 1 pg.
28	2	1/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From McWhorter to Mitchell RE: San Diego convention. 2 pgs.
28	2	1/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Garment to Haldeman RE: attached memo concerning thoughts on documentaries. 5 pgs.
28	2	1/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Joanou to Strachan RE: Primary creative strategy statement. 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>
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: package of Buchanan's memoranda and planned talks. 2 pgs.
28	2	1/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Joanou to Haldeman RE: promotion materials. 7 pgs.
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Attorney General's approved \$70,000 direct mail effort in New Hampshire. 16 pgs.
28	2	1/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Flemming to Strachan RE: attached names and addresses of those confirmed to serve as state chairmen. 6 pgs.
28	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: attached letter to be signed for Muskie. 6 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>
28	2	1/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Draft from Malek to Haldeman RE: role in support of re-election. 7 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman  
Box Number: 308

Folder: 15 Campaign-Jan. 18, 1972

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
6	Retain Open
7	Retain Open
8	Retain Open
9	Return Private/Political Notes, "Harry Dent," n.d.
10	Return Private/Political Notes, "Fred La Rue," n.d.
11	Return Private/Political Notes, "Cliff Miller," n.d.
12	Retain Open
13	Return Private/Political Notes, "Jack Gleason," n.d.
14	Return Private/Political Notes, "Don Rumsfeld," n.d.
15	Return Private/Political Notes, "Magruder's Projects," n.d.
16	Return Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 1-27-72
17	Return Private/Political "McCloskey Filed for the...," n.d.
18	Return Private/Political Memo, HRH to the President's F16, 1-31-72
19	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2-3-72
20	Return Private/Political Note, Roberts to Strachan, 1-28-72
21	Return Private/Political Notes, "Mon-Camp Strategy..." 1-24-72
22	Return Private/Political Action Memo from HRH, 1-24-72
23	Return Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 1-20-72
24	Return Private/Political Memo, Rietz to Strachan, 1-21-72
25	Return Private/Political Memo, McWhorter to Mitchell, 1-20-72
26	Return Private/Political Note, Garment to HRH, 1-18-72
27	Return Private/Political Memo, Jeanou to Strachan, 1-25-72
28	Retain Open
29	Retain Open

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

**Collection:** H. R. Haldeman  
**Box Number:** 308

30	Return	Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 1-19-[72]
32	Return	Private/Political Memo, Joanou to H [RH], 1-18-72
33	Return	Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 1-19-[72]
34	Return	Private/Political Memo, Flemming to Strachan, 1-24-72
35	Return	Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 1-27-[72]
36	Retain	Open
37	Return	Private/Political Draft Memo, Malek to HRH, 1-28-72
38	Retain	Open
39	Retain	Open

## Harry Dent

① He believes that the P "dropby" at the Bob Brown dinner was one of the most important, successful, politically astute moves made toward blacks in this Administration;

② Hugh Chatham may sell and win the N. C. Senate seat in 1972; Pete Domenici may beat Dave Cargo for the <sup>nomination to seek the</sup> New Mexico ~~Senate~~ Senate seat.

③ Thurston Morton may lead a drive to get Louie Nunn into the <sup>Ky</sup> Senate race if there is

some financial assistance.

④ The first <sup>practical</sup> test of the Harry Dent theory of obtaining black votes was developed since your meeting with Mr. Dent during the week of Jan 12. Don Johnson of the NA reports that the Urban League claims that the P. ~~F~~ promised Whitney Young <sup>in oval office meetings</sup> 9 million in male work projects. Dent says there is no written record of this promise. ~~Ken~~ <sup>Dent says Ken</sup> Garment is ~~on~~ <sup>on</sup> a trip so ~~has~~ will favor creating these jobs for the Urban League. Garment

I am not sure whether you have discussed Dent's theory of <sup>southern</sup> black voters w/ the A.G. Dent has not contacted the A.G.

has not been contacted <sup>personally</sup> because he is out of on a trip and unavailable.

Dent is convinced Don Johnson can repeat this request without undue political flak. Dent strongly recommends that he do so, and that <sup>any</sup> available funds ~~are~~ <sup>be</sup> channelled to Dent/Bob Brown recruited blacks who can deliver for the P. on Nov. 7, 1972.

Recommendation:

If you have not discussed the Dent/Brown theory w/ the A.G., Dent should be advised to do so and then follow the A.G.'s advice on the disposition of the Urban League request.

A — D — C —

④ Rose Mary Woods and  
Carl Mac Gregor were invited to  
Henry Dent's Political Issues Group  
meeting but did not attend. At that  
meeting all strongly urged that you  
tell Frank Prokopy to make  
sure no USIA prestige poll similar  
to the one that damaged Nixon in 1960  
~~be held~~ is conducted in 1972,  
~~I prepared~~ <sup>was prepared</sup> a talking paper for you,  
but there was <sup>only</sup> ~~merely~~ a ~~sheet~~ <sup>(✓)</sup> on  
the cover <sup>(original attached at</sup> memorandum <sup>tab -)</sup> with  
no indication whether you accepted or  
rejected the advice of the Political Issues

group.

- Yes, H will cover with Shakespeare
- No, the AG will cover with Shakespeare
- Neither, H ~~or~~ AG will cover, drop the suggestion
- Other.

According to Maguder, rumors are circulating in the Washington press corps that Shakespeare will be leaving USIA to join the Campaign. Maguder checked with the AG confirmed that Shakespeare will not join the campaign.

January 25, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102  
By CP Date 3-29-82

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HS*  
SUBJECT: North Carolina and New Mexico  
Senate Races

Hugh Chatham, the manufacturer of Chatham blankets, will decide Thursday about running for the U. S. Senate in North Carolina. The North Carolina GOP Congressmen, the State GOP Chairman, and Senator Dominick all want him to make the race. He can win because he has the prestige, the name, the money, and the ability.

His father, Thurmond Chatham, was a Congressman for several years and his wife is a Morehead, another big name in North Carolina.

In New Mexico, a poll caused Ed Foreman to drop out of the race for the nomination, leaving Pete Domenici to fight Dave Cargo for the nomination. Bob Anderson now believes for the first time we may be able to win this seat with Domenici.

copy for Mr. Haldeman *✓*

January 26, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By ep NARS, Date 3-29-82

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HSD*  
SUBJECT: Kentucky

John Kerr, the Kentucky GOP Chairman, will not seek re-election at the state convention in April because these past four years have cost him too much in family life and business. He says he will get a good man lined up as his successor. I am convinced there is no way we could talk him into staying on. Actually, while he is a good man, he is not a real ball of fire.

Kerr says Thruston Morton is ready to lead a drive to get Nunn into the Senate race. He knows Nunn is looking for some outside financial assistance and much encouragement, otherwise he will stay where he is making \$60,000 per year. While he hears there may be something like skeletons around, he has no knowledge of any such thing, and would strongly favor getting Nunn to run. He does believe we should allow things to cool for a little bit. In the meantime, there are others expressing an interest.

copy for Mr. Haldeman ✓

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 24, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Political Issues Group Meeting  
Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Those invited to attend the meeting were:

Anne Armstrong	Edwin Harper
Robert J. Brown	Rita Hauser
Ken Cole	Herbert Klein
Charles Colson	John Lehman
Bob Dole	Clark MacGregor
Senator Peter H. Dominick	Ray Price
Thomas B. Evans	Donald Rumsfeld
Robert Finch	William Safire
Leonard Garment	Gordon Strachan
Roy Goodearle	Robert Teeter
Bryce Harlow	William Timmons
Rose Mary Woods	

Those in attendance were:

John Andrews (for Ray Price)	Herb Klein
Bob Brown	John Lehman
Ken Cole	Gordon Strachan
Harry Dent	Van Shumway (for Jeb Magruder)
Tom Evans	Bill Timmons

Mr. Peter Peterson presented our international trade policies and the Administration's recent actions to strengthen our international trade position in light of the impact that these policies may have on the campaign.

Mr. Peterson clearly outlined the revolutionary nature of the President's trade initiatives. In the past 25 years our trading position has been secondary to what Dr. Kissinger calls doctrinal issues. We have been

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willing to strengthen our military and diplomatic posture at the expense of our trading relationships. The President's actions in devaluing the dollar, in imposing a surtax, and in assuming a new international trading posture, have fundamentally altered our international priorities. In an economic sense, we have taken action to put America first.

The objectives of our actions have been to base our trading position upon a realistic foundation and to structure a world economy which will be consistent with long term fundamental U.S. interests. When one examined future trends such as declining agricultural exports, declining industrial exports, and an increasingly unfavorable balance of trade account, it is clear that strong actions were required. In fact, the temporary surcharges and the devaluation were less stringent measures than others which might have been used.

The Administration's policies, Mr. Peterson believes, are policies which are meeting with considerable approval in the agricultural community and in places where local industries are losing foreign sales. However, Mr. Peterson did point out that despite the approval which the policies might find within the country, and the respect which they may be gaining abroad, nonetheless polls might be taken which do not show heightened U.S. prestige. It is particularly important (after our surcharge) that there not be a world-wide USIA poll taken, such as the one leaked in 1960, since such a poll could easily not be favorable to the President's interests. A negative poll would draw negative reactions from exactly the same segments of the population which are in favor of our realigned posture.

Mr. Peterson outlined two distinct points of attack which the Administration is likely to face in the coming year. First, there is the criticism alluded to in Senator Muskie's announcement for the Presidency, that the President has not been tough enough and has had to face a "forced devaluation." The answer to this charge is that the IMF does not have leverage against strong nations, such as the Japanese, who have been allowed to export their potential domestic problems to the U.S. by having an artificially high rate of employment. The devaluation helped to force fairness in comparative international trading positions. It helped to establish relationships on the basis of reality.

The second line of criticism which may be leveled at the Administration's trading policies lies in the fear that there may be hidden costs to our improved relations with China and the Soviet Union. How can our policy be effective if it is making the Europeans and other allies more tense? It is charged that we are making new friends at the cost of our old ones when we open trading relations with the Peoples Republic of China and alienate the Nationalist Chinese. The answer is that this Administration does not limit its concentration to surface problems, but governs its actions according to future needs and a realistic appraisal of our long term national interests.

Finally, in addition to these criticisms which may arise during the course of the next year, there remains the threat of legislation with a grab bag of unwanted amendments which would confront the President with hard choices immediately prior to the election. Though our strategy to counter this threat will be to delay and stifle such legislation, Mr. Peterson pointed out that our position cannot be one of acceptance of the status quo. Rather, we will want to position the Administration as seeking to better the position of the nation in relation to the changing realities of the world, making certain that we are maintaining our position as the foremost nation in the world.

HARRY S. DENT

## Fred La Rue

He has begun sitting in the Campaign Strategy meetings, working with Flemming, and generally making a contribution to the Campaign.

The AG has asked La Rue to assume supervisory control of the RNC. In that connection, La Rue has asked that you send the memorandum attached at Tab A to the WH Staff. It would enable La Rue to determine who is <sup>for</sup> assisting ~~at~~ ~~whom~~ at the RNC.

Cliff Miller

On Jan 27 Miller told the AG that Harry Flemming and the field operation ~~are~~ needed to have Fred Lake to add stature and ability. The AG agreed and plans on meeting with Flemming and Lake ~~on~~ this week.

The AG told Miller that ~~the time of he planned on~~ would set the ~~discussing the~~ <sup>date</sup> of his official move to 1701 with in a discussion with the P ~~over U last week~~ on Jan 29. Miller does not know what was decided.

1/26

# C A M

AG agrees + AG to meet w/ Flem + talk at the beginning of the year

① Will recommend → AG 1/27 that he Rue focus on Flem operation - in addition to the RNC in unofficial capacities

② Roger Ailes - a "cloud" over fr/WH.

③ Bailey - excellent w/AG - (2 hrs)  
- Memo  
- NY Agency thinking of 4 people  
- Referred to AG as Chm of Bd.  
AG - #s of people, types

④ CWC mtgs - when CAM tell AG ~~no~~ yes, + Sum also

⑤ Shumley - more phys 1/31

## Dent

unusual since always prefer

V A - by Urban League \$9 mil  
→ P. committed to Whitney Young  
Don. Johnson not inclined then Garment  
Back to Garment. yes

Bad press - RI talk in mind

→ "Adp fund Urb. League" = Dent - no benefit / rather put \$ thru So. fund Urb League to put people to work.

Jack Gleason

As you know Jack Gleason's name has appeared in <sup>the</sup> recent "silk money" stories in The Star. Gleason is "sick and bed up with this type of material appearing in the press." <sup>and Eleanor Williams</sup> Gleason blames Bob O'Dell at the RNC. However, Gleason is also mad at Colson stemming from Colson's "summoning" him to his office and "accusing" Gleason of leaking derogatory information to the press about Colson. Gleason is seeking advice whether he should have

Discussion

a quiet off-the-record with

reporters Jules Whitcover and Polk.

to demonstrate

that Gleason is a "nice" guy.

It's hard to

~~find~~ I can't imagine a worse idea

than to have Gleason talk with

reporters, but I told Gleason I

would check

- Yes, Gleason see reporters
- No, Gleason should continue to avoid reporters
- Other

Benham - Key sts - travel

lee

Jack Gleason - sick + fed up w/ material  
in press. - "he" leaking it - Reconsider the local key  
Jules Whitover + Poll, ← thrown out of office ← (dealings)

- Jack should be able "nice" a reporter

- Wants no story, but one met

Gleason would think he's nice guy.

Bob O'Bell - + dear Charles Wilson,  
who summoned to his office  
w/ accuses that Gleason leaked  
info to press to screw CWC.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
COST OF LIVING COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20507

January 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN  
FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

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DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By EP, Date 3-29-82

Don Rumsfeld

One memorandum on the  
Conservative recruitment procedure in  
England <sup>arrived</sup> and another on the  
Indiana situation, copies of which  
were sent to Flemming, Maguder, and  
Stans, arrived out. An anonymous  
memorandum on the Indiana situation  
urges ~~the~~ cultivation of ~~Irving~~  
Irwin Miller. Author ~~is~~

January 22, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By CP, date 3-29-82

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN

Attached is a memo on Indiana which I thought you might want to see.

SUBJECT:

Indiana Political Situation

Since adjournment the pathetic situation in Indiana Republican politics has somewhat improved.

A major irritant was removed last week with the forced resignation of State Chairman John Snyder. The position is being filled temporarily by James Neal, of Noblesville, a newspaper editor who is neutral and acceptable to all factions.

Mayor Lugar and National Committeeman Bulen are in town this week for meetings with Congressmen and other Hoosier-types in Washington.

Lugar believes the President is in good shape in Indiana despite the internal party disorder, and Dick believes the removal of Snyder paves the way for an internal truce through November.

I am also advised confidentially by Gerald L. Olson, Assistant and Political Advisor to Irwin Miller, Chairman of the Cummins Engine Company, that the time is ripe for lining up Miller for the President's re-election effort.

As you know, Irwin Miller, the single most powerful individual in our state, went with Rocky in 1968.

Olson, a former Rockefeller employee, advises that Miller is impressed with the Nixon record and would readily bound aboard the Nixon team if invited.

Also, Olson says that Miller is disillusioned by the lack of real results he sees from his devotion and work as a philanthropist, liberal spokesman, architectural pace maker and other altruistic pursuits. Miller realizes that he is outside of the real arena. Miller is surrounded by intellectuals who talk in abstracts, but

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Miller has come to the conclusion he can't sit on his pile of money in Columbus and effect any real change.

I don't know what the best method would be to open up this rapport with Miller, but it would be advantageous for the President. Miller's influence is not limited to Indiana but extends nationally in the areas of church, industry, arts, finance, education and science.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

January 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN MITCHELL

FROM:

DONALD RUMSFELD

Attached are some notes and clippings on Lord Woolton, which I think you might find of interest.

cc: H. S. Fleming  
H. R. Haldeman ✓  
J. S. Magruder  
Secretary Stans

NOTES FROM A TALK WITH LORD WOOLTON AT THE ANNUAL  
CONSERVATIVE MEETING AT BOURNEMOUTH

Woolton says that the best way to win votes is through what he calls "operation doorstep". He says it is not so much what is said, but how you say it.

Workers for the Conservative party are trained at Swinton College on how to meet and how to talk to people in all levels of society. (Labor particularly). These trained people go out to the constituencies and there educate other people on how to make contacts.

Woolton feels that newspapers, radio and television are not nearly so effective in winning votes as talking to voters in their own homes. He uses the phrase, "Conversion is a personal matter". They operate like the Jehovah's witnesses do in this country.

He has tried in every way to make Conservatism a holy crusade. He honestly believes that Socialism is a disease and that is important to get people whipped up into a fury about the dangers of Socialism.

At the same time, Woolton doesn't believe in name-calling. In fact, he was very proud of having gone through the entire literature of the party and cutting out every derogatory reference. He believes in preaching the Conservative gospel and letting them preach their own. He himself claims that he always refers publicly to Mr. Attlee in the most respectful manner. In fact, he calls him "Mr. Attlee, my respected opponent".

The last campaign preached the gospel of the Conservative plans and hopes for the future.

One of his first official acts when he took charge of the party was to decide not to take money from the big boys. He said there was great consternation over this and many who said they could never raise enough money if they didn't go to them. He said that the big boys obviously expected "honors".

They take one or two shillings from anyone. In fact, he says that asking for money is a good door opener. If a man says, "Why should I contribute to the lousey Conservative party?", at least there is a chance for the worker to engage him in an argument and thus to get over the Conservative propaganda.

They have made a great effort from the beginning to get the twenty to twenty-nine year olds. In fact, he said this was one of the reasons why he is resigning at the age of seventy-two. He said, he was a constant reminder of their appeal to the older age groups.

He made the point that Labor, through its union organizations, have a tremendous advantage over the Conservatives. The union bosses have only to remind the boys to get out and vote, but the Conservatives have to make use of thousands of volunteer workers to reach the same number of people. Moreover, they have to be evangelists in addition.

Within the last year or two, the Conservative party made another important change in their way of financing campaigns. Its first official act was to give up asking the wealthy for money. After he had run the party for

some time, he discovered that in many constituencies the candidates who promised to give the most money to the party were given preference over those who could not afford to give so much. So he put in a ruling that no candidate could contribute more than fifty pounds a year to his party. The rich constituencies have to provide money for the poor working class constituencies. In fact, quotas are set up for all constituencies according to a formula which takes account chiefly of the size of the Conservative vote in the last election. The formula works out in such a way that the safe constituencies actually have to put up more money per party member than the poor ones. In England the laws permit parties to spend as much as they want between elections, but during the campaign proper, they are very much limited. In 1951, when the campaign began, they ostentatiously covered the bill boards which carried the party slogans all around the country.

Woolton said that he could accomplish a lot because most of the party workers knew that he himself had made a great financial sacrifice to take the job. He gave up a lot of business connections and income from them in order to serve the party.

In virtually all constituencies, (approximately 630) the Conservatives have their own paid agents. In fact, both parties have for many decades used paid agents. The paid agents are the secretaries of the local organizations, and it is their job not only to see that money is raised and that workers get out the vote, but it is also their job to represent the member of Parliament in that constituency. They serve, in short, as sort of public relations

men for the M. P. , seeing that his speeches are reported in the local press, and that he makes talks to the right groups, etc. The agents have their own organization and are rewarded by honors of some kind for doing exceptionally good work. They have a chance to head one of the twelve regional offices by way of promotion. But they are not permitted by custom to get into politics themselves.

The central office of the party and the central staff have the final jurisdiction over the organization, but oddly enough, no power whatsoever in determining policy. The organization furthermore, does determine policy. Woolton emphasized many times that he had no power whatsoever.

#### EDITORIAL

From the Manchester Guardian of Thursday, October 13, 1955:

The Conservative party conference paid Lord Woolton high compliments when he formally gave up his office as chairman of its organization. He certainly deserves well of his adopted party. He has shown it how methods of enlightened business management can be applied to politics. It is an interesting commentary on our political vicissitudes that at the moment when the Conservatives should be congratulating themselves on their recovery of an efficient machine their Labour rivals should be starting where the Tories were left in 1945. Lord Woolton has many fine public services to his credit, but when he looks back on his career he may perhaps feel that his rescue of the Tory party was as spectacular as any. Others may think it a pity he did not devote himself to some other party; both Labour and Liberals could do with a Woolton.

Handwritten notes and scribbles, possibly including a name like "S. S. ...".

U.S. DEPT. OF COMMERCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT  
CENTRAL OFFICE

FOR  
COUNCIL HOUSE  
AND  
CHURCH  
MAY'S HOUSE

Stamp: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

U.S. DEPT. OF COMMERCE  
CENTRAL OFFICE

... able to help carry its case to the people during election times.

