

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>
34	6	7/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik to Strachan. RE: campaign mailings with notes. 2 pgs.
34	6	7/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Haldeman. RE: direct mail. 2 pgs.
34	6	7/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Morgan to MacGregor. RE: direct mail strategy. 22 pgs.
34	6	7/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik to Strachan. RE: campaign mailings. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
34	6	6/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Strachan. RE: direct mailing proposal. 33 pgs.
34	6	7/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman. RE: campaign direct mail, with notes. 3 pgs.
34	6	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Failor to Hon. MacGregor. RE: attacking the McGovern-Eagleton ticket. 3 pgs.
34	6	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Higby. RE: monitoring Sen. McGovern's compliance with the Federal Election Campaign Act, 1972. 7 pgs.
34	6	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Strachan. RE: Strategy from now to Republican National Convention. 12 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>
34	6	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Failor to Magruder. RE: Strategy from now to Republican National Convention, Strachan's copy. 11 pgs.
34	6	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Author unknown. RE: campaign strategies and talking points. 8 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 314

Folder: Campaign 23 Part III June 30 - July 19, 1972 [1 of 2]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
113	Retain Open
114	Retain Open
115	Retain Open
116	Retain Open
117	Return Private/Political MEMO, MAREK TO STRACHAN, 7/12/72
118	Return Private/Political MEMO, MAGRUDER TO HRH, 7/14/72
119	Return Private/Political MEMO, MORGAN TO MAC GREGOR, 7/14/72
120	Return Private/Political MEMO, MAREK TO STRACHAN, 7/12/72
121	Return Private/Political MEMO/ATTACH, MAGRUDER TO STRACHAN, 6/30/72
122	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 7/17/