## Modern Program Developed

# Conservative Party Rebirth Is Described by Woolton

Following is the first of six articles on the revamping of the Conservative party in England along progressive and modern lines after its defeat in 1945.

By The Earl of Woolton, C. H., P. C.

(Chairman of the British Conservative party, 1946-'58)

LONDON.

I became chairman of the Conservative party in Great Britain in 1946, after the Labor party had won an outstanding political victory and the political fortunes of our movement were at perhaps their lowest ebb in history.

It was at the request of my friend, Sir Winston Churchill, under whom I had served in the war cabinet, that I came fresh to politics. I was no politician—I am a business man. And the experiment of turning over the management and direction of a national political party to a business man was as much of a departure in my country as it would be in the United States. Sir Winston, who saw his party organization in the doldrums in the 1945 general election, came to the conclusion that here was a job for a business man rather than for a good politician.

I had had some experience of taking over "decayed" businesses—and the problems are not dissimilar. Success in both depends on getting the right people, the right policy, a good

of confidence and as much money as the job calls for. My business is department stores—a large group in the major cities of Britain—and I have had much experience organizing sales campaigns and some years of experience in government. In the war I had first organized the equipping and clothing of the British Army; afterward, as Minister of Food, I had taken charge of the nation's food supplies, with responsibility for maintaining both the health and the life of the nation on miserably inadequate supplies.

On the day that Sir Winston announced that I had accepted the chairmanship of the Conservative party—and responsibility for the management of the organization—I heard one old political hand say: "That's all right; Woolton has been at the bottom of the market again; we'll win." A stimulating reflection! But first I had to think things out for myself, and find out what were the "determining" factors in party political organization.

After much research, I came to the conclusion that the result of any election is largely determined months before the noisy turmoil of the campaign, and my experience subsequently in leading the Conservative party organization in three general elections in Britain has confirmed that view. This and later articles will describe the methods we used to change an overwhelming defeat at the polls

Continued on page 11, column 3

# How Woolton Rose to Leadership

July 29, 1945, when he had lost the British to the Labor party, C. Churchill received from Lord Woolton, the Food Minister of Reconstruction, the ashes of the way he treated you and I. Churchill was honored to serve with Woolton.

Lord Woolton, merchant-bank and food retailer, the Conservative Party, reported him party in 1945. Woolton came to Britain to Britain. He was party chairman last year, at seventy-two, as Woolton.

### Most Valued Recruit

Frederick James Woolton, Liverpool, Lord Woolton, party's most valuable recruit. He was a World War II recruit. He was an essentially managerial man with great energy and a production which had survived the war, convincing Britons to wear their belts during the food shortage.

Woolton, a party veteran, brought in a group of younger men and made an unprecedented Tory appeal for 1945. The "crusade" integrated into the party almost every type of recruit.

Locally, Lord Woolton, who was elevated to viscount in 1945, came from a background not similar to that of Prime Minister Attlee. He conducted social centers in slum areas. Woolton's in Liverpool and Attlee's in East London.

"The facts were the same except that my slum was worse than his," Lord Woolton once commented.

Woolton, still plain Fred Marquis, son of a Lancashire saddler, had an early lesson in making the most of austerity. He had a scholarship to Cambridge. The same day, he heard his father had "only six months to live." As it turned out, his father lived on for years.

Woolton's first Cambridge, 1914, was awarded from Manchester University as

an economist, taught school and blossomed into a vigorous Socialist in the Fabian Society and C. Churchill reported a red tie. He next became resident warden of Liverpool University's Settlement, at the docks.

Lord Woolton was a medical officer in World War I. He became Secretary to the government's Leather Control Board. He introduced a standard "million beer" to ease the clothing shortage. Subsequently he joined Lewis's, Ltd., a department store chain, rising to director of the group whose motto was, "Big with savings in Every Town." Woolton was in London from 1930 to 1943, that

blond, rosy-faced peer became best known to housewives forced to "make do" with reduced rations of meat, eggs, butter and bacon. He added the "points" system, emphasized balanced diets for children, promoted available potatoes, introduced a vegetable pie known as Woolton Pie and thought up a vitamin concoction for individual ration-cards called Wooltonic. He was described as "the greatest quartermaster since Moses."

The Lord Woolton's distribution of food was synonymous with fairness. It was evidenced in letters from the most disgruntled. "Thank you for feeding us so well, even when we were fed up," one Briton wrote.

Sketch of Lord Woolton by artist H. J. Tennill.

# Weekon Lists Conservative Gains

(Continued from page 10)

...a victory... history for ne...

...to create a... for politics... a hard task... child's play in... with other ideas...

...it will... sort of... customers... of his... the "customer... unknown to the... what "brand"... form will... out as the carry...

## Gets More

### Than Principles

...the factors... in deter... people will vote... answer to that... major problem... an election... course we should... especially after... the election—the... principles for w... hood that have... mandate to rule...

...it? The election... by the votes of millions... one who goes to... think imagine that... millions know the difference... between the basic principles... of the Republican and... Democratic parties in the United... States? Labels have more to do... with winning election results... than principles, in my view. In... 1945 I heard of one voter in my... country—a competent mechanic... —who said: "We are laboring... I vote Labor. But I... Churchill as Prime... I did not realize... he would be voted... Churchill."

...person who christened... Socialist party in Britain... 'Labor party' was a political... I hope the United... will never be confronted... a left-wing party wearing... the e-winning label as did... the Socialists in Britain when... they had themselves the... party."

...n't principles that sway... as it personality? What... mass of the people... of a candidate... are... led to... the... the... the...

## Churchill: Voted for Attlee

...has rarely been a... personality — a... by the... — then W... was in 1945... the streets to... passage through... as a triumphal... — and having... the majority... to the... Clement R. Attlee... been or even... national hero... not to... loved personal... tremendously... The American... proves the... to... is not enough... political party to get a popular...

...principles no... are determined... what remains? Lino... plays a greater... with the... the people, and... range of em... party... on the winning side, the... most influence... is fear. People... which is the party... bring least disturbance... ordinary ways... will prevent the... to go to war; which... unemployment... give security for... for health, for... will see government... domestic lives and... occasionally act as Santa... Clauses.

## Started Work Early In Winning Elections

...this was our problem... of this politics. What are... means of convincing... that the program... conservative party in C... (or the Republican... United States) will... their domestic intere... at the same time... their real patriotic... desire to see... leading the world? I have not fought in... elections in Britain... been responsible for... of three of... we lost by 146... Commons seats; the...; the third we... between. All these were... Winston Churchill as... leader of the party, and... we won by fifty... House of Commons seats... on Anthony Eden as lead... In the first election in... and no work at all... campaign started; it was a... and vigorous campaign... with Churchill at the helm... popularity when the war... had just ended but... lost. In the second...

## Republic Strike In 10th Week

...The International Association... of Machinists' Lodge 1937, beginning the tenth week of a... against the Republic... Corp., held a general... meeting yesterday... 104th Field Artillery... at 163th St. and Archer... Ave., Jamaica, Queens. About... of the 11,000 strikers... attended.

...A vote of confidence was... union leaders for the... of the strike, which hit... Republic's big Farmingdale, L.I.,... and four other Long... Island plants. In dispute are... wages and other issues.

...Justin Ostrow, local president... shared the speakers' platform... with Ernest R. White, international vice-president for the... machinists' Great Lakes region... and Fred Connley, regional vice... president for the Eastern district.

...Negotiations between union... and company representatives... will continue today at offices... of the Federal Mediation and... Conciliation Service, 341 North... Ave.

...In 1950 we were... but we had... time in the... beforehand... campaigns, in I... had worked for... every voter... program... national... program... We knew... were that on... 1955 election I... estimate of the... would have an... Commons...; in fact it wa...

...the organization... and the differ... this and earlier... due to the... months before the... started. In sub... I will detail the...

...second article by... will appear tomorrow... 1956, N.Y. Herald Tribune Inc.

British Conservative party, in an effort to wrest the intellectual initiative from the Socialists of Britain. A score of Britain's top Right-Wing political thinkers to contribute their views in books for a party-sponsored shop, according to Lord Woolton. Above is some of such literature available.

### Conservative Party Rebirth

## Woolton Recounts Swing To Right by British Voters

Woolton is the second of six articles on the "cramping of the Conservative party in England along progressive and modern lines after its defeat in 1945.

By the Earl of Woolton, C. H., P. C.

(Chairman of the British Conservative party, 1946-'55)

LONDON.

The general election of 1945 in Great Britain, resulting in the defeat of the Churchill government and the victory of the Labour party, was the expression of years of slow movement of public opinion to the left. In my opinion if the election had been held in 1938, before the war, it might have resulted in a greater majority for the Conservatives had they appealed to the voters in a more effective manner.

Conservatives had lost the appeal to the voters in a more effective manner.

Christ Church College, Oxford University, after I had addressed a meeting of university students who had packed the hall, with one in three of those seeking admission able to get in.

would never be anything but a policy and knew how to run a Socialist government in Britain, an election. Under the leadership of the party, we were held at frequent intervals, and the influence of our party led to the organization of our party in every constituency, so that we were able to train these men and women trade unionists who were opposed to socialism.

There was, therefore, hope that effort of the right might yield profitable results. We organized in every constituency a trade union section of the Conservative party, so that men and women trade unionists who were opposed to socialism would have a place to meet and discuss the support of candidates for House of Commons seats. They were of an unpopular type with their fellow unionists.

### Conservative Unionists At Tuce Mass Meeting

But when a Conservative trade union official found himself deprived of office because of his views, we gave proof of the advantage the party could offer such people. The most important lesson was placed in his disposal, and it was clear to all that there could be no victimization because of a man's political independence of the Labour party.

Slowly, cautiously the movement spread, until at our party conference in 1949 it was possible to hold a huge mass meeting of Conservative trade unionists. At the annual conference this complete turn for a party to become more of a Conservative trade unionist and a Conservative. The Conservative workman is no longer regarded as a political curiosity in Britain.

Meanwhile, side by side with these two new movements the rehabilitation of the Conservative party proceeded with a rapid pace. In the 1950s we have seen all this change, and it is now possible to see the Conservative party in Parliament.

It is now possible to see the Conservative party in Parliament.





# Woolton Stresses Value Of Modern Leadership

By the Earl of Woolton, C. H. P. C.

Chairman of the British Conservative party, 1946-55

LONDON.

...able organization is the natural province of the  
...ation of a political party—a very different matter  
...staff are paid, none at commercial rates, and the  
...therefore, strictly limited. On the other hand, men  
...for a political party  
...conviction that they  
...their country in a  
...vast  
...e.  
...to the  
...on the  
...I had  
...a ma-  
...What  
...business  
...d busi-  
...had of  
...on to  
...se pa-  
...ing—a  
...of sys-  
...person-

me their id... while I explained  
the reasons and the object of my  
...decisions and tried to make  
...them feel that their work and  
...how they did it "mattered."

The problem I faced in politics  
was how to create with a staff of  
casual and voluntary workers an  
efficient organization run on  
business lines.

The Conservative party leader  
—who becomes Prime Minister  
when the party is in office—is  
elected on a broad democratic  
basis by a committee consisting  
of the Conservative members of  
both houses of Parliament, plus  
the approved candidates who  
will be running for the next elec-  
tion, and representatives from  
every one of our Conservative  
party "areas" in the country.  
These latter form the executive  
committee of the party.

Woolton  
I remembered a con-  
... I had with Field  
... Montgomery a few  
... before he took the Brit-  
... over. He had not  
... around the army units,  
... stopped in the villages  
... and spoken to the  
... and on this particular  
... stood on a truck on  
... side and talked to the  
... I asked him why he  
... it all. He replied that  
... the people of Britain  
... confidence in his lead-  
... of an enterprise in which  
... equalities were inevitable,  
... believed that people had  
... in men they had seen  
... and met.

## Lesson for Politician Of Modern Leadership

There was a lesson here for  
the politician. Leadership in a  
... late postulates knowl-  
... of the organization.  
... me to the conclusion that  
... the Conservative party was to  
... gain the confidence of the elec-  
... the leading people in the  
... had to spend most of his  
... week ends, long before  
... a Cabinet when in office, or a  
... country, meeting the rank and  
... of the party workers, exciting  
... them and conviction—and  
... to a two-way track of  
... Above all, the party had  
... in itself and the lead-  
... to encourage a sense of "mis-  
... of their fellows.

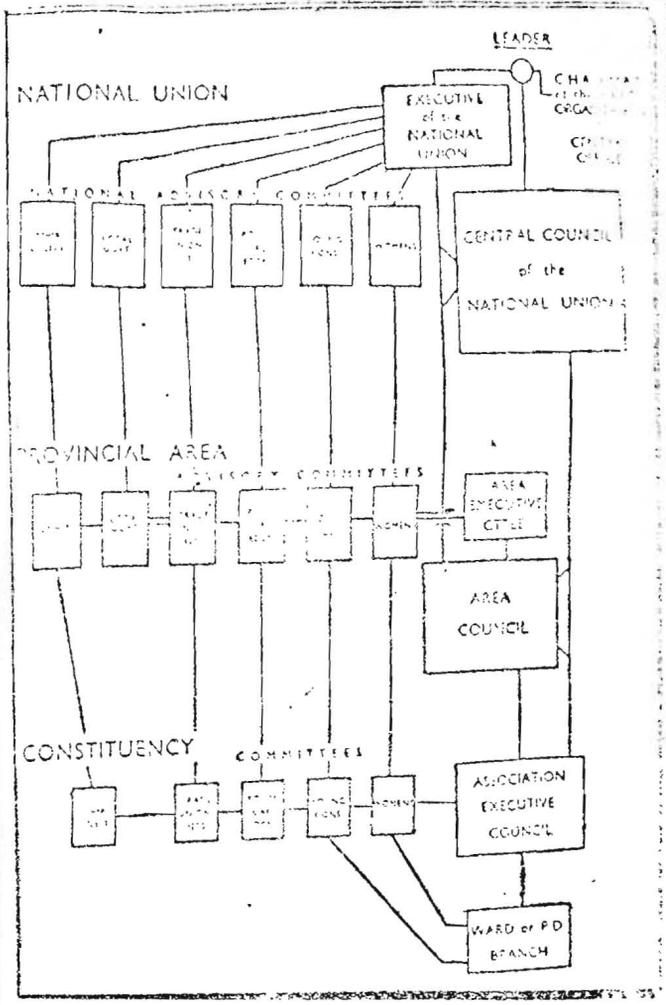
This was a new outlook in  
... From a business point of  
... was to become new in  
... well-known business  
... the party's  
... the party's  
... the party's  
... the party's

## Party Leader Appoints His Aid

Once the party leader is elected  
he remains in that position  
until he resigns. The leader ap-  
points on his own responsibility  
the chairman of the party or-  
ganization, who is responsible to  
nobody except the leader, and  
it is his business to construct  
and control the party organiza-  
tion. He is assisted by a vice-  
chairman who is a member of  
the House of Commons and by  
a woman vice-chairlady who is  
not in Parliament. There are  
one or two treasurers who are  
responsible to him for security  
and accounting for party funds.

The party leader, meanwhile,  
is broadly responsible for defin-  
ing the policy of the party and  
for explaining it to the public  
and carrying on the work in  
Parliament, with such colleagues  
as he draws round him either as  
a Cabinet when in office, or a  
"shadow Cabinet" if in opposi-  
tion.

In Britain 630 constituencies  
return members to Parliament.  
Geographically these constituen-  
cies are divided into thirteen  
area organizations. In each there  
is a very highly qualified and  
experienced assistant to the cen-  
tral director, with the title of  
"area executive committee." The  
... of the party  
... of the party  
... of the party  
... of the party



New table of organization of the Conservative party

whom we organized as "young  
Conservatives."

An executive committee of  
about 120 persons is elected from  
the area committees and meets  
at headquarters once a month  
throughout the year.

## No Limitations On Picking Candidates

The purpose of all this organiza-  
tion was to secure the election  
of candidates to Parliament. In  
Britain, a candidate may, or may  
not, reside in his constituency.  
The constituency committee is  
free to choose whoever they re-  
gard as the best man or woman  
to be their candidate without  
limitation. While this differs  
from the American practice, a  
candidate who requires a card-  
live in the district is state even  
more important. from which  
he is elected, we in constituency  
feels the responsibility for  
knowing who is best for

quite often, after submit-  
wife to considerable que-  
as to the part she is, p-  
to play in political life.

There is no shortage of  
of candidates—in fact, I  
servative headquarters th-  
at one time a pool of o-  
men and women, all of  
had been interviewed an-  
tioned by persons with ex-  
able political experience  
of whom made the grade  
of candidates to Parliament. In  
this large list that recom-  
missions were made to local  
agencies.

That, in rough outline  
picture of the organiza-  
the Conservative party in  
Britain. Through it we  
from the American practice, a  
channel for the two-way  
of ideas and, perhaps  
live in the district is state even  
more important. from which  
he is elected, we in constituency  
feels the responsibility for  
knowing who is best for

The choice of candidate is first  
made by a small selection com-  
mittee of local people, who in-  
terview applicants, and then by  
a full meeting of the consti-  
tency committee, who elect the  
candidate from that list. The  
... of the party  
... of the party  
... of the party  
... of the party

subject to any citation, either  
by law or by headquarters, as  
party organization on the  
to whom they select. of public  
feelings on the  
of public feelings on the  
of public feelings on the  
of public feelings on the

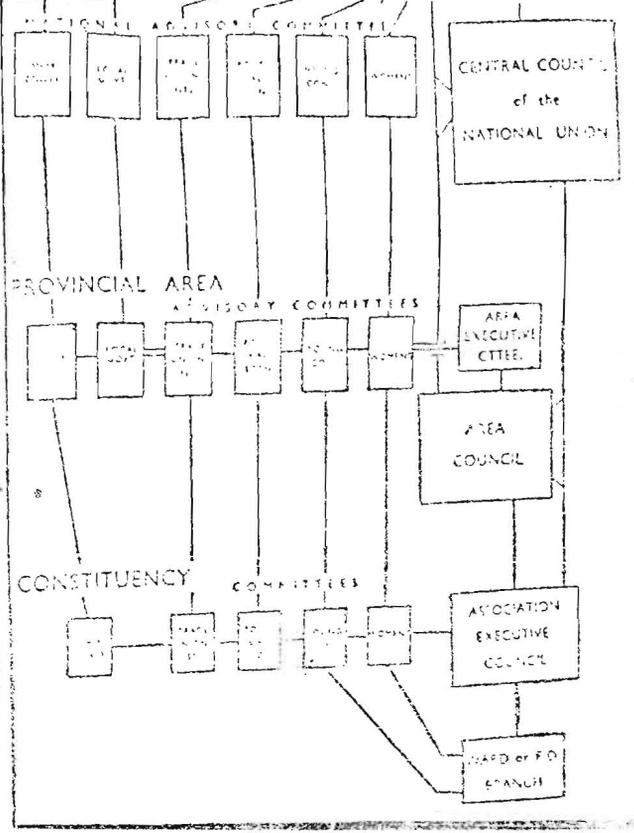
P. C.  
early, 1916-55  
LONDON,  
the province of the

by different matters:  
cial rates, and the  
s other hand, most

as, while I explained  
and the object of my  
nd tried to make  
hat their work and  
in function.

on I had in police  
erence and a staff of  
voluntary workers an  
organization run on  
es.

ective party leader  
ames P. and Minister  
party is in place—  
a lot of work as the  
retaining a staff of  
ervative members of  
s of Parliament, plus  
ted candidates who  
and for the next elec-  
representatives from  
of our Conservative  
as" in the country,  
er form the executive  
of the party.



New table of organization of the Conservative party.

**Under His Aid**

A party leader is elected  
in that position  
esions. The leader ap-  
his own responsibility  
at headquarters once a month  
throughout the year.

whom we organized as "young  
Conservatives."  
An executive committee of  
about 120 persons is elected from  
the area committees and meets  
at headquarters once a month  
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**No Limitations On Picking Candidates**

The purpose of all this organi-  
zation was to secure the election  
of candidates to Parliament. In  
Britain, a candidate may, or may  
not, reside in his constituency.  
The constituency committee is  
free to choose whoever they re-  
gard as the best man or woman  
to be their candidate without  
limitation. While this differs  
from the American system, which  
requires a candidate to reside  
in the constituency, it is more  
from which he is elected, we in  
Britain believe our system has  
this democratic advantage—that  
the people in the constituency  
select by law or by headquarters,  
to whom they select.

quite often, after submitting his  
wife to considerable question-  
ing as to the part she is playing  
to play in political life.  
There is no shortage of supply  
of candidates—in fact at Con-  
servative headquarters there is  
at one time a pool of candidates  
men and women, all of whom  
had been interviewed and recom-  
mended by persons with consid-  
erable political experience and all  
of whom made the grade as a  
group of candidates. It is not  
this large list that recommends  
persons were made to local con-  
stituencies.

That, in rough outline, is a  
picture of the organization of  
the Conservative party in Great  
Britain. Through it we secured  
for the two-way system, we  
gave the members of the party  
the feeling that their work  
led to its success and that  
it was "missionary work" for  
them to do. So we kept our  
followers active and  
conscious of the important work  
being done for them.

tain 630 constituencies  
members to Parliament,  
already these constituen-  
divided into thirteen  
regions. In each there  
is a highly qualified and  
assistant to the gen-  
eral, with the title of  
"constituencies agent." The  
constituencies committee, who  
select candidates from the  
constituencies, are  
responsible for the ac-  
tion of the party in the  
constituencies. The  
constituencies agent is  
responsible for the ac-  
tion of the party in the  
constituencies.

The choice of candidate is first  
made by a small selection com-  
mittee of local people, who  
interview applicants, and then by  
a full meeting of the constituen-  
cies committee, who select their  
members of the party to  
represent the constituency. The  
constituencies agent is  
responsible for the ac-  
tion of the party in the  
constituencies.

of public feeling on these  
matters.  
Thus, with a very small  
staff, we secured a  
organization which was en-  
gaging some million of active  
members of the party to  
take the responsibility for the ac-  
tion of the party in the  
constituencies. So effective  
was the organization that a  
"chain of command" was  
established in the constituen-  
cies.

we knew who were likely to  
vote for the party at elections.  
We gave the members of the  
party the feeling that their work  
led to its success and that  
it was "missionary work" for  
them to do. So we kept our  
followers active and  
conscious of the important work  
being done for them.  
(This article by Lord Wool-  
ton will appear tomorrow.)  
1955, N. Y. Herald Tribune Int.

The following is a list of the expenditures for the year ending 31st December 1917. The figures are taken from the financial statement and are in pounds and pence.

Particulars	1917	1916
Salaries and Wages	1,000 0 0	800 0 0
Grants-in-aid	200 0 0	150 0 0
Expenses of the Society	100 0 0	100 0 0
Printing and Stationery	50 0 0	40 0 0
Travel	20 0 0	15 0 0
Repairs	10 0 0	8 0 0
Light and Heat	5 0 0	4 0 0
Insurance	3 0 0	2 0 0
Postage	2 0 0	1 0 0
Stationery	1 0 0	1 0 0
Books	1 0 0	1 0 0
Gifts	1 0 0	1 0 0
Contingencies	1 0 0	1 0 0
Balance forward	100 0 0	100 0 0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,400 0 0</b>	<b>1,150 0 0</b>

FORM A  
 STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER 1917

1917  
 1916  
 1915  
 1914



Some of the political literature published by the British Conservative Party.



NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, 1911

## Magruder's Projects

JSM  
as

1) Schedule Matters - Updated lists of surrogate candidates' appearances in New Hampshire and Florida are attached at Tab \_\_\_\_\_.

2) Older Voters - You asked what the various Administration officials were doing to cultivate the older voters.

Ken Colson <sup>does not</sup> receives ~~few~~ ~~weekly~~ reports from Vili Keller of the Domestic Council ~~but~~ but does regularly review her work. ~~staff~~ and Bud Evans, ~~from~~ Colson's

is ~~an~~ older voter's project manager, Both <sup>older voter</sup> is following ~~an~~ plan developed in Colson's office. ~~are~~ ~~working~~ with ~~the~~ ~~AG~~ ~~copy~~ of this report will be submitted to you and <sup>the</sup> AG. ~~has~~ ~~sent~~ ~~will~~ send copies of the

reports for your review. Keller and Evans are working with Arthur Flemming and Danny Todd of the Committee to Re-Elect the P.

3) Maguder as Spokesman. Maguder was quite upset by your Jan 17 memo to the A G indicating that Maguder should not be a ~~spokesman~~ ~~spokesman~~ ~~spokesman~~ a spokesman for the campaign. Maguder emphasizes that he and the A G <sup>since</sup> agree but that ~~from~~ May until Feb 7 there was no one else who could "get out the lines requested." There were only three series of interviews and most were quite positive. Maguder anticipates another series around the time of the A G's move, ~~but~~ but Shermway will handle the Comm's relations with <sup>the press</sup> ~~at that time~~ at that time.

4) Polling - The AG directed Magruder to give Bob Tetter three weeks to deliver on his poll results schedule or seek employment elsewhere. Magruder believes Tetter will now begin delivering the results and the projects you have requested. However, the <sup>campaign</sup> polling system is currently working poorly. ~~if~~ You are ~~receiving~~ chunks of survey data, with no recommendations as to <sup>what</sup> ~~which~~ should be held by you and the AG and what should be distributed to Peter Bailey, Harry Flemming and other

254  
3212

members of the Campaign Strategy Group. I would welcome the assignment of reviewing these materials, recommending

~~the~~ date for release, and ~~the~~ processing requests to Teeter. ~~The~~ alternative is

~~The~~ all would be to have which Magruder is urging - is a meeting Magruder acquire control

with you, the AG, Teeter, and Magruder

~~which would~~ to resolve the polling

problems of ~~the~~ the quantity and

quality of Teeter's work and the

control access to polling information.

- ~~The~~ Haldeman meet w/ the AG, Magruder and Teeter
- Stuchan review polling materials
- Other

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 1/27

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Cliff Miller and Jeb Magruder report that Peter Dailey had an excellent meeting with the Attorney General yesterday to review these advertising materials.

In the future, the materials will be shown to you after they have been reviewed and approved by the Campaign Strategy Group and before they go to the Attorney General for approval.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

January 26, 1972

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

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PETER H. DAILEY

SUBJECT: Creative Materials:

- a) Brochures for New Hampshire and Florida
- b) Campaign Letterhead
- c) Creative Strategy Statement for Television in Primaries

The enclosed material has been discussed and generally approved by the Strategy Group.

Several suggestions were made:

1. Change the name of the "Committee for the Re-election of the President" to "Committee to Re-elect the President."
2. Revise small brochure to create more impact.
3. Establish a sign off procedure for creative materials in White House.

I. Letterhead Design: Several designs were explored. The large "Re-elect the President" design in red and blue was recommended and approved. It will be used by both the state and local committees. The stacked design will be used by key campaign staff. The stacked design with News from is for public relations group for press releases. *(attached)*

II. Strategy: Promotion Materials and Creative Strategy Statement should be self-explanatory.

COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

PROMOTIONAL MATERIALS

January 12, 1972

## COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

### PROMOTION MATERIALS

The purpose of this document is to set forth initial promotional material requirements and activities.

Promotion material requirements for the 1972 campaign may be divided into two phases:

1. Pre-Convention (Primaries and headquarters use)
2. Post-Convention (Major campaign effort)

This document concentrates on the pre-convention materials.

#### Objectives

1. Provide adequate material concentrating on the issues and the record for party workers and volunteers.
2. Provide flexibility to add to material at low cost as issues develop.
3. Provide a pre-convention theme that is broad enough to remain durable during the 8 month pre-convention period.
4. Provide current news to party workers to generate enthusiasm and a sense of involvement.

#### Theme

The theme line to be used during the pre-convention phase will be: RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT.

This theme serves to:

1. Reinforce that fact that Nixon is the President, while others are politicians scrambling for votes.
2. It does not serve as a target for the host of primary contenders (as would an issue oriented statement tied to peace and prosperity).
3. It will not backfire and become a victim of current events.

It is admittedly a "safe" line, and as a result may lack the excitement and drama of a bolder approach. It is our belief, however, that the excitement of this campaign should be timed for the post-convention phase. Excitement and action can tend to be wearying, especially when it is eight months to the convention and ten months to the election. In summary, this is the right line for now.

Recommended Materials

The following materials are recommended for development, production, and shipment to primary and other states:

1. BROCHURE - "Re-elect the President". This will be a simple brochure, briefly setting forth the President's record on important issues. It will be used as a handout and may be used in mailings, as it is envelope size.  
*attached*
2. BROCHURE/KIT - "America Needs President Nixon..." An 8" x 10" kit, with a full-color photograph of the President on the cover. This kit will contain separate sheets on each issue. These inexpensive sheets may be up-dated from time to time, or new i-sues added without reprinting the kit. Its major purpose is to encourage volunteers and to provide detailed information on the issues. The inserts serve a dual purpose. They will be used as part of a kit, and individually as mailers for telephone follow-up.  
*attached*
3. PUBLICATION - "The Nixon Re-Elector" or "The Presidential Re-Elector". This publication will appear monthly in the early stages, and will be similar in format and style to the "Nixon Elector" used in 1968.  
*not yet ready*
4. BUTTONS - "Re-elect the President".  
*H. Das seen*
5. BUMPER STICKERS - "Re-elect the President".  
"
6. WINDOW STICKERS - "Re-elect the President".  
"

Summary

This program will provide adequate materials for initial use, with two brochures, which can be used in office and for mailings, buttons, bumper stickers, and automobile window stickers, plus a monthly publication which will provide current source material for workers and party officials, and provide people in the campaign with a sense of involvement.

COST ESTIMATESMaterials Production

1 1/4" Plastic buttons	125 M	\$3,125
Vinyl Bumper Stickers	100 M	3,500
4" x 9" small brochures	100 M	1,260
4/c Kit w/inserts	50 M	14,082
3" window stickers		<u>1,650</u>
		\$22,617

CONFIDENTIAL

CREATIVE STRATEGY STATEMENT

Committee to Re-Elect the President  
January 12, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

CREATIVE STRATEGY STATEMENT

Committee to Re-Elect the President

January 12, 1971

The purpose of this document is to set forth the creative objectives, strategy and plans proposed for implementation in New Hampshire and Florida. It is based on the situation as it exists today, and is subject to revision as events and circumstances dictate the need for change.

THE SITUATION

The President has publicly stated, and reiterated in his New Hampshire letter that "...it is essential, particularly in this year when events of such importance to the world's future are taking place, that at least until the Republican Convention the President should refrain from public partisan activities in order to conduct the business of government with minimum intrusion of purely political activity." In brief, he "will not campaign actively or personally in any of the primaries".

The President will be faced with opposition from the left and the right. Rep. Paul McClosky is challenging the President on Vietnam and credibility in government. Rep. John Ashbrook, the candidate of the right, is campaigning on the basis that the President has strayed too far from his 1968 positions. Eight candidates have entered the Democratic primary.

CREATIVE OBJECTIVES

The creative objectives in the primary states will be to:

1. Concentrate efforts on Republicans and Independents, and stress the importance of their vote for the President. (Because of his lead in the polls, it may be necessary to overcome potential voter apathy).
2. Create a "grass roots" effort, contrasted to superimposed, professional political campaign drive.
3. Take the position that the President is the best man to meet the challenge of an ever changing nation and world. He is responsive and courageous in his actions (implying a more pragmatic, common sense approach to problems, as contrasted to the doctrinaire solutions of those of the left or right).
4. Creative material will be positive in nature and about America's future in contrast to negativism that will be raised in the campaign.
5. Emphasis will be given to the fact that the President has achieved much in contrast to Muskie's "it is not good enough" approach.
6. Statements made in advertising will be checked to insure complete accuracy and rely on understatement, as opposed to "greatest ever" rhetoric, which becomes unbelievable.

CREATIVE STRATEGY

The President will not be used in radio or television commercials in a direct way. That is, the President will not directly address the public via commercials, in that this is practically synonymous with direct campaigning. Advertisements will be developed showing people from all walks of life stating their support of the President in honest, unrehearsed terms. Many quick cuts will be used, showing close-ups of (for example) a young girl, businessman, housewife, black, older American, farmer, young man.

In this way, support of the President, his actions, his record, can be stated in a non-political, believable way. Responses will be on the economy, Vietnam, the President personally, crime, drugs, welfare, and the other issues important to voters in each state. Commercials will be filmed on location in the primary states.

In addition, this approach will allow the people to speak in answer to attacks and questions from the left or right. It allows little room for counter-attack, as it is difficult for either Democrats or Republican opposition to attack the peoples' support of the record in Vietnam, the economy, or other issues.

The commercials will be positive in mood, fast paced, interesting, believable, and "non-political".

Radio commercials will be modified "lifts" from the television tracks.

Newspaper advertising will follow the same basic strategy, with modifications that will be shown in layout form.

Finally, it is important to note that the President will continue to obtain prime time special TV coverage on major foreign policy events throughout the primaries, plus major radio, magazine, and newspaper coverage in addition to normal Presidential coverage. This "People for the President" approach will help avoid overexposure early in the campaign.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 26, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Agency Operation

The proposed task group agency has now been incorporated. Specific approvals are requested now for:

1. Office space in New York
2. Key personnel
3. Revolving fund loan to operate agency

1. New York Office: Space has been located at 909 Third Avenue. Original plans were to share a portion of the floor with the New York Committee. Apparently this is no longer possible. Therefore, we recommend the following unit.

Space:	12th floor, 12,000 feet 17th floor, <u>8,000</u> feet 20,000 feet
Cost:	\$80,000 including furniture and electricity \$ 3.91 per square foot
Terms:	February 1 through November 30th

Bargaining will be on basis of acquiring largest unit first with option on second. If unsuccessful, the full unit should be acquired. This unit will provide space for anticipated agency personnel as indicated on attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

2. Key Staffing Assignment: Approval is needed to acquire key personnel. These include a Treasurer, Media Director, Creative Director, and key secretarial personnel for New York. Approval is requested for these at an annual rate of \$140,000. More will be added later to complete the staffing at about 45 people.

3. Agency Funding: A revolving fund is needed to finance agency operations. The Treasurer will provide detailed plans of operation. It would include a weekly statement to the Committee of commitments and expenditures for the agency and a forecast of cash needs monthly through November. This fund will allow for general commitments by agency management without specific approval. The Campaign Director will be assured of control of funds against budget allocation by weekly financial reports.

PETER H. DAILEY

Attachment

NEW YORK OPERATION

STAFFING REQUIREMENTS AND OFFICE NEEDS

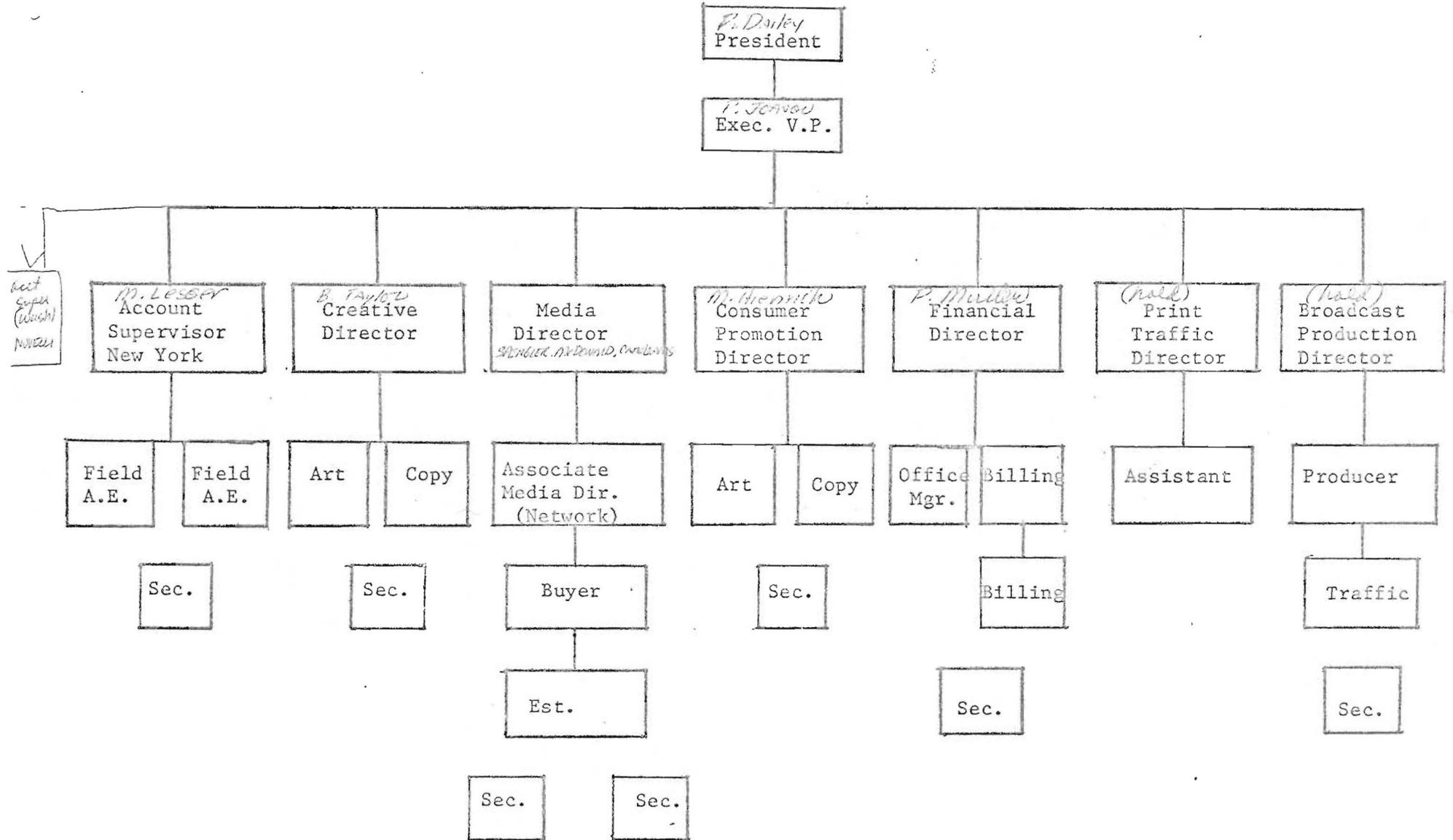
	<u>Offices</u>
Peter H. Dailey	1
Phillip Joanou	1
Secretary	0
Secretary	0
 <u>FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT</u>	
Comptroller	1
Office Manager	1
Billing Clerks	3
Clerical Typist	2
 <u>CREATIVE STAFF</u>	
Creative Director	1
Art Directors	2
Copywriters	2
Secretary/Copy Typist	0
Paste-up Artist	1
Proofreader	1
 <u>MEDIA DEPARTMENT</u>	
Media Director	1
Planners	3
Buyers	5
Estimators	3
Secretaries	3
Field Account Service	2
 <u>PROMOTION MATERIALS</u>	
Promotion Director	1
Art Director/Writer	1
Secretary	1
 <u>PRINT PRODUCTION</u>	
	2
 <u>PRINT TRAFFIC &amp; SHIPPING</u>	
	2
 <u>TELEVISION PRODUCTION</u>	
Production Manager	1
Producer	1
Schedulers	<u>2</u>
	44

ADVERTISING AGENCY  
GENERAL BUDGET ALLOCATION

Total Budget	14,000,000.	
Cost of Sales 85%	<u>11,900,000.</u>	
Income 15%	2,100,000.	
	<u>General Average</u>	<u>Task Group Projection</u>
<u>Expenses</u>		
Payroll	1,430,730.	900,000
Rent, Light, Maintenance	138,390.	80,000
Stationery & Supplies	40,740.	40,000.
Telephone & Telegraph	39,480.	45,000.
Travel	58,800.	70,000.
Entertainment	36,330.	15,000.
Legal & CPA	17,850.	-
Insurance--Employee Benefits	19,320.	-
Insurance--Operating	7,980.	5,000.
Taxes other than U.S.		
Income Tax	56,910.	40,000.
Data Processing	3,150.	-
Dues & Subscriptions	23,100.	-
Outside Research & Service		
Fees	13,230.	50,000.
All other expenses	<u>131,460.</u>	<u>95,000.</u>
	2,017,470.	1,340,000.
Profit before taxes	<u>82,530.</u>	<u>760,000.</u>
	2,100,000.	2,100,000.

THE NOVEMBER GROUP

Initial Staff



(ATTACHED BUTTON)



Re-elect  
the  
President

← RED

← BLUE

Letterhead  
Options

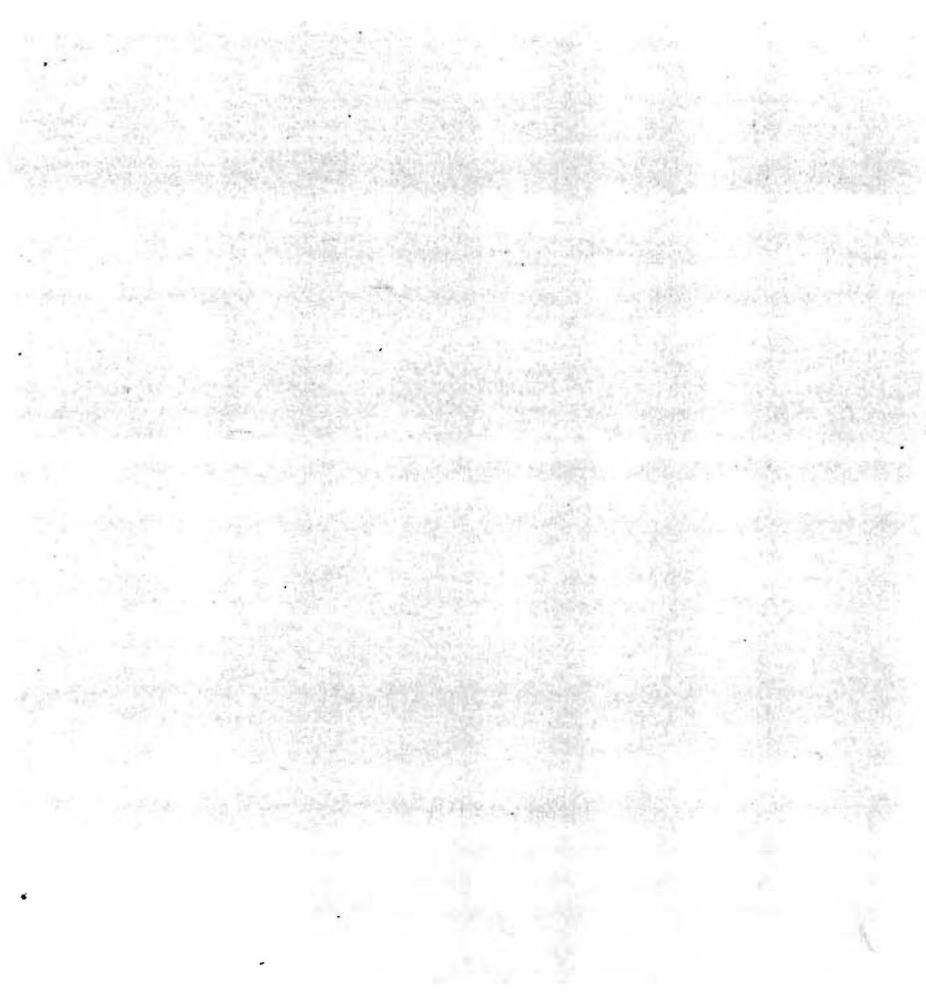
BLUE →



NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

RED →  
BLUE →  
→  
**Re-elect  
the President**

BLACK → \_\_\_\_\_



# NIXON'S THE ONE!

N FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE,  
BOX 1968, TIMES SQUARE STATION,  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10036  
TELEPHONE (212) 661-6400

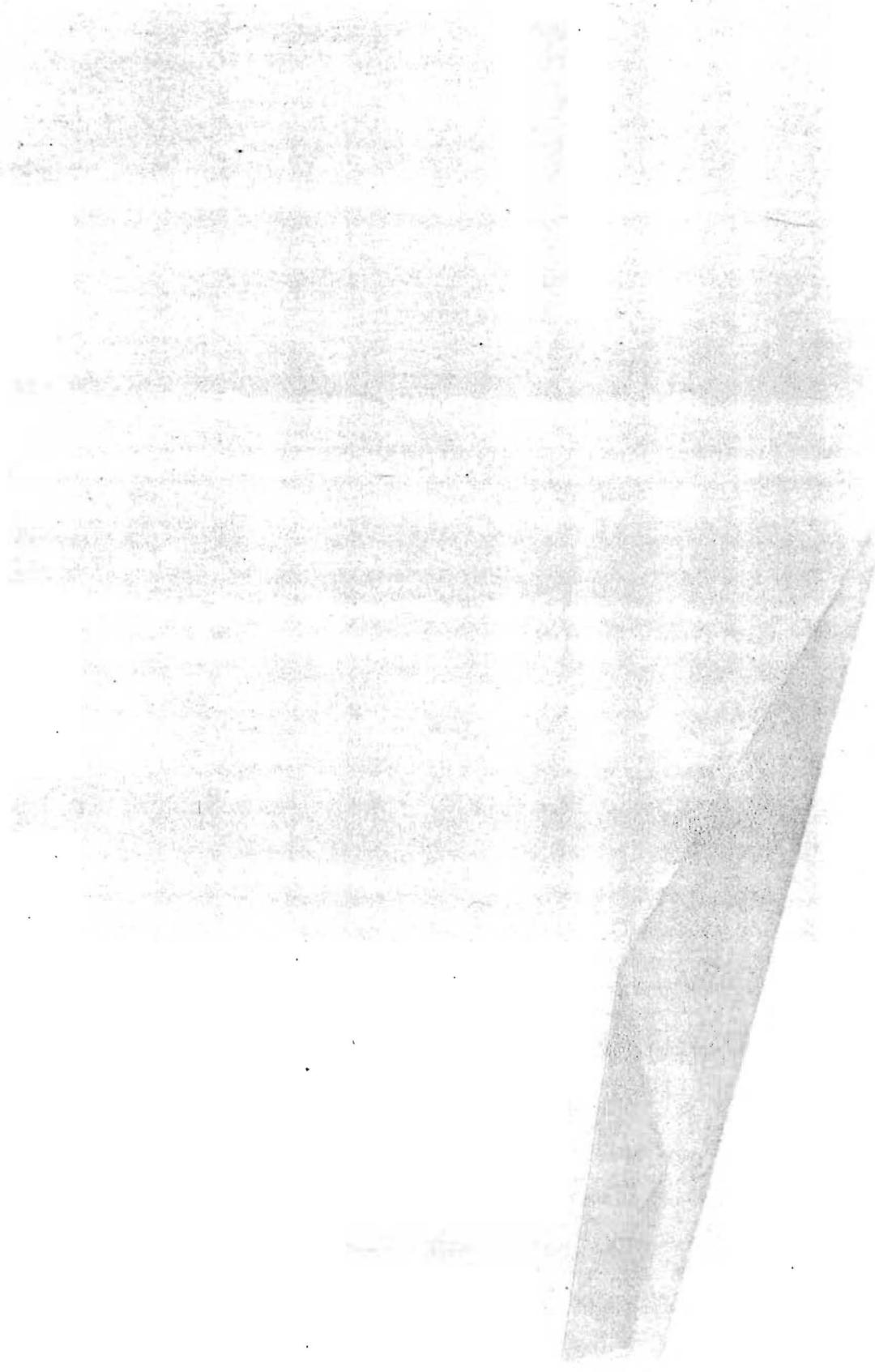
← BLACK

**BLACK →**

**NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR  
THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT**

# News from the Committee for the Re-election of the President.

170 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, NEW WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540 (202) 522-0920



**Committee to Re-elect  
the President.**

*Black*

**Committee to Re-elect  
the President.**

*H  
need not  
see*

McCloskey filed for the R.I. primary. ... The Maricopa County Recorder said computerized data indicates registration of voters under 21 will give the Dem presidential candidate an extra 880,000 votes in Arizona. He said the county is a good national sample often chosen by business as a test market. ... Reporting on the Census Bureau study of the youth vote, US News finds "surprising results" -- most young people are workers, not students and the 65 and up voter may prevail in '72.

Sen. Dominick introduced legis. to repeal the tax checkoff plan for pres. campaigns. He called it devious, expensive and unconstitutional.

Bus. Week says the WH and other GOP Ways and Means members will probably look to Conable to carry the ball when Byrnes retires. ... Frank Bow became the 9th high-ranking House GOP member to announce he will not seek reelection. ... Sen. Cooper will not seek reelection. He'll "support fully the candidacy of RN." NBC called him one of the Senate's most respected members.

Rep. Steele (R-Conn.) and Anderson (D-Calif.) both find voters' concerns are basically personal or local, according to a Bus. Week feature on district tours by the two. A poll conducted by Steele found pollution of L.I. Sound the biggest concern in his district, while Anderson found unemployment (particularly in aerospace) a high priority. Steele didn't receive one question on VN despite the fact that he appeared on 2 phone-in radio shows, met with local VA and GOP leaders. Bus. Week points out that the shuttle was a big boon for Anderson, and while Steele doesn't feel high enough priority has been on economics, few questioned him on RN's economic policy nor asked what would follow.

MISCELLANY/LATE NEWS

Two Colombian airlines crashed in separate disasters that killed all 55 aboard including a Catholic bishop who openly preached revolution. ... 39 cadets at the AF Academy have been found guilty of cheating and some marijuana smoking also reported.

*Flemming # # # #  
- RI d by R.H. - working w/ Rep party & hilld pledged state of delegates;  
McCl may w/draw after R.H.  
- not p name on preferential primary assuming still in  
- we will take delegate.*

January 31, 1972

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT'S FILE**

**FROM :** H. R. HALDEMAN  
**SUBJECT :** Meeting with the Attorney General  
January 3, 1972

This was one of the regular weekly political meetings with the Attorney General.

The President agreed with the Attorney General's recommendation that the New Hampshire confirmation be done on the 7th with the exchange of letters as originally planned. The only announcement from the White House will be confirmation by Ziegler at the afternoon briefing that day.

The Attorney General agreed with the President's strong feeling that this should be played down as much as possible, that there was no mileage in it for us, although he does want to make a substantial build-up in the state of New Hampshire on it.

The Attorney General raised the problem of finding a proper post for Snyder of Indiana in order to deal with the situation out there.

There was some discussion of Peter Flanigan as Under Secretary of Defense with the question basically of whether there would be a confirmation problem, but this is to be explored, as is the possibility of Eberle replacing Peterson in the international economic policy slot.

There was considerable discussion of the Kissinger/Rogers question with no decisions or action taken.

January 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT'S FILE

FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT : Meeting with the Attorney General  
January 28, 1972

This was another of the regular political meetings with the Attorney General.

His principle concern today was the plan for announcing and implementing his resignation. It was agreed that this would be done on the 16th, the day before the President leaves for China and that the nominations of Kleindienst for Attorney General, and Pat Gray as Deputy Attorney General, would be sent forward at the same time.

The President agreed with the Attorney General that this should be downplayed and that there would be no fanfare other than the announcement but that Kleindienst would be given a public swearing-in ceremony.

It was agreed that the Vice President should go ahead on political dates except for the state of New Hampshire, but that he should do only non-political events in the primary states.

There was considerable discussion of the California problem with assurance from the Attorney General that it was being handled in good shape, and that he was having very satisfactory meetings with Luce and all others concerned.

HRH:pm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM THE PRESIDENT



You will note the attached letter to Guylay and the letter he wrote to us. Obviously he would probably like to play a part in the campaign and my guess is that because of his experience we could find some assignment for him or his organization. That, of course, is for Mitchell et al to determine.

Insofar as his memorandum is concerned, as I noted in the margins he is certainly right about the attitude of the press and what we can expect from them in the future. To the extent they are not attacking all out now they are simply building up the credibility for a massive attack later.

His observations with regard to an "answer desk" should be taken constructively by Colson, Klein, Ziegler et al who work in this field. This, as you know, has been my concern -- that we get plenty of statements out but that many of them are simply not couched in the simple, direct language that will cut deep -- make an impression and be carried. I think it is very important that you discuss this with those in charge and see if we cannot beef up the answer desk group so that the statements we ask people to make on our behalf can be more effective.

As far as election strategy is concerned, I think he makes a good point when he suggests that we should not publicly be concentrating in only a few states and writing off others. Our public posture should be to campaign to win in all states. For example, failing to do well in Michigan can rub off on Ohio and Illinois. The worse we do in Massachusetts the less chance we have in parts of New York and Connecticut.

In other words, while, of course, our money and talent must be concentrated on those states where we have the best chance to win we should generally follow the philosophy of not taking any states for granted (i. e. the South) and not conceding any states to the opposition. This also has another advantage -- it keeps the opposition busy in territory that would normally be considered to be safe. And as time rolls on no one can tell with the volatile electorate what states will be the real target states in the last three or four weeks before the election.

Guylay's observations on Kennedy are extremely interesting. He is particularly perceptive in pointing out that Kennedy is the answer to the "boredom" attitude which seems to afflict the country. The need to find "a simple and memorable characterization of what we have achieved" is a real one. We have talked about this at length and I don't know how we can meet the need but let us recognize that it is there. A massive 15,000 word State of the Union document serves a useful purpose but does not strike at that need.

January 31, 1972

Dear Lou:

Your letter of January twenty-fourth made a great deal of sense and I am most grateful for your giving me the benefit of your shrewd political observations. I shall see that our campaign people keep in touch with you during the months ahead.

Sincerely,

Mr. L. Richard Guylay  
L. Richard Guylay  
and Associates  
Time & Life Building  
Rockefeller Center  
New York, New York 10021

RN Dictated:RMW:MPA:mcp

L. RICHARD GUYLAY and ASSOCIATES

A DIVISION OF PUBLIC OPINION POLLS, INC.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

TIME & LIFE BUILDING

ROCKEFELLER CENTER

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

AREA CODE 212 765-1923

January 24, 1972

Miss Rose Mary Woods  
Personal Secretary to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Rose:

I would appreciate your getting this letter to  
the President.

I saw you on the TV program with the boss and  
thought you looked great. Obviously, the White House  
agrees with you.

I hope you continue to have all success and  
happiness.

Sincerely yours,



L. Richard Guylay

LRG:fc

L. RICHARD GUYLAY and ASSOCIATES

A DIVISION OF PUBLIC OPINION POLLS, INC.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

TIME & LIFE BUILDING  
ROCKEFELLER CENTER  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020  
AREA CODE 212 765-1923

January 24, 1972

President Richard M. Nixon  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

You have had a highly successful year and are enjoying substantial support as a result. This demonstrates that the crowd loves a strong leader; it responds to positive words and decision and appreciates solid accomplishments taken with modest grace.

Major Press Problems Ahead

*He should be kept in mind.*

Although there has been an uneasy quiet on the TV and newspaper commentator front for the past few months, it would be a gross mistake to underestimate the continuing antagonism of the press. The feeling toward you and your administration among some reporters and TV people is almost pathological in its intensity and it's only a matter of time before it erupts again. Meanwhile, it serves the press' purpose to let this "honeymoon" period extend for some months because it builds up the appearance of fairness and sets the stage for the coming

(more)

attack - which will be brutal. The whole TV apparatus has not forgotten Agnew's attacks and will try to demolish him and, through him, you.

I'm sure you are aware of some of the reasons for this hostility. Allen Drury sees it very well. But the problem is a major factor in the campaign and needs much more attention.

It also points up the need to consistently sell the record of your Administration. The good is overlooked and the bad makes news. This has been true of every Administration but the difference is that the Democrats get a lot of free help from a friendly press. The Republicans don't.

I have written you before on the need for a better "Answer Back" operation. There has been some improvement but the attached Times article giving G.O.P replies to Ted Kennedy's speech shows much more work needs to be done.

**KENNEDY CRITICIZED FOR ATTACK ON NIXON**

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13 (UPI)—Republicans struck back today at Senator Edward M. Kennedy for his attack yesterday on President Nixon and his record.

The House minority leader, Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, noted Senator Kennedy's charge last night that the American people no longer trusted their President and said that "on all the issues which the Senator from Massachusetts might raise among the American people, the question of trust seems least likely to serve his interests."

Asked to explain the reference, Ford said Mr. Ford's press secretary said "it's obvious. It's an oblique reference to Chairman [sic]."

The Senate minority leader, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Illinois, said Mr. Kennedy's charge was "a gross distortion of the facts" and that he would like to see the President in a "hot line" with the people.

Sen. Humphrey said he would like to see the President in a "hot line" with the people. He said the President should be "able to talk to the people about our country."

- a. Ford's is so oblique it had to be explained by his press secretary.
- b. Scott's talks about a "point" man -- What is that?
- c. Dole calls Kennedy's talk the "usual cacophony of mindless negativism". That's hardly the language of the man in the street.  
It's all amateurish and ineffective.

*C Note*

(more)

How To Handle The Labor Campaign

Meany's attacks on you can be turned to your advantage. The situation is comparable to the Taft Campaign in Ohio when Taft separated the rank and file from their union "bosses" and carried every labor district in the state despite a mammoth campaign by labor leaders. The more the bosses attack you, the better it can be, if skillfully handled.

One principal strategem is to take the offensive and organize a labor political organization to spearhead the campaign. Call it "Labor's League for Nixon" and let this organization carry the attack to Meany and his "arrogant" bosses. Whatever happens there should be no frontal attack by your administration against labor generally but a legitimate organization of union members should carry the fight against their bosses and for you.

There should be a poll of rank and file union members asking if they support specific issues you stand for and specific accomplishments of your administration. This material would be ammunition for "Labor's League for Nixon".

Election Strategy

In 1960 and 1968 you had selective strategy - concentrating in your best areas and especially in five key states.

This has a defeatist undertone for 1972 because it implies you do not have a chance in the states that are left out. While this may be realistic, I don't believe it's smart to advertise it. It's

(more)

*C - no fight - Meany is a bit nervous  
but I got the  
impression  
suppose!*

(4)

like going into a fight with one hand tied behind your back while your opponent is free to swing with both.

The campaign strategy should be to try in every state and the unpublicized goal would be to win by the biggest Republican majority in history. You were part of the ticket in '56 that holds the record Republican plurality of 9½ million. If you give up in advance on the Eastern seaboard and other industrial states, the campaign starts with an unnecessary handicap. There are lots of people in all 50 states who want to work for you and they should be encouraged to put on a maximum effort in their own area.

Muskie is doing what Goldwater did in '64 - quietly lining up delegates - one by one - and he may sew up the nomination that way - although I doubt it. He is just not coming over well.

Lindsay is planning a massive TV campaign for his primaries and is choosing states that are easy to saturate with TV. While his record as mayor is miserable, he should not be underestimated: (1) most people outside of New York don't care what kind of record he has - and feel nobody could govern New York any better, (2) he has a personality that could excite the masses under the supercharged conditions of a presidential campaign, and (3) he has superb skills in the use of TV - especially in commercials and non-live presentations.

The threat, however, remains Ted Kennedy. ("Kennedy's the Chap.") The country is hungry for excitement and glamour and novelty -

(more)

(5)

new promises for the Good Life for everyone. Kennedy is a counterpoint to what Senator Mondale calls the boredom gripping the country.

You need fresh ideas, a capsule description of the successes of your first term - there still is no simple and memorable characterization for what you have achieved - and some new faces. Connally has had some success because of the contrast between his flamboyancy and others in your cabinet. But it would be a serious mistake to put him on the ticket. He is a Democrat - and he reminds too many people of Lyndon Johnson, whom he looks like, and sounds like, and that could spell disaster. Great sections of the country dislike or distrust Texans - however unfair that may be.

Finally, if you think I can help you in the campaign, I would be most anxious to do so. I look forward to hearing from you.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,



L. Richard Guylay

LRG:fc

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Republican National  
Convention/Use of Flag  
Placards

Jeb Magruder called to report that the Republican National Committee will use the BBD&O recommended corner of the flag for the RNC Convention materials. Magruder advised the Attorney General that you strenuously opposed any use of the flag or part thereof, but the Attorney General decided not to overrule the RNC, Don Kendall, who volunteered BBD&O, on this matter.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date \_\_\_\_\_

TO: MS

FROM: L. HIGBY

Call me before  
you do anything

here. → Feb  
Wed  
2/1

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 1, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

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

*This is ridiculous to put AG to AG.*

The Attorney General has directed Jeb Magruder to get your views on the idea of using the corner of the flag on the convention advertising and convention materials before proceeding

Magruder has already been told that you think the cut-out of the flag corner is a bad idea. He would like to know what your views are on using the whole flag on the convention materials. He points out that many of the materials will end up on the floor so in effect, people will be stepping on the flag, etc.

He would like your view as soon as possible this morning since he is scheduled to meet with the advertising people today.

I assume you are 100% opposed to either the whole flag or portions of the flag being used on the advertising and will so instruct him unless you indicate otherwise below.

*Absolutely*

*even worse!*

*I'm a little disgusted to be asked again - I've expressed my view very clearly & frequently*

Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc.

(212) 355-5800

383 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017

Advertising

To <sup>S</sup>  
Magruder  
1/31

January 20, 1972

Mr. Jeb Magruder  
Committee for the Re-Election of the President  
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D. C. 20003

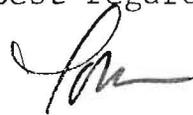
Dear Jeb:

Attached is a revised layout of the cover design for the 1972 Republican National Convention Official Program.

The subtle change you requested was accomplished by substituting the white stars with white outlined stars. While it loses some of the impact of the original design, we still think it is quite handsome.

As you know, time is running short and we are in desperate need of an approval. May I hear from you by Thursday, January 27.

Best regards,



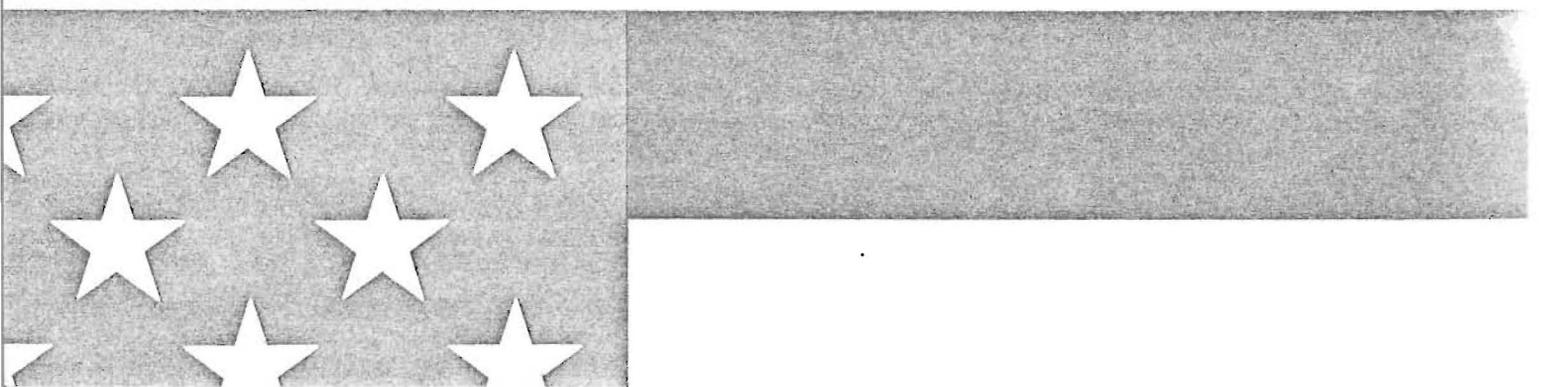
Tom Villante  
Senior Vice President

TV/cc  
Att.

cc: Mr. Dick Herman

*It does not solve the  
problem at all - I wish to be  
recorded as 100%  
solved. 1/*

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION/AUGUST, 1972



COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

January 28, 1972

FOR: GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM: GENE ROBERTS

*H  
see  
on  
1/18  
Pol  
Muts*

Attached is a copy of the memorandum that went to the Attorney General on Monday. It is my understanding that the books on the various Interest Groups were delivered to you earlier.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

January 4, 1972

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Interest Group Reports

Bart Porter and Chuck Colson's staff have compiled extensive reports in four areas -- Spanish-Speaking, Labor, Middle America, Ethnic-Catholic. Although these reports are being transmitted to you in full, much of the material in them does not require immediate action on your part. The following summarizes the central direction of each report and gives the decision-points which require your attention now. If you subscribe to the general viewpoint expressed in the following, we will see that copies of the full reports are circulated among the senior members of the campaign staff.

Spanish-Speaking

Spanish-surnamed Americans comprise approximately 5% of the total population (9 million Mexican-Americans, 3 million Puerto Ricans, 700,000 Cubans, the rest scattered). Although this group votes less frequently than other groups, it is significant because of its concentration in such key states as California, Texas, Illinois, New Jersey and Florida. And despite its overwhelming Democratic registration, it is felt that some movement can be induced in its voting habits.

Each group must be handled separately with specially-tailored appeals. Cuban-Americans, upwardly mobile and avidly anti-Communist, are most open to appeal from the President. Puerto Ricans, the nation's most impoverished minority, are least attractable. On the other hand, all Spanish-speaking Americans share certain characteristics -- a strong family structure, deep ties to the Church, a generally hard-line position on the social issue -- which makes them open to an appeal from us if they can be convinced the President has recognized their social and economic problems.

This is especially true now that the Democratic Party is under suspicion for favoring politically potent blacks at the expense of the needs of the Spanish-Speaking people.

Suprisingly enough, the administration has a quite creditable record in the Spanish-Speaking area. We've made a substantial number of high-level appointments and initiated steps to increase the delivery of housing aid to Spanish citizens. The Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for Spanish-Speaking People, OEO, SBA, and OMB have developed a number of innovative economic development programs. We have made a slight beginning at dealing with the bilingual education problem. The report makes recommendations for highly-visual social and economic development projects over the next year to expand upon what we have done already.

The report also contains information on each of the three principal Spanish-Speaking groups, with extensive lists of key organizations, personnel, and contacts. Pointing out that Spanish-speaking communities are close-knit and that they are not used to attention from the highest levels of government, the report advocates increased efforts to cultivate groups and leaders through dinner invitations, speaking appearances, telegrams, etc. The report also suggests increased cultivation of Spanish-Speaking media, both printed and electronic, through regular mailings, interviews, briefings, etc.

Central to all our efforts should be full politicization of the Cabinet Committee, now on an \$800,000 budget and going up to \$1.3 million in July. The group now works through Finch, but Colson has begun assisting on the political and P. R. side. Carbo Conde, a Spanish press type, has been put on the Committee's payroll and will be working out of the White House in cultivating Spanish media, much as Stan Scott does for black media.

Perhaps the most interesting suggestion the report makes is that consideration be given to under-cover funding of La Raza Unida, a left-wing Chicano political party in the Southwest, in exchange for agreement that La Raza Unida run 1972 presidential candidates in California and Texas. La Raza Unida has done very well in several state and local elections in California, New Mexico, and Texas.

The following specific recommendations require your immediate attention.

It is recommended that the Cabinet Committee remain a responsibility of Finch, but that Colson have responsibility for political and public relations questions.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

It is recommended that Magruder be charged with coming up with somebody to direct Spanish-speaking political activity from the Campaign Committee.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

#### Labor

The organized labor movement in this country is comprised of approximately 21 million people, some 17 million of whom are members of AFL-CIO affiliated unions. It is felt that up until one year ago the Administration was in a strong position with labor, but that the combination of our foreign policy, the Philadelphia Plan, the suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act, the new economic policy, and subsequent events have changed that. There are some significant exceptions. The Teamsters, for instance, are completely in our fold. But, generally speaking, it is felt that most of the labor leadership will be out of reach.

On the other hand, it is felt that we could still do very well with the rank and file, and the local labor leadership. The report contains an evaluation of the major unions, stressing the maritime unions, the Teamsters, the Longshoremen, the construction trades, the police and fire unions, the allied and technical workers, and the retail clerks. It emphasizes the key position of the local labor leadership, often - such as in the case of Peter Brennan or Mike Maye - far more potent than the national leaders and usually far more open to appeal from the President.

The report notes that some of the policy moves so abhorred by the national labor leadership are admired by the rank and file. Some polls quoted suggest that a majority of labor actually likes to see its leaders assaulted by the Administration. The President has a tough, highly masculine image among this voting sector. This should be maintained - even when it brings the President into conflict with the concerns of organized labor. The only issue of crucial importance to organized labor is its survival - we can and should attack labor leaders on grounds other than that if we think it would be beneficial in any given instance.

The report also notes that the character of American labor has changed significantly since the 1930's. Whereas forty years ago, unionism was completely dominant for working people, now their interests are far broader - higher education for their children, stopping inflation, keeping their second car. American labor has become increasingly self-protective, and, hence, conservative. If we can demonstrate - with such proposals as the pension program - that we have their interests in mind, we can do very well among this voting sector.

The report has a detailed public relations program, with suggestions on the use of written and electronic media, and on possible Presidential appearances to emphasize his identity with the problems of working people. It emphasizes the importance of beginning our efforts early - before the Democrats have a chance to unify behind one candidate - so that the President's identity with working class problems appears to be a consistent part of his approach.

The following specific recommendation requires your immediate attention:

It is recommended that we find a young, vigorous labor type to serve as the Campaign Committee's labor man, indirectly coordinating with Chuck Colson's activities.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

Middle America

This report is more in the nature of a general strategy outline than a specific decision paper. It suggests the importance of home ownership in defining Middle America and draws out two broad concepts -- the concepts of income security and social Security -- as essential to this group. The report advocates clustering our issues around these two concepts and drawing out a key issue from each next fall. While we stand to benefit from many issues in the campaign (Peace, Prosperity, Progress, Social Order), the report makes the point that we will only be able to develop one or two during the campaign. It suggests that we should pick the issues we wish to develop in accord with a broad strategy, but as late as possible to take advantage of their immediacy. Both immediacy and accord with a broad strategy must be achieved if our issues are to appear both current and consistent with our four years in office.

The report contains a brief discussion of the Wallace phenomenon, indicating that present polls show Wallace might be helpful to us. While he draws more from us than the Democrats in the South, the polls suggest we will take the South anyway. In the North, he takes more from the Democrats - to our advantage. The report suggests that further, in-depth polling should be undertaken before any final decision is reached on the advantages/disadvantages of having Wallace in the race. The report recommends two strategies, useable depending on how we decide Wallace helps/hurts us.

The report contains a paper by Lew Engman of the Domestic Council, suggesting that HUD may be pursuing "dispersal housing" contrary to the President's expressed wishes. It advocates immediate inquiry into this and firm, and public, action if the President's wishes are being contravened.

The report contains a long memorandum from Charles Colson to H.R. Haldeman, advocating orientation of our political appeal to interest groups, with specific, bread-and-butter programs developed and sold to each group. The report also contains an extensive discussion of the Administration's veterans program, with recommendations for dealing with veterans organizations, media, etc.

It is recommended that a full-time veteran organizer be hired. It is suggested that he could probably be obtained on a volunteer basis from one of the veterans groups.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

Ethnic

As of the 1960 census, there were some 34 million first or second generation Americans of foreign stock. The report suggests that these voters may be an important resource for us. While old world, and particularly, old world, anti-Communist, "captive nations" appeals are no longer effective in most ethnic areas, the report suggests that ethnic identify among white ethnics -- Italians (witness the Italian-American Civil Rights Leagues) Irish, etc. -- is increasing considerably.

The report suggests that these voters are attracted to the same issues as Middle America or organized labor, both of which overlap considerably. It is noted that we are in a particularly strong position with Catholic voters as a result of our stands on pornography, aid to parochial schools, drug abuse, crime, and the social issue.

The report contains detailed lists of ethnic organizations and leaders, together with an ethnic population breakdown of the United States. It also suggests various public relations devices, electronic, written, and Presidential, which can be used effectively with this sector.

The following specific recommendations require your immediate attention:

It is recommended that an ethnic be hired for the Campaign Committee.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

It is recommended that consideration be given to replacing Laszlo Pasztor at the RNC with somebody less allied to old-line, captive nation's ethnic leaders.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

JEB S. M. GAIDER

1/24

Mon - Comp Strategy Mtg - Miller, Chapin, Beckman,  
 Bent, LaRue, JSM, Tetter, Joannou, Bailey, Merrill

- Peter Bailey presentation - for  
 AG final Wed, 1/26

G

- Wbe H to see

→ no P to Fla after China;  
 but P shld have long hrs  
 debrief ~~for~~ at CB.

Poll - Wed/Thur - cwc  
 JFK Center

30  
**ACTION MEMO**

Secretary Rogers has suggested that for campaign purposes, our approach to Blacks might be most effective by going via the Black celebrities who are for us. He was especially impressed with Sammie Davis, Jr. 's reaction to his visit to the White House and the great mileage we've gotten from Pearl Bailey.

We should be starting now, of course, to line up celebrities and put out some public announcements of celebrity support.

We also need to answer the question of who is handling sport celebrities at this time.

HRH:pm

1/24/72

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 20, 1972

NOTE TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM : GORDON STRACHAN **G**

On January 17 the Attorney General approved the text of the letter designating this list of delegates for the New Hampshire primary. Al Kaupinen just delivered this letter, which requires your approval. The letter, must be signed and taken to New Hampshire tomorrow.

Approve text, President sign personally.

Approve text, Rose Mary Woods arrange signature.

Disapprove text.

Other

January 20, 1972

Dear Mr. Secretary:

In accordance with the requirements of New Hampshire law with respect to the official ballot of the Republican Party, to be used at the primary election on March 7, 1972, I hereby file my consent to have the names of the following candidates designated as pledged to vote for my nomination for President.

Delegates-at-Large

Robert P. Bass, Jr., Concord  
Richard P. Brouillard, Laconia  
Sarah L. Browning, Manchester  
John P. H. Chandler, Jr., Warner  
Clyde R. Coolidge, Somersworth  
Lane Dwinell, Lebanon  
Anne Gordon, Jaffrey  
Stewart Lamprey, Moultonborough  
Bernard A. Streeter, Jr., Nashua  
Kimon S. Zachos, Manchester

Alternate Delegates-at-Large

Joseph J. Acorace, Manchester  
Marie Baker, Goffstown  
John R. Bradshaw, Nelson  
Webster E. Bridges, Jr., Brookline  
Charlotte P. Cogswell, Dover  
Richard D. Hanson, Bow  
Lyle E. Hersom, Northumberland  
Frederick A. Porter, Amherst  
W. Douglas Scamman, Jr., Stratham  
Stanley M. Brown, Bradford

First District Delegates

Ruth H. Griffin, Portsmouth  
George B. Roberts, Jr., Gilmanton

First District Alternate Delegates

Albert E. Barcomb, Rochester  
H. Alfred Casassa, Hampton

Second District Delegates

Hilary P. Cleveland, New London  
Charles P. Puksta, Claremont

Second District Alternate Delegates

Charles G. Douglas III, Hopkinton  
Shirley K. Merrill, Lebanon

Sincerely,

Honorable Robert L. Stark  
Secretary of State  
State of New Hampshire  
Concord, New Hampshire

January 20, 1972

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Richard D. Hansen, Bow  
Lyle E. Herson, Northumberland  
Frederick A. Porter, Amherst  
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Sincerely,

Honorable Robert L. Stark  
Secretary of State  
State of New Hampshire  
Concord, New Hampshire  
RN:GS:na

January 20, 1972

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H. Alfred Casassa, Hampton

Second District Delegates

Hilary P. Cleveland, New London  
Charles P. Puksta, Claremont

Second District Alternate Delegates

Charles G. Douglas III, Hopkinton  
Shirley K. Merrill, Lebanon

Sincerely,

Honorable Robert L. Stark  
Secretary of State  
State of New Hampshire  
Concord, New Hampshire

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 13, 1972

*oh -  
Ruf*

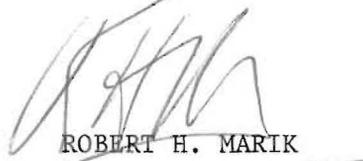
MEMORANDUM FOR RAY PRICE

SUBJECT: NEW HAMPSHIRE FILING REQUIREMENTS

In our earlier conversation, a question was raised concerning the requirements of the President in placing his name on the New Hampshire ballot. These requirements were satisfied by two letters that were sent to New Hampshire last week.

Attached is a draft of a letter that is required for the President to sign off on a slate of committee delegates. The list of delegates is being prepared by Governor Dwinell and Harry Flemming.

I would appreciate receiving your comments so that we can prepare a final draft, including delegate names for the President's signature.

  
ROBERT H. MARIK

Attachment.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT**

New Hampshire Highway Hotel  
Concord, New Hampshire 03301  
Phone (603) 224-7411

Governor Lane Dwinell – Chairman  
G. Allan Walker, Jr. – Executive Director

Date

Hon. Robert L. Stark  
Secretary of State  
State House  
Concord, New Hampshire 03031

Dear Mr. Stark:

In accordance with the requirements of New Hampshire law with respect to the official ballot of the Republican Party, to be used at the primary election on March 7, 1972, I hereby signify my consent to have the names of the following candidates designated as pledged to vote for my nomination for President at the Republican National Convention.

<u>Delegates at Large</u>	<u>Alternate Delegates at Large</u>
1. John Doe, Hanover	Jane Dow, Nashua
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	
6.	
7.	
8.	
9.	
10.	
<u>Delegates</u> <u>First Congressional District</u>	<u>Alternate Delegates</u> <u>First Congressional District</u>
1.	
2.	

Delegates  
Second Congressional District

Alternate Delegates  
Second Congressional District

- 1.
- 2.

Sincerely, 

  
Richard M. Nixon

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM: KEN RIETZ  
SUBJECT: ORC Presentation on Youth  
Polling Results

Per your suggestion a meeting for Joe Goeke's presentation has been arranged for Monday morning, January 24th, at 8:30. The following will be in attendance in addition to myself:

- Don Rumsfeld
- Ray Hanzlik (for Counselor Finch)
- Peter Flannigan
- Jamie McLane
- Doug Hallet
- Congressman Bill Steiger
- Don Sundquist
- Tom Bell
- Ken Smith
- Angela Harris
- Bob Teeter (Evans)

It  
needn't  
see

January 20, 1972

Memorandum

To: John Mitchell

From: Charlie McWhorter

Re: San Diego Convention

It occurs to me that our planning for the 1972 Republican National Convention in San Diego next August should include a meeting of one or two days immediately after the convention for the Nixon Chairmen and the Republican State Chairmen from each state. This would provide an opportunity to lay out in detail the plans for the fall campaign and give them an opportunity to ask questions. There was a comparable meeting following the Miami convention in 1968 but, since there were so many changes planned in the state leadership of the Nixon campaign, it struck me as rather perfunctory. With the lead time we now have, I would think it possible to plan a highly productive working meeting in San Diego for this group. I would assume that the Finance Committee would be doing something like this also and this could be included in the post convention schedule.

cc: Harry S. Fleming  
H. R. Haldeman ✓

January 20, 1972

Memorandum

To: C. D. Ward

From: Charlie McWhorter

Governor Rockefeller in his "State of the State" address this week placed great emphasis on the need for a more rational allocation of responsibility for the provision of services by the national, state and local governments. Governor Rockefeller connected his remarks with President Nixon's leadership in this field and its more immediate relationship to proposals for revenue-sharing and welfare reform.

While the thrust of Governor Rockefeller's comments were long-range in nature, it does provide an opportunity for the President and the Administration to assert continued leadership in this important area of government reform. It occurred to me that the Vice President's responsibilities for supervision of inter-governmental problems would be a natural place to develop some kind of an affirmative follow-up proposal for 1972 which would have enough content to be both substantively worthwhile and politically feasible. If it is thought to be desirable, the meeting of the National Governors Conference in Washington next month would be a good occasion for the Vice President to present the Administration's latest thinking on the overall problem of responsibility for providing government services.

My guess is that the ordinary citizen would welcome any efforts which tended to reduce the cost of duplication and multiple responsibility for the provision of government services even though there are many obvious difficulties in achieving these goals.

cc: John N. Mitchell  
John D. Ehrlichman  
H. R. Haldeman ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1972

*H FV/t  
action  
for Daily  
memo*

TO: BOB HALDEMAN  
FROM: LEN GARMENT



Just for your information.

attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR PETE DAILEY

Here are a few general thoughts about documentaries:

1. The President was elected in 1968 basically because his personal qualities were seen as the right ones for the times - by enough people. Humphrey had to carry the negative features of the incumbency without any of its benefits. I imagine most would recognize that the campaign theme this time around is still "The man for the times" - except that the man is now President, which helps.
2. Assuming I'm correct that the basic proposition a Nixon documentary must support is that the President is in fact proving himself the right man for exceptionally difficult times, we have an essentially intellectual proposition which must be addressed in dramatic terms. The key then would lie in great discipline in the focus of the documentary. It would have to identify and pinpoint the effective leadership qualities of the President, marshal the supporting evidence and undertake to make its selected point with great clarity. If the documentary is all over the lot -- trying to establish that RN is warm and folksy as well as tough and cerebral -- it will not be effective. (Another documentary could deal with the human side of the President, the family, etc.)
3. I set out my own views on the President's strongest qualities in a speech last winter and this is how the language went (a copy of the speech is attached):

"The premium qualities of a president for this moment in history are related to its frustrating complexity.

The nation needs coolness more than clarion calls; intelligence more than charisma; a sense of history more than a sense of histrionics. It's not important that a president be loved or lovely or charming because the times will not let him be perceived that way even if he deserves to be:

What matters is that he have the constitutional toughness, discipline and flexibility needed to discharge his constitutional duties in an impossibly difficult time."

4. How to translate these generalities into persuasive film is the creative problem. A couple of thoughts: the film will have as one objective conveying a sense of a wide range of Presidential projects underway which should not be aborted midstream. The film has to document what is taking place; it must be drawn from available footage (or footage to come); and it must also have a distinct point of view. A film story of the hard news events of the first term put in an explanatory context by narratives and interviews with the President as narrator, and/or a group of interview-type commentaries by the President might achieve this point of view. (The last few minutes of the "Day in the Life of The President", and the 1968 interview - documentary might be looked at as models).

5. The value of intercutting the President's comments (recorded in September or October) with film from the previous years (news conferences, TV news film, Navy films, etc.) would be that it would be current, it would be an addition to the documentary elements (the President's evaluation of history), it would be flexible, and it would be the man himself - not strained through third-party editing. For example, the President's tense, gutsy night-time press conference after Cambodia, followed by his relaxed, current evaluation of that moment in history and how and why the student commotion ran its course in the following months would be good history and

even better theatre. In a sense, the President would be writing part of his "book" via television. (A set of commercials drawn directly from current press conference situations would carry out this sense of directness and realism.)

6. I don't have any useful thoughts on film lengths, nor do I have anything to contribute at this point about issues and events to include. Most are fairly obvious. The people involved in preparing the film will have to sit and look at footage for days before ideas emerge and jell. (And don't forget Bob Haldeman's footage; my guess is that less than studio quality film will work fine provided it is all held together by high-quality connecting material which is uniform in technique and approach.) Any such approach would require a producer-director who would have the President's absolute confidence and could work with him comfortably and effectively.



Leonard Garment

attachment

By LEONARD GARMENT

From 1941 To 1967

The architect of the Nixon Revolution, the President of the United States, is an open-minded revolutionary in that he is less interested in preserving the system than he is in making it serve, and to make it serve he is willing to reconstruct it.

A revolution in the way the federal government transacts business must take place to deal with the debris of decades of bureaucratic in-breeding. It is essential to create new power centers throughout the country; Washington can't do it all or that well. A definitive sorting of functions and government levels in the federal system is long overdue, and authority and money must be distributed in light of experience and contemporary realities so these different levels can really work.

#### Danger Of "Romance"

Simply stated, we know our limits; we know that unless we let Pocatello determine the shape of its buildings, we in Washington will never have time to determine the shape of the nation.

I recognize the danger of what might be called the "romance of decentralization." But decentralization is a direction and a theme, not a fetish or an ideological straitjacket. Simplicity is a fine thing when it comes to delivering polemics, but philosophic neatness doesn't count when it comes to delivering services. When a national approach is needed and will work better, we will take that road. The idea is to moderate, not abdicate, Washington's leadership role.

#### Only Beginning

Much more of the President's domestic program exists in proposals than in practice, and we are only beginning to move from intent to achievement. But sooner or later, in one form or another, through one or another coalition of persons and forces, and despite the Rube Goldberg pyramid of legislative and special interest obstacles, the President's reform proposals will become law. The question is not whether the Nixon Revolution will prevail, but when.

That it will prevail is inevitable because it answers not only the long-overdue need for redefinition of the federal role but, more important, because it is moving to fulfill a deeply felt wish of people everywhere to have closer to home, within reach of their hands, the machinery that controls their lives.

In short, these are ideas whose time has come; and American life is getting better because of them.

Yet this seems barely to scratch the surface of a mood of dissatisfaction in the nation that stretches in an almost unbroken line over the last six or seven years. Real progress is being made in every area of our national life: our involvement in Vietnam has been cut and we are moving out; problems of poverty, hunger, race, the environment, the aging, education, health are being addressed, seriously and steadily; power and participation is greater than ever in our history. Still the index of human dissatisfaction rises, and not just with federal government but with all governments, with all bureaucracies, with every institution from church to army—all incur impatience, dissatisfaction, hostility.

Without venturing anything so ambitious as a unified field theory to reconcile all strands and currents of contemporary thought, I would submit that the moods roiling the national consciousness are far stronger and deeper than we usually admit. We are buffeted not merely by the

I have been intrigued by a 1962 monograph on cyclical change in American foreign policy, published by a man named Frank Klingberg in the journal of *World Politics*. Mr. Klingberg argues persuasively that our foreign policy since 1776 has alternated between 21-year introvert phases and 27-year extrovert phases, the irresistible force for change in each case being a swing in national mood as it reacts against the characteristics of one phase and gradually shifts to the other.

He predicted that the extrovert period begun by Pearl Harbor in 1941 would end about 1968, with the turn in mood pivoting on "heavy moral implications" compounded of "the aspirations of the people of Asia . . . with special repercussions from America's own racial problem." One need not buy the whole analysis to take from it sober second thoughts about the possible magnitude of the forces impelling our gravitation toward domestic concerns now and in the years ahead.

#### All The Revolutions

In a recent issue of *Fortune* James Leachley applies cyclical theory to American party politics, while from a recent *Atlantic* cover the sculptor Jacques Lipchitz tells us, "Life goes in cycles. . . . There's nothing new under the sun . . . only more of it."

The "more" of the current inward mood of the nation are factors which multiply the rate and intensity of the national turning: the technological revolution, the participatory revolution, the civil rights revolution, the revolution of rising expectations; the new youth, the new styles, the new communications, the

new consciousness, the new everything—all have combined to shrink the time horizons and patience of millions of Americans virtually to zero. The human cry is for "action now" and to ask for patience as institutions labor to respond is to whimper into a gale.

But institutions have their own tightly turning circle. A quarter-century of laws, bureaucratic traditions, programs, treaties and concepts of national self-interest has a momentum of its own that survives and continues to push the nation along an earlier course. The clash, the time lag between individual demands for change and the slow-motion response of institutions creates tremendous tensions.

The Nixon Revolution and Nixon Doctrine are alike in their effort to redesign basic institutions of national and foreign policy to provide for an orderly transition through a disorderly time.

Both have as their central theme the need to redistribute power toward reducing the excessive domination of the United States (or federal) role and stimulating local involvement and energies in solving essentially local problems.

Both recognize the limited wisdom, limited reach and limited energy and resources of Washington in dealing with the range and diversity of problems in the world and nation.

Both recognize the demand for greater attention to domestic problems.

Both recognize the anxious and impatient mood of millions of individuals.

The President's policies are a rational response to a passionate mood and are destined, at least in the short run, to be less than universally satisfying. But they may serve as a sort of "universal gear" to absorb and damp out some of the potentially wrecking consequences of exaggerated impatience.

These are extraordinarily difficult times for popular government to be "popular." In the discharge of his duties a president must act responsibly, and to do so he must sacrifice popularity, one day with one group, the next day with another. This is not to say that martyrdom is the leader's lot; unpopular positions can turn out to be the most popular course.

#### Risking Unpopularity

It is to say that risking unpopularity, and all its consequences, is what presidents are required to do. Diversity and conflict are too deeply ingrained in our times for unity to be much more than a noble ideal: The contesting interests—political, diplomatic, generational, racial, regional, economic—are simply incapable of being hammered or cajoled into a state of unity. We must learn to live with the conditions of the day.

Max Ways, in *Fortune* last year, made the point that, "the surging demands of our times represent, in fact, the social vigor of our society, its insistence upon a larger role in life for every person. But there is no denying how difficult it will be to maintain a necessary measure of social cohesion in the face of rising demands for wider and wider distribution of power. . . ."

#### The Premium Qualities

"There's no prospect of peace and quiet, no point of rest, ahead. Conflict and trouble will multiply as the level of education rises, as more jobs require personal judgment, as a greater number of individual wills come into play, as autocratic authority diminishes."

The premium qualities of a president for this moment in history are related to its frustrating complexity.

The nation needs coolness more than clarion calls; intelligence more than charisma; a sense of history more than sense of histrionics. It's not important that a president be loved or lovely or charming because the times will not let him be perceived that way even if he deserves to be.

What matters is that he have the constitutional toughness, discipline and flexibility needed to discharge his constitutional duties in an impossibly difficult time.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

January 25, 1972

*H. recall  
w/ other  
ad  
materials*

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

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM: PHIL JOANOU  
SUBJECT: Primary Creative Strategy Statement

Attached is the statement reviewed at Mondays strategy meeting.



cc: Peter Dailey

CONFIDENTIAL

CREATIVE STRATEGY STATEMENT

Committee to Re-Elect the President

January 12, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

CREATIVE STRATEGY STATEMENT

Committee to Re-Elect the President

January 12, 1971

The purpose of this document is to set forth the creative objectives, strategy and plans proposed for implementation in New Hampshire and Florida. It is based on the situation as it exists today, and is subject to revision as events and circumstances dictate the need for change.

THE SITUATION

The President has publicly stated, and reiterated in his New Hampshire letter that "...it is essential, particularly in this year when events of such importance to the world's future are taking place, that at least until the Republican Convention the President should refrain from public partisan activities in order to conduct the business of government with minimum intrusion of purely political activity." In brief, he "will not campaign actively or personally in any of the primaries".

The President will be faced with opposition from the left and the right. Rep. Paul McClosky is challenging the President on Vietnam and credibility in government. Rep. John Ashbrook, the candidate of the right, is campaigning on the basis that the President has strayed too far from his 1968 positions. Eight candidates have entered the Democratic primary.

CREATIVE OBJECTIVES

The creative objectives in the primary states will be to:

1. Concentrate efforts on Republicans and Independents, and stress the importance of their vote for the President. (Because of his lead in the polls, it may be necessary to overcome potential voter apathy).
2. Create a "grass roots" effort, contrasted to superimposed, professional political campaign drive.
3. Take the position that the President is the best man to meet the challenge of an ever changing nation and world. He is responsive and courageous in his actions (implying a more pragmatic, common sense approach to problems, as contrasted to the doctrinaire solutions of those of the left or right).
4. Creative material will be positive in nature and about America's future in contrast to negativism that will be raised in the campaign.
5. Emphasis will be given to the fact that the President has achieved much in contrast to Muskie's "it is not good enough" approach.
6. Statements made in advertising will be checked to insure complete accuracy and rely on understatement, as opposed to "greatest ever" rhetoric, which becomes unbelievable.

CREATIVE STRATEGY

The President will not be used in radio or television commercials in a direct way. That is, the President will not directly address the public via commercials, in that this is practically synonymous with direct campaigning. Advertisements will be developed showing people from all walks of life stating their support of the President in honest, unrehearsed terms. Many quick cuts will be used, showing close-ups of (for example) a young girl, businessman, housewife, black, older American, farmer, young man.

In this way, support of the President, his actions, his record, can be stated in a non-political, believable way. Responses will be on the economy, Vietnam, the President personally, crime, drugs, welfare, and the other issues important to voters in each state. Commercials will be filmed on location in the primary states.

In addition, this approach will allow the people to speak in answer to attacks and questions from the left or right. It allows little room for counter-attack, as it is difficult for either Democrats or Republican opposition to attack the peoples' support of the record in Vietnam, the economy, or other issues.

The commercials will be positive in mood, fast paced, interesting, believable, and "non-political".

Radio commercials will be modified "lifts" from the television tracks.

Newspaper advertising will follow the same basic strategy, with modifications that will be shown in layout form.

Finally, it is important to note that the President will continue to obtain prime time special TV coverage on major foreign policy events throughout the primaries, plus major radio, magazine, and newspaper coverage in addition to normal Presidential coverage. This "People for the President" approach will help avoid overexposure early in the campaign.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: Jan. 19

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You have the package of Buchanan's memoranda and had planned on talking with him. You may want to add this to the materials in your talking paper drawer.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

The powers that be should know that both Ken Khachigian and Al Snyder worked hand-in-glove to develop and transmit some of the questions that eventually were used by interviewers Broder, Kiker, Novak and Apple on that "Meet the Press" show which was perhaps the roughest going-over I have ever seen Ed Muskie given. At one point Muskie seemed on the verge of "blowing." Recommend that those in the White House staff who have political responsibilities take a look at that show -- to see where Muskie's vulnerability lies, and to get a good look at the fellow who has been shaping up as our primary opponent.

Incidentally, re my previous memoranda, I remain convinced that Muskie can be had in Florida and must be had there, if he is to be stopped. Is any consideration being given to some of the ideas outlined in those memos?

Buchanan

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

January 18, 1972

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

TO: ~~GORDON STRACHAN~~ H ✓  
FROM: PHIL JOANOU  
SUBJECT: Promotion Materials

Attached is a press proof of a brochure for use in the primary states and for state headquarter material. Also attached is a document on promotion strategy, indicating how this brochure fits in with other pre-convention material.

We plan to print this brochure on Wednesday, January 19.

Additional material will be forwarded for your information as it is developed.

*Joanou*

G → Phil 1/20

COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

PROMOTIONAL MATERIALS

January 12, 1972

COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

PROMOTION MATERIALS

The purpose of this document is to set forth initial promotional material requirements and activities.

Promotion material requirements for the 1972 campaign may be divided into two phases:

1. Pre-Convention (Primaries and headquarters use)
2. Post-Convention (Major campaign effort)

This document concentrates on the pre-convention materials.

Objectives

1. Provide adequate material concentrating on the issues and the record for party workers and volunteers.
2. Provide flexibility to add to material at low cost as issues develop.
3. Provide a pre-convention theme that is broad enough to remain durable during the 8 month pre-convention period.
4. Provide current news to party workers to generate enthusiasm and a sense of involvement.

Theme

The theme line to be used during the pre-convention phase will be: RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT.

This theme serves to:

1. Reinforce that fact that Nixon is the President, while others are politicians scrambling for votes.
2. It does not serve as a target for the host of primary contenders (as would an issue oriented statement tied to peace and prosperity).
3. It will not backfire and become a victim of current events.

It is admittedly a "safe" line, and as a result may lack the excitement and drama of a bolder approach. It is our belief, however, that the excitement of this campaign should be timed for the post-convention phase. Excitement and action can tend to be wearying, especially when it is eight months to the convention and ten months to the election. In summary, this is the right line for now.

Recommended Materials

The following materials are recommended for development, production, and shipment to primary and other states:

1. BROCHURE - "Re-elect the President". This will be a simple brochure, briefly setting forth the President's record on important issues. It will be used as a handout and may be used in mailings, as it is envelope size.
2. BROCHURE/KIT - "America Needs President Nixon..." An 8" x 10" kit, with a full-color photograph of the President on the cover. This kit will contain separate sheets on each issue. These inexpensive sheets may be up-dated from time to time, or new i-sues added without reprinting the kit. Its major purpose is to encourage volunteers and to provide detailed information on the issues. The inserts serve a dual purpose. They will be used as part of a kit, and individually as mailers for telephone follow-up.
3. PUBLICATION - "The Nixon Re-Elector" or "The Presidential Re-Elector". This publication will appear monthly in the early stages, and will be similar in format and style to the "Nixon Elector" used in 1968.
4. BUTTONS - "Re-elect the President".
5. BUMPER STICKERS - "Re-elect the President".
6. WINDOW STICKERS - "Re-elect the President".

Summary

This program will provide adequate materials for initial use, with two brochures, which can be used in office and for mailings, buttons, bumper stickers, and automobile window stickers, plus a monthly publication which will provide current source material for workers and party officials, and provide people in the campaign with a sense of involvement.

COST ESTIMATESMaterials Production

1 1/4" Plastic buttons	125 M	\$3,125
Vinyl Bumper Stickers	100 M	3,500
4" x 9" small brochures	100 M	1,260
4/c Kit w/inserts	50 M	14,082
3" window stickers		<u>1,650</u>
		\$22,617

Tabloid Newspaper

## A record of courage and action:

**Vietnam:** The President has laid the foundations for a lasting peace in Southeast Asia by preparing the South Vietnamese to resist aggression and determine their own future. By years end, he had cut the number of American troops to one-quarter of what it was when he took office.

**The Economy:** When President Nixon took office inflation was raging. Americans were receiving higher wages, but these were being consumed by a rate of inflation with little parallel in modern American history. The President took bold economic steps, including a 90 day freeze on wages and prices, and a comprehensive system of anti-inflation controls. Major tax changes were proposed and enacted. An historic agreement was reached on a realignment of currency rates. These courageous actions to hold the line on prices, create new jobs and improve the competitive position for business and workers in foreign markets, will benefit all Americans.

**Welfare Reform:** He has proposed sweeping changes in the present welfare system to provide training and work incentives, to prevent the break-up of families, and ultimately to relieve the growing burden on the taxpayers.

**The Environment:** President Nixon has created the Environmental Protection Agency to coordinate his tough new Federal programs to upgrade air and water quality, restrict misuse of harmful pesticides, reduce the problem of solid waste disposal, and administer the new standards to climatic radiation and noise pollution.

**Young Americans:** He has moved toward the goal of an All-Volunteer Army and has overhauled the Selective Service System to eliminate inequities. He supported and signed the law giving the vote to 18-year olds.



BACK

FRONT

**Older Americans:** The President has developed a comprehensive strategy for meeting the needs of the Nation's elderly, including a one third increase in Social Security benefits, programs to enable more of the elderly to live in their own homes, improved health and nursing home care, and increases in employment and volunteer service opportunities.

**Revenue Sharing:** He has proposed that the flow of power away from locally elected officials to the Washington bureaucracy be reversed through the sharing of Federal tax revenues with state and local governments.

**Health Care:** President Nixon has provided far-reaching programs to make health care available to every American and has pledged his administration to an all out effort to eliminate cancer and sickle cell anemia.

**Drugs:** He has moved forcefully to curb narcotics by greatly expanding the law enforcement manpower dedicated to stopping the traffic, and negotiating the end of opium production in Turkey. He has created a White House Special Action Office to develop and coordinate a national drug rehabilitation program.

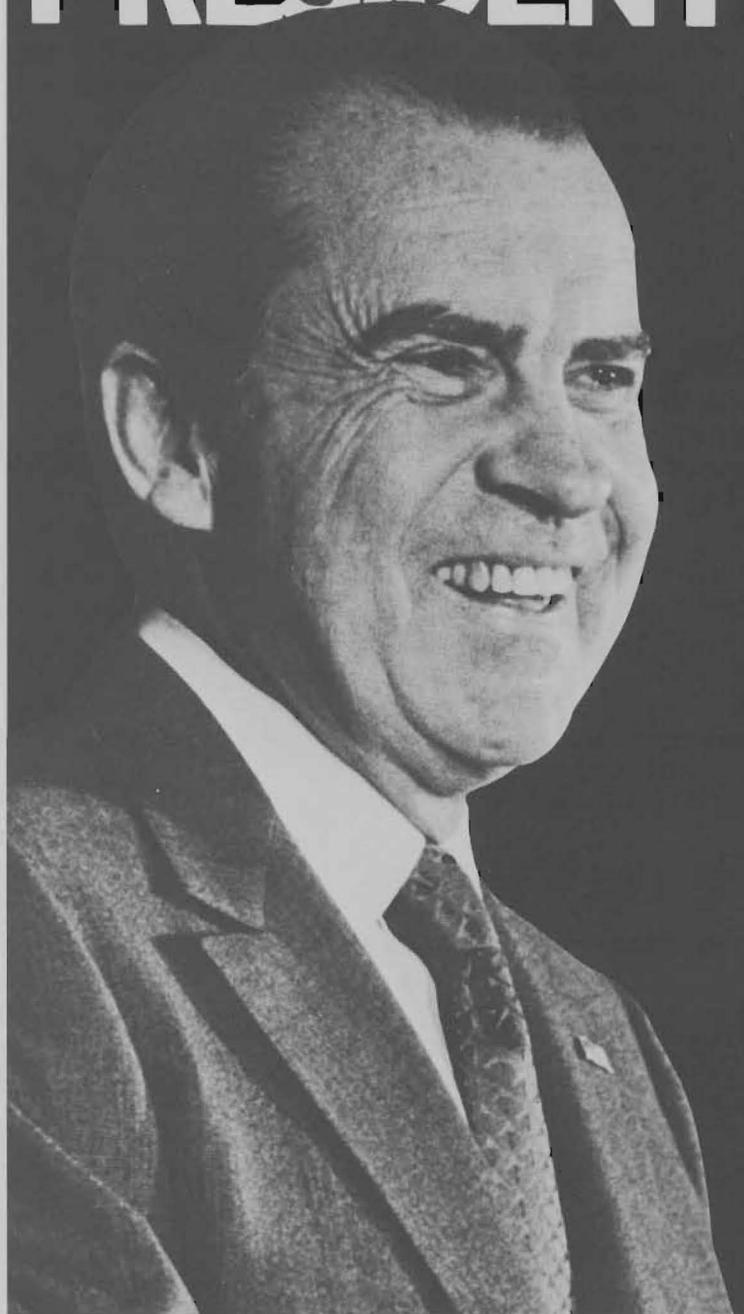
**Foreign Policy:** The President has taken bold initiatives in world affairs in his quest for a full generation of peace. He has ended crisis diplomacy and opened negotiations to limit nuclear weapons. By implementing the principles of the Nixon Doctrine, he has fostered more self-reliance among our allies.

**HE  
NEEDS  
YOUR HELP!**

Paid for by Finance Committee  
for the Re-election of the President



**RE-  
ELECT  
THE  
PRESIDENT**



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: Jan. 19

TO:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

The Attorney General approved \$70,000 budget for a direct mail effort in New Hampshire based on the plan attached at Tab A.

The alternate forms of the letters going to Republicans and Independents are attached at Tab B.

G<sub>2</sub> → Merrill  
1/20

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 14, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY DIRECT MAIL PLAN

Because there will be no appearances by the candidate in New Hampshire, and limited use of mass media, a great deal of emphasis will be placed on the use of direct mail to reach the voters. The plan described below is designed to accomplish the following objectives:

1. To provide a highly personalized mass medium to communicate with and influence the voter to support the President.
2. To increase the voter turnout of those supporting the President.
3. To motivate a large number of people to involve themselves in the campaign as volunteers.

Description of the Program

A computerized list of all registered Republicans has been obtained from the State Republican Party. It is probably somewhat outdated, but should be at least 80% deliverable. From this list, three personalized computer letters will be sent to each Republican:

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1st mailing 1/27/72          | 1. Personalized computer letter from Lane Dwinell |
| 3rd class bulk               | 2. "Re-elect the President" window sticker        |
| universal indicia            | 3. Volunteer card                                 |
| (Prototype: Tab A)           | 4. Business reply envelope                        |
| 2nd mailing 2/10/72          | 1. Personalized mini-computer letter              |
| 1st class mailing with stamp | 2. General brochure on major issues               |
| (Prototype: Tab B)           |   |

3rd mailing 2/25/72	1. Personalized mini-computer letter
1st class mailing with	2. One or two sample ballots based
stamp	on the number of Republicans in
(Prototype: Tab C)	the household.

The first mailing is to be sent third class to facilitate correcting the address list. Subsequent mailings will be first class to create an image of personal correspondence and to insure deliverability in the case of the sample ballots.

The purpose of the first letter is to make the voter personally aware of the President's campaign and to encourage a demonstration of support by volunteer work or a financial contribution.

The purpose of the second mailing is to reinforce the request for support made in the first letter and to add further weight to the case with a brochure summarizing the President's accomplishments in important issue areas.

The purpose of the third mailing is to stimulate turnout by using a sample ballot to remind the voter of the election data and to point out the names of the President and his slate of pledged delegates on the ballot.

The second and third mailings will be made to registered Independents also, since they are permitted to participate in the Republican primary if they so desire. (After voting, they automatically become registered as Republicans, or Democrats, but can re-register as Independents a short time later).

In all, there are about 125,000 Independents in the state--an estimated 70,000 households. At most, 15%, or about 20,000 may vote in the Republican Primary. Over 100,000 of the 160,000 Republicans are expected to vote. Whereas a Republican mailing list already existed in the state, the registered Independents will have to be compiled from township clerk lists. Volunteers from the New Hampshire Committee will be used, and the addresses will be collected on a priority basis from towns where the President received his greatest support in 1968.

Direct Mail/Telephone Interface

The Republican list has been printed out by city. Volunteers in New Hampshire are looking up the telephone numbers and then writing

them on the print-out. Interpreted IBM cards will be produced in the same sequence, showing name, address, city, state and zip code. There will be places for recording the voting intention of each individual, based on a telephone canvass: favorable, unfavorable or undecided. If undecided, the volunteer will mark the issue(s) of most interest to the voter, send the card to a controlled computer facility; then the card will be used to generate a computer letter which is sent to the undecided voter, along with literature describing the President's record on the issue in question. The undecided voter should receive his letter with issues about seven days after the first phone call. Then there will be a second phone call to see if the voter has decided in favor of the President. If the phone calls find the voter to be supporting Ashbrook or McCloskey, his name will be eliminated from the sample ballot mailing. All favorable voters will be contacted in a Get-Out-The-Vote operation at the end of the campaign.

At the end of the campaign, it will be possible to perform a demographic analysis on the cards of the favorable, unfavorable (McCloskey vs. Ashbrook) and undecided voters. They will be matched to demographics data on national household address lists. There may be strategic value in knowing the profile of voters who behave in given ways in 1972, to augment opinion survey data.

An operating flow chart of the direct mail and telephone plan is given in Tab D.

#### Testing

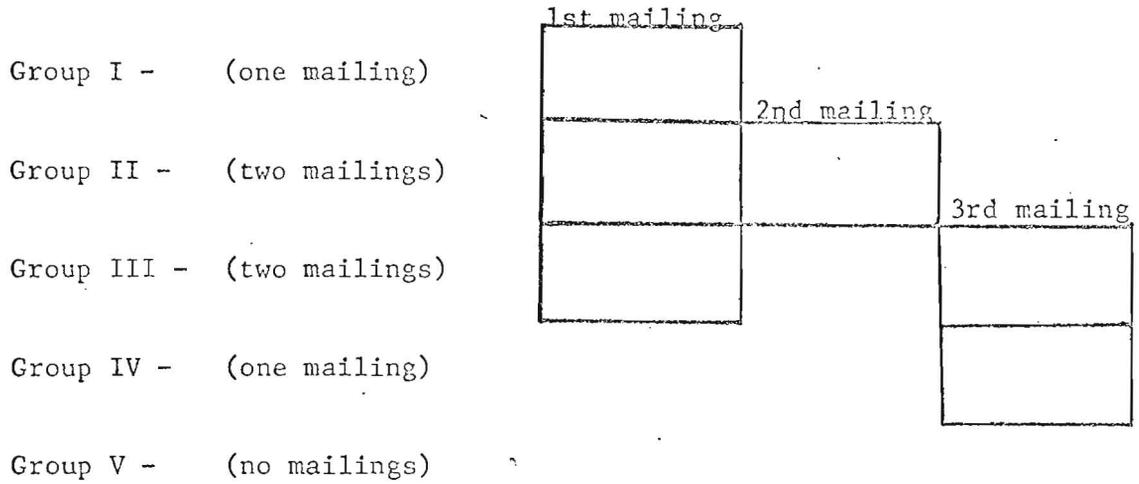
The techniques proposed for the New Hampshire mail program represent the best that is known from both the commercial and political worlds. However, controlled tests will be made to attempt to verify the assumptions and to determine the effect of direct mail on the voting results. They will include variations on the number of mailings as well as comparing personalized (computer letter) vs. non-personalized (offset letter). It is proposed to test in about 10% of the voting districts.

The test districts (townships and wards) will be selected based on similarity of voting behavior with other districts which will receive all three mailings. The effect of the variations will be

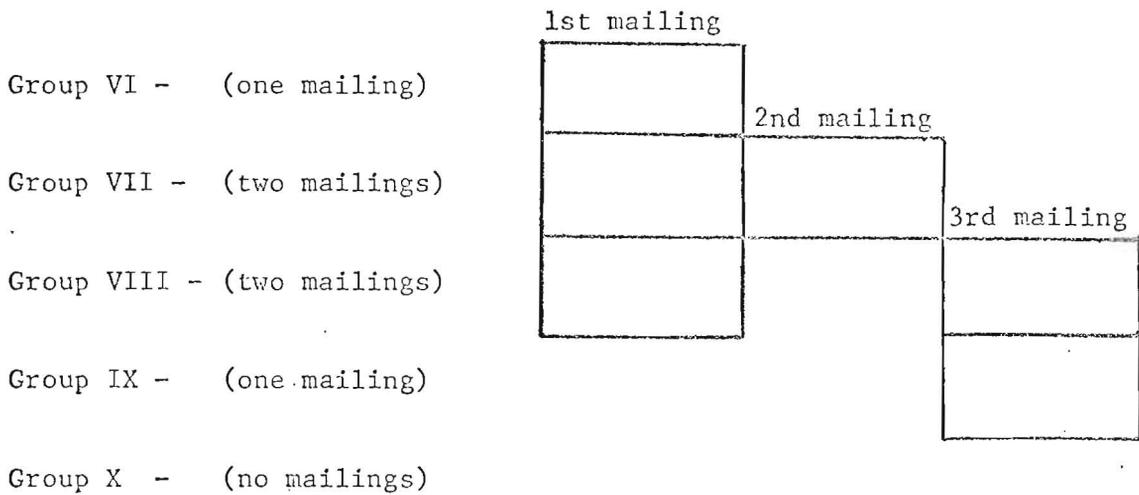
measured by comparing the vote and turnout on Election Day, and by telephone sampling during the campaign. If direct mail affects the vote by as much as 5% in each district, the tests will cause a one-half of one percent variance in the final totals.

Graphically, the mailing patterns for testing purposes are illustrated below:

Personalized (computer letter)



Non-personalized (offset printed)



These test configurations will give us answers such as:

- the effect of personalized mailings
- the optimum number of mailings
- the optimum schedule of mailings

Cost

The total cost of the New Hampshire plan is \$69,075.00. The detailed budget is presented in Tab E.

Recommendation

That you approve the direct mail plan for New Hampshire as outlined above, along with the budget for \$69,075.00.

Approve  Disapprove  Comment \_\_\_\_\_

JEB S. MAGRUDER

NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

New Hampshire Highway Hotel  
Concord, New Hampshire 03301  
Phone (603) 224-7411

Lane Dwinell - Chairman  
G. Allen Walker, Jr. - Executive Director

Mr. Richard Fore  
145 South Pino Avenue  
Nashua, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Fore:

President Richard Nixon is a courageous and effective leader--he has proven himself to be the right man for difficult times. I hardly need to remind you of the importance of the New Hampshire primary. We are the first in the country, and as a result, we must recognize our special responsibility, and the broad national influence of our votes.

America needs President Nixon...and the President needs you. I ask you to fill out the attached volunteer card and send it in to me today. Let us show him, and America, our tremendous support.

Sincerely,

Lane Dwinell

VOLUNTEER CARD

Mr. Richard Fore  
145 South Pino Avenue  
Nashua, New Hampshire

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

I want to support the President in this way:

- I want to do telephone campaigning
- I want to do door to door campaigning
- I want to work in a Head-quarter office.
- I cannot personally volunteer but my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_

NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

New Hampshire Highway Hotel  
Concord, New Hampshire 03301  
Phone (603) 224-7411

Lane Dwinell - Chairman  
G. Allen Walker, Jr. - Executive Director

Mr. Richard Fore  
145 South Pino Avenue  
Nashua, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Fore:

On March 7th the results of our primary will be flashed across America and transmitted to the world. This is our opportunity to show the nation our support for President Nixon.

And he has earned it.

It was four years ago that the strong backing we gave Richard Nixon started him on the road to the Presidency. He has not failed us. His record is one of courage and action as the enclosed issue brochure so aptly points out. Now once again he needs our help.

Let us demonstrate this to our fellow Americans by enthusiastically supporting him, and casting the first votes to re-elect the President on March 7th.

Sincerely,

Lane Dwinell

NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

New Hampshire Highway Hotel  
Concord, New Hampshire 03301  
Phone (603) 224-7411

Lane Dwinell - Chairman  
G. Allen Walker, Jr. - Executive Director

Mr. John A. Burns  
126 West Seabrook Avenue  
Concord, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Burns:

Your votes this year in the New Hampshire primary will be more important than ever before. Because, Tuesday evening, the entire nation's attention will be focused on our state, waiting for the results and watching to see how we support President Nixon.

On March 7th, please carry the enclosed sample ballot to the voting booth to remind you of those delegates pledged to President Nixon and let your ballots speak to America.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Lane Dwinell

For Delegates at Large: Vote for not more than Four:

- WILLIAM T. BISHOP, Wolfe
WESTON F. COOK, JR., Rye
HOWARD N. BURNAN, Nashua
LANE DWINELL, Lebanon
DWAYNE N. LAMES, Manchester
CHARLES H. GAY, Derry
GEORGE GILMAN, Ferrisburgh
ARNOLD P. HANSON, Beria
DAVID N. HEINLEN, Merrimack
NELLE L. HOEHN, Ashburn
WILLIAM R. JOHNSON, Hanover
ALEXANDER J. KALINSKI, Berlin
PHYLLIS M. KENEY, Hudson
RAYMOND A. LAPOMBARDI, Nashua
STEWART LAMPREY, Melroseborough
DONALD H. MARIARLAN, Swanzey
RICHARD A. MORSE, Manchester
LOUIS PELTIGIANT, Manchester
MARSHALL J. BICI, Hooksett
IRVING H. SOFIN, Concord
EDWARD R. SPAULDING, Manchester
DAVID A. STEHLING, Hillsborough
ROBERT TRUNBLE, Manchester
DONALD P. V. OGDROW, Henniker
ERNEST W. WRIGHT, Milford
JOHN I. ADAMS, Manchester
JAMES BARABIS, Manchester
JOHN A. BICSETT, Durham

For Alternate Delegates at Large: Vote for not more than Four:

- ROBERT TAIT, Greenville
HELEN A. VACHON, Manchester
STANLEY H. WILLIAMSON, Goshen
HAROLD F. WOCHHOLZ, Durham
DONALD F. BARRON, Salem
LAWRENCE FENNIR, Manchester
WEBSTER E. BRIDGES, JR., Brookline
WAYNE M. CHAPMAN, Manchester
RITA CONNARY, Nashua
DAVID S. COLTIS, Hampton
THOMAS J. DALE, Salem
DANIEL I. INFUSS, Peterborough
BENJAMIN E. FARR, Hillsborough
MARJORIE FARR, Hillsborough
PAULINE M. HAMEL, Manchester
STUART HANCOCK, Concord
WALTER L. KOENIG, Concord
MARY MORGAN, Manchester
BERNARD A. STREETER, JR., Nashua

For District Delegates: Vote for not more than Two:

- JACK MORFAU, Manchester
ROBERT E. WHALEN, Portsmouth
SANDRA E. ALFSEN, Hudson
CLYDE COLYIDGE, Somersworth
ROBERT DUCHANO, Wakefield
ROGER L. HUARD, Bedford
CECH CHARLES HUMPHREYS, Portsmouth
RICHARD E. KELL, Chichester
JOHN T. LAZAR, Manchester
JAMES E. MAHONY, Manchester
JOHN C. MORGAN, Manchester

For Alternate District Delegates: Vote for not more than Two:

- VIC FOR A. MISEK, Hudson
JOHN W. PARFLET, Manchester
WILLIAM S. PINE, Bedford
GRITA ANILEY, Manchester
ROBERT A. BAINES, Manchester
RAYMOND BOWLES, Portsmouth
KAREN E. DALY, Manchester
DANIEL LORD, Durham
LAWRENCE W. GUILD, SR., Gofford
CHESTER W. JINNS, Manchester

CANDIDATE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

I HEREBY DECLARE MY PREFERENCE FOR CANDIDATE FOR THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BE AS FOLLOWS:

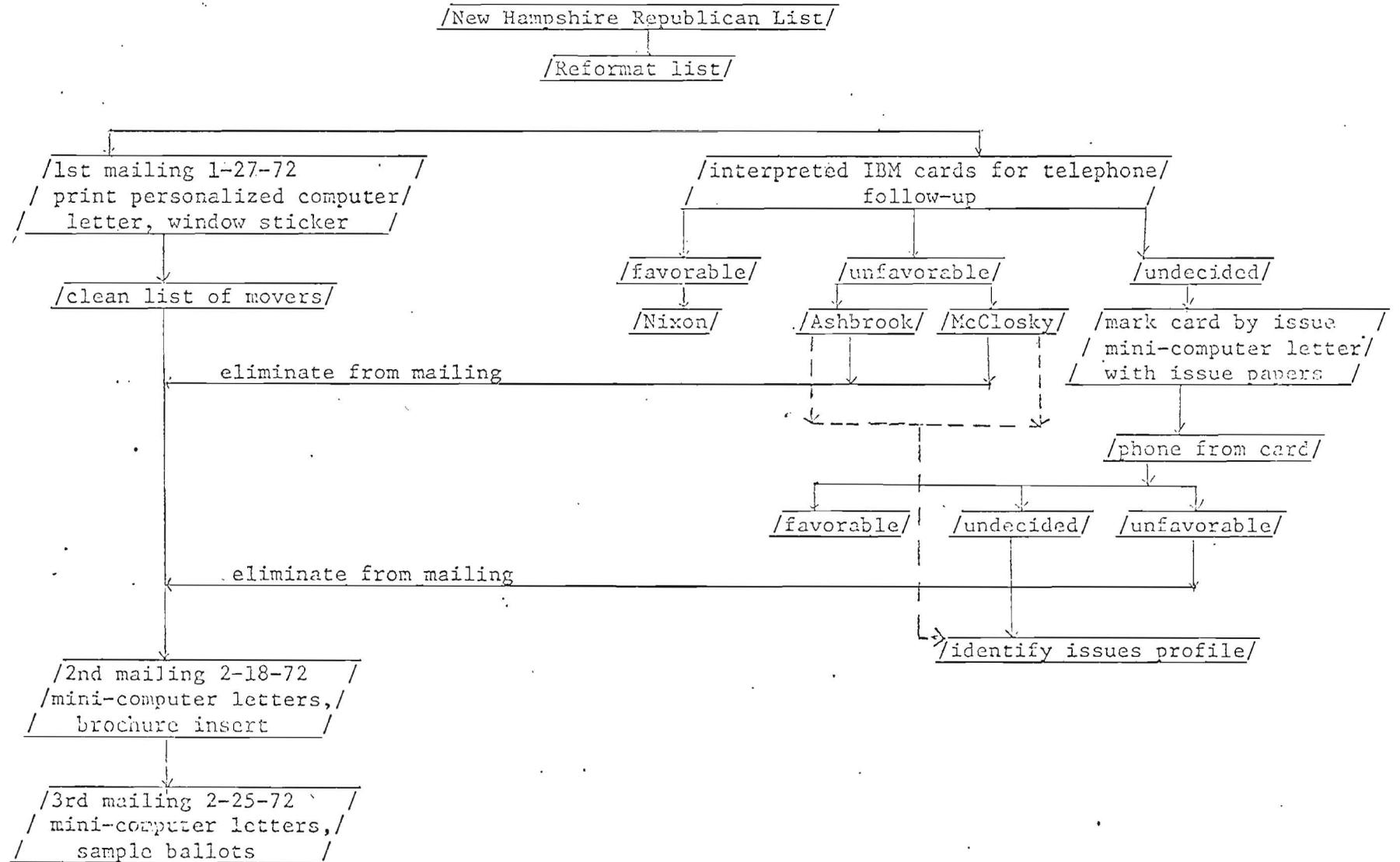
- ELMER W. COY
DON DUMONT
WILLIAM W. EVANS, JR.
HERBERT F. HOOVER
RICHARD M. NIXON
GEORGE ROMNEY
HAROLD E. STASSEN
WILLIS E. STONE
DAVID WATMULL

CANDIDATE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

I HEREBY DECLARE MY PREFERENCE FOR CANDIDATE FOR THE OFFICE OF VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BE AS FOLLOWS:

- AUSTIN BURTON
LAURENCE C. SMITH

OPERATING FLOW CHART FOR DIRECT MAIL/TELEPHONE SYSTEM IN NEW HAMPSHIRE



## NEW HAMPSHIRE DIRECT MAIL BUDGET

Address list of all Registered Republicans in New Hampshire on Computer Tape		\$ 1,500
1st mailing - Republican		
100,000 letters @ 5.25/M	= \$	525
" volunteer cards @ \$5/M	=	500
" window stickers @ \$15/M	=	1,500
93,000 computer letter service, data processing and mail- ing service @ \$50/M	=	4,650
100,000 window envelopes @ \$7.50/M	=	750
93,000 postage @ \$50/M	=	4,650
		<u>\$12,575</u>
20,000 returns for cleaning the mailing list @ \$150/M		<u>3,000</u>
		\$15,575
2nd mailing - Republican		
90,000 letters @ \$5/M	=	450
" brochures @ \$20/M	=	1,800
" envelopes @ \$7/M	=	630
" computer letter, data processing and mailing @ \$50/M	=	4,500
" postage @ \$80/M	=	7,200
		<u>\$14,580</u>
		\$14,580
2nd mailing - Independents		
35,000 letters @ \$5/M	=	175
" brochures @ \$20/M	=	700
" envelopes @ \$7/M	=	245
" computer letter, data processing and mailing @ \$50/M	=	1,750
" postage @ \$80/M	=	2,800
" names and addresses key- punched onto computer list @ \$50/M	=	1,750
		<u>\$ 7,420</u>
		\$ 7,420
3rd mailing - Republican		
160,000 sample ballots @ \$11/M	=	1,760
90,000 computer letters @ \$5/M	=	450
" computer letters mailed service @ \$50/M	=	4,500
" envelopes @ \$7/M	=	630
" postage @ \$80/M	=	7,200
		<u>\$14,540</u>
		\$14,540

3rd mailing - Independent

70,000 sample ballots @ \$11/M	= \$	770	
35,000 computer letters @ \$5/M	=	175	
35,000 computer letters mailed, service @ \$50/M	=	1,750	
" envelopes @ \$7/M	=	245	
" postage @ \$80/M	=	<u>2,800</u>	
		\$ 5,740	\$ 5,740

Data processing, testing, artwork/copy

8,000

Mailings to undecided voters

10,000 letters @ \$5/M	=	50	
" envelopes @ \$7/M	=	70	
" computer letter, data processing and mailing @ \$65/M	=	650	
" postage @ \$80/M	=	800	
15,000 issue sheets @ \$10/M	=	<u>150</u>	
		\$ 1,720	\$ <u>1,720</u>

\$69,075

=====

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY DIRECT MAIL PLAN

This is the Direct Mail memo we discussed. The Attorney General has approved the plan. However, we would like Bob Haldeman to review the letters for content before they are sent out. I would like to get Bob's reactions on Thursday morning if possible.

  
ROBERT H. MARIK



COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

January 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM

TO: Gordon Strachan

FROM: Harry Flemming

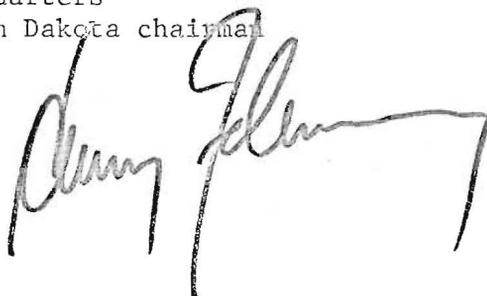
Attached is a list including names and addresses of those people who have been confirmed to serve as our state chairmen. Only our chairmen in New Hampshire, Maryland, New York, Oregon, Missouri, Nebraska, Illinois, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and Connecticut have been announced to date.

Should you want to contact or work with any of the other people listed, please contact me or Allan Kaupinen first so we may apprise you of any additional information you should know about the chairman or that state.

We will send you updates on the list each week as new chairmen are added and headquarters in the states are opened. PLEASE DISCARD OLD LISTS.

Not included on previous listing:

Announcement in Connecticut  
Illinois headquarters  
Confirmed South Dakota chairman



January 24, 1972

Committee for the Reelection  
of the President:

For your information and as  
an informal notice, Mr. Houser will  
be in the process of moving into  
campaign headquarters this week.  
The address and phone number at  
headquarters are as follows:

110 South Dearborn Street  
Room 200  
Chicago, Illinois 60603  
263-2353

At the outset, Mr. Houser  
will be spending part of his time  
at his law office also, but I would  
suggest that you contact him at the  
new number and forward all correspondence  
to the headquarters.

Chris Nykiel  
Secretary to Tom Houser

JANUARY 24, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIRMED  
CHAIRMEN

\* publicly announced  
(date)  
\*\* special designation

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Colorado  
office: Governor John Love  
Executive Chambers (303) 892-2471  
Colorado State Capitol Bldg.  
Denver, Colorado 80203

home: Executive Mansion (303) 892-2471  
400 E. 8th Avenue  
Denver, Colorado 80203

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\* Connecticut  
1-25-72 office: Nathan G. (Gus) Agostinelli  
State Comptroller (203) 566-5565  
30 Trinity Street  
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

home: 95 Olcott Street (203) 643-8683  
Manchester, Connecticut 06040

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Florida  
\*\* designated  
PRIMARY COORDINATOR \*\* L.E. (Tommy) Thomas  
P. O. Box 490 (904) 785-5221  
Panama City, Florida 32401

home: 2814 Canal Drive (904) 785-7834  
Panama City, Florida 32401

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\* Illinois  
1-10-72 HEADQUARTERS: \*\*Thomas Houser (Campaign Manager)  
Illinois Committee for the (312) 263-2353  
Re-election of the President  
110 South Dearborn, Room 200  
Chicago, Illinois 60603

office: Suite 3200 (312) 329-7603  
One First National Plaza  
Chicago, Illinois 60670

home: 219 N. Hickory (312) CL3-7395  
Arlington Heights, Illinois

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Maine  
office: Ned Harding  
P. O. Box 2011 (207) 773-1775  
24 Free Street  
Portland, Maine 04104

home: South Freeport, (207) 865-6565  
Maine

\*\* special designation      JANUARY 24, 1972

\* Maryland  
12-15-71      office:      Edward P. Thomas  
Senate of Maryland      (301) 662-0713  
Carroll and Frederick County      if no answer call:  
Annapolis, Maryland      (301) 662-2777  
  
home:      710 Wyngate Drive      (301) 663-5765  
Frederick, Maryland

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\* Missouri  
12-22-71      Temporary Headquarters:      Lawrence K. Roos      (314) 862-2460  
Missouri Committee for the  
Re-election of the President  
130 South Bemiston, Suite 300      if no answer  
Clayton, Missouri 63105      at hdqtrs. call  
Executive Secretary at Hdqtrs.      (314) 727-7963  
Mrs. Mildred Huffman  
  
office:      Supervisor, St. Louis County      (314) 889-2016  
  
home:      943 Tirrill Farms Road      (314) WY3-3766  
St. Louis County, Missouri

\* Nebraska  
1-7-72      office:      George Cook      (402) 467-1122  
Chairman and Chief Executive  
Officer  
Bankers Life of Nebraska  
Lincoln, Nebraska  
  
home:      3070 Sheridan Blvd.      (402) 423-6272  
Lincoln, Nebraska

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Nevada  
office:      C. Clifton (Cliff) Young      (702) 786-7600  
P. O. Box 1631  
232 Court Street  
Reno, Nevada 89501  
  
home:      2085 Regent Street      (702) 329-0587  
Reno, Nevada 89502

\* New Hampshire  
11-1-71      Headquarters:      Governor Lane Dwinell      (603) 224-7411  
N.H. Committee for the  
Re-election of the President  
New Hampshire Highway Hotel  
Concord, New Hampshire 03301  
  
home:      94 Bank Street      (603) 448-1121  
Lebanon, New Hampshire 03766  
  
Executive Director:  
home:      G. Allan Walker      (603) 888-0713  
#5 Millpond Drive  
Nashua, New Hampshire

\* New York  
12-15-71      office:      Governor Nelson Rockefeller      (518) GR4-7000 (Albany)  
Executive Chambers      (212) 582-7030 (NYC)  
Albany, New York 12224

\* publicly announced  
(date)

CONFIDENTIAL

\*\* special designation

North Carolina  
office: Charles Jonas, Jr.  
Reynolds and Company (704) 377-3651  
330 S. Tryon Street  
Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

home: 302 Colville Road (704) 332-7018  
Charlotte, North Carolina

\* Oregon  
12-17-72 Headquarters: Congressman Wendall Wyatt  
Room 505, Terminal Sales Bldg. (503) 226-4837  
1220 S.W. Morrison Street  
Portland, Oregon 97205

Washington  
office: (202) 225-2206

home: 1209 Huntley Place (703) 765-5421  
Alexandria, Virginia

Executive Director:  
home: Warne Nunn (503) 636-5415  
2405 Bellwood Drive  
Lake Oswega, Oregon 97034

South Carolina  
office: Hal C. Byrd (803) 585-4221  
P. O. Box 1926  
Deering-Milliken Corporation  
Spartanburg, South Carolina

home: 1009 Glendalyn Circle (803) 585-4221  
Spartanburg, South Carolina 29302

South Dakota  
office: W. E. "Obie" O'Brien (605) 256-3551  
Dakota State College Ext. 228  
c/o Karl Mundt Library  
Madison, South Dakota

home: 215 North Chicago Avenue (605) 256-4898  
Madison, South Dakota 57042

Utah  
office: Dick Richards (801) 399-3303  
2610 Washington Boulevard  
Ogden, Utah 84401

home: 4753 Madison Avenue (801) 621-4163  
Ogden, Utah 84403

Wisconsin  
office: John K. MacIver (414) 271-6560  
Michael, Best & Friedrich  
626 East Wisconsin Avenue  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

home: 5498 North Lake Drive (414) 962-2475  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53217

JANUARY 24, 1972

\* publicly announced

CONFIDENTIAL

\*\* special designation

Wyoming

Mrs. Robert (Barbara) Gosman  
c/o Republican State Headquarters (307) 243-9166  
Box 241  
Casper, Wyoming 82601

home: 120 East 15th Street (307) 234-2801  
Casper, Wyoming 82601

(Bob Gosman's office phone (307) 234-2801)

*G.S. Muskie*  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON *file*

Date: 1/27

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Secretary Stans asked Magruder to sign this letter to Senator Muskie today.

Jeb will check with the Attorney General tomorrow but wanted you to be aware of the request.

Draft letter from Jeb Magruder

Dear Senator Muskie:

In your form letter issued early in January, you make this statement:

"Richard Nixon is amassing a political war chest of \$40 million, with \$30 million already in the bank. Most of it has been contributed by powerful special interests."

This is absolutely untrue, and you should know that it is untrue. The Nixon campaign does not have \$30 million in the bank or anything like it. It is just beginning its fund-raising efforts and has only a small amount now available.

Furthermore there are no budgets that call for anything near a total fund of \$40 million for the campaign.

Any further statements by you to this effect will be challenged publicly, and this letter will be released at that time.

Very truly yours,

SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Friend:

Last week, on January 4, I announced my candidacy for President. That announcement marked a major step forward in a long campaign to build a more decent America.

We could lose that campaign if we let the outcome turn on the superior financial resources of the Republican Party.

Richard Nixon is amassing a political war chest of \$40 million, with \$30 million already in the bank. Most of it has been contributed by powerful special interests.

So I am writing to you now to ask for your help.

Why now? Because the weeks ahead may settle the issue of the Presidency for years to come.

That's what happened in 1960, the last time we defeated Richard Nixon. I remember the advice I received then...to wait and see how the early primaries went. Instead, I publicly endorsed John Kennedy, long before most other political leaders.

Early commitments are even more critical in this third round against Richard Nixon. We must nominate a candidate who can unite our party and carry the country next November.

So you face the same question I did in 1960. Will you act now -- and make it possible to pay for a series of primaries and the months of hard campaigning before the convention?

Together, we can make a new beginning in America.

We can elect a President who will announce that every American soldier is coming home from Viet Nam now.

We can elect a President who will propose an economic policy to restore prosperity by helping all our people, not just the privileged few.

We can elect a President who will support the kind of clean water bill the people want, not the kind the polluters want.

We can elect a President who will speak up again for the rights of the minority who are not white and the majority who are women.

And we can elect a President who will fight for billions of dollars -- not to build an ABM or an SST -- but to guarantee a job for every worker and insure health care for every citizen.

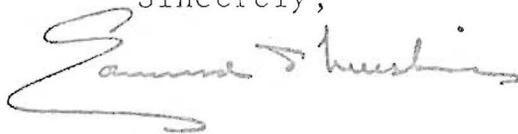
That's what America needs -- and that's why I need your help. It isn't easy to ask for money and it isn't easy to give money, especially in a time of economic insecurity.

But it also isn't easy to build the kind of country we all believe in.

I affirmed my commitment on January 4. Will you make your commitment now?

Will you work for a new beginning for America in 1972?

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Edmund S. Muskie". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Edmund S. Muskie

Please make checks payable to

**People for Muskie**

See  
reverse  
side

Dear Senator Muskie:

I stand with you.

I am enclosing \$..... to help our campaign for a more decent America.

I will give \$..... a month to keep our campaign rolling.

I want to help in your campaign.

ROSEMARY WOODS  
2500 VIRGINIA AVE., N. W.  
WASHINGTON DC 20037

3169

### YOUR CONTRIBUTION IS TAX DEDUCTIBLE

Effective January 1, 1972, you may take a tax deduction for contributions to **People for Muskie**.

Political contributions up to \$100 during 1972 may be deducted by a married couple filing a joint return. Contributions up to \$50 may be deducted by a single person (or a married person filing separately).

Alternatively, you may take a tax credit for one-half of your political contributions during 1972.

A credit up to \$25 may be taken by a married couple. A credit up to \$12.50 may be taken by a single person (or a married person filing separately).

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**People for Muskie**

PETER H. BRINK  
Chairman

OUR APOLOGIES. . .if you have received more than one copy of this letter. The idea at first offended our Yankee thrift, but we found that sending out duplicates is less expensive than checking the various lists used for this mailing to spot names that are repeated. So please, won't you give any duplicate you may receive to a relative, a friend, a neighbor, anyone you think would be interested in seeing it.

Thank you for your kind assistance.



Peter H. Brink

Not printed at government expense

In addition to your own contribution, you can help Senator Muskie by listing below the names and addresses of friends of yours who might also wish to lend their support:

Mr. Mrs. Miss	_____	_____	_____
street	_____	_____	_____
city	_____	state	zip
Mr. Mrs. Miss	_____	_____	_____
street	_____	_____	_____
city	_____	state	zip
Mr. Mrs. Miss	_____	_____	_____
street	_____	_____	_____
city	_____	state	zip

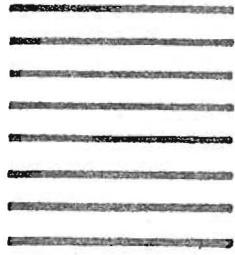
**FIRST CLASS**  
Permit No. 39736  
Washington, D.C.

**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**  
No postage stamp necessary if mailed in the United States

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**People for Muskie**

1660 L Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036



D R A F T 1/28/72

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

FRED MALEK

SUBJECT:

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12068, Section 6-102  
By ef -----, Date 3-17-72 My Role in Support of Re-Election

As you know, John Mitchell would like me to join the Campaign Organization as his deputy handling the Citizens and Voting Bloc operations, also providing him with a continuing management audit to evaluate performance and spot problems in other parts of the organization. This is explained more fully in the attached memo that Mitchell has approved. To me this is a critical role that can have a major and direct impact on the President's re-election, and I feel confident of being able to handle it well. At the same time the demands on me here at the White House will diminish, thus permitting a transfer of my present responsibilities without a significant loss of effectiveness. Thus, I would be very happy to undertake the campaign role.

The key gap left by my departure from the White House would be in ramrodding Administration efforts in support of re-election. If I stayed at the White House and were given clear cut responsibility and authority, I would be in a position to make a major contribution by serving as a focal point for the coordination and direction of Administration-wide efforts (White House and Departments) aimed at reelecting the President. This, too, is a highly meaningful role which I would also be pleased to undertake.

Each of the above has certain problems and there appears to be a third choice that combines most of the benefits of the options above, eliminates most of the drawbacks, and could make the management of the campaign more effective. The remainder of this memo discusses this third choice.

PREFERRED OPTION

This third choice is to more or less combine the two options above - remain at the White House guiding and serving as a focal point for Administration efforts while still providing guidance to the Citizens and Voting Bloc operations and helping to establish a management control system for the campaign. This, of course, would depend on John Mitchell's receptivity and would not be without problems. More precisely, this role would encompass the following:

- Work with the Citizens Director to develop strategy and action plans for each key group and to ensure that these plans are effectively carried out as directed by John Mitchell.
- Work closely with Chuck Colson and individual constituent group project managers here at the White House in the same manner as above.
- Ensure close coordination between the White House and Citizens groups so we achieve one coordinated effort aimed at each key constituent group.
- Help to set up and operate for John Mitchell a report and follow up system for the various non-financial divisions of the campaign - field organizations, support activities, and Citizens/Voting Bloc programs.
- Take the lead in the program to politicize Departments and Agencies by coordinating orientation visits, reviewing plans for each, riding herd on OMB efforts to follow up on

these plans, reviewing monthly reports on progress against plan, and taking corrective actions where needed.

-- Closely monitor Issue Management efforts, ensuring that the Domestic Council staff remains forcefully on this track and that adequate White House support is provided.

-- Ride herd on the implementation of the Government-wide communications project ensuring that recommendations are rapidly carried out and that public information offices function as planned.

-- Directly supervise the patronage operation and closely monitor the grantsmanship project to ensure maximum and unrelenting efforts.

Thus, I would be reporting directly to you on Administration efforts and to Mitchell on campaign matters but would be in a unique position to meld the two. To be successful, this would require the following:

-- Obviously, most critical would be John Mitchell's acceptance of the concept. He would have to believe that the advantages enumerated below are real and that the dual reporting role is feasible.

-- Next, Mitchell would have to give me general responsibility for the Citizens/Voting Bloc programs and in so doing bring on board a Citizens Director whom I would have a hand in hiring. This man would be responsible to Mitchell but would take ~~general~~ <sup>day to day</sup> guidance from me.

*Not ready  
- See*

-- Clear cut responsibility and authority would have to be given me regarding my role at the White House if I am to be truly effective and not just a gadfly. This would include discussions with Ehrlichman, Shultz, and Colson as well as a short briefing at a Cabinet Meeting to ease the way in gaining Departmental cooperation.

#### BENEFITS AND PROBLEMS

There are a number of important benefits to such an arrangement:

- From John Mitchell's point of view, this gives him a senior agent in the White House and then ensures him a key hold on running Government activities in support of the campaign. He needs this to be fully effective.
- Also from Mitchell's viewpoint, this provides greater support to the Citizens/Voting Bloc programs. The Campaign Organization is rather limited to establishing State organizations and generating a certain amount of publicity. Yet, much of the success of the Citizens/Voting Bloc programs will depend on actions by the President and/or Administration. Clearly, it would be much easier to deliver on these needed actions from here than from the Campaign staff.
- Coordination between the various campaign groups and the White House is essential if we are really going to make a difference with key constituent groups. An operative with overview of both areas would certainly be in the best position

to effect these coordinated thrusts.

-- Politicizing the Administration won't just happen.

People here (e. g. , Colson, Cole) will inevitably be drawn into serving the day-to-day demands of the President.

Someone must have overall responsibility for politicizing and must keep his eye squarely on that ball. To effectively guide Administration efforts a solid knowledge of campaign activities will be required. You are the only person now with the knowledge and clout to do this, but your time will be limited. Thus, the creation of my suggested role will fill what may otherwise become a serious void.

-- A combined "controller" for both campaign and Administration political activities can provide a useful overview to you, Mitchell, and the President. Moreover, it will give you and the President one person to look to and hold accountable for Administration efforts.

I feel these benefits are significant. However, there are a number of barriers to their achievement that we would have to overcome to make the concept work successfully.

First, I am fearful that John Mitchell will be reluctant to give so much responsibility to someone he does not own. He may also object to the keeper of his management information system being in a position of conveying problems of his operation into the White House. I would feel this way in his shoes. The

only way to address this would be to have a frank and open discussion with Mitchell on this subject. If necessary, we may even want to consider my primary reporting relationship to Mitchell.

The second major problem will be gaining cooperation from key players in the White House (e.g., Ehrlichman, Shultz, Colson, Cole). Each of these are strong men with justifiable pride and territorial claim. Particularly in the case of the Domestic Council they will not accept "meddlers" with open arms. Obviating this problem (if it can be done) will require a good deal of support from you and the President and considerable tact on my part. It will be essential for you or the President to clarify my role with these men and supply me with the clout necessary to do the job.

A third drawback is that having a White House staffer intimately involved in campaign activities seems in conflict with the President's posture of being removed from the campaign until the convention. While I would expect to maintain the lowest profile, it is likely that certain elements of my role would become visible. You are in a better position to judge the seriousness of this.

Finally, there is concern as to whether the combined job is doable, particularly by me. It is a complex and highly sensitive assignment, and it depends on the cooperation of many others. It may not be doable at all, and if it is, I may not have the stature, prestige, or capacity that is needed. Again, you are in a position to evaluate this. My own conclusion is while complete success is probably not obtainable, we can make considerable progress, and I can make a contribution.

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If after reviewing this you feel the concept makes some sense, I feel it would be very worthwhile to sit down and discuss the concept in depth. There are many ramifications and probably a range of possible problems not covered in this memorandum that need to be drawn out before a conclusion is reached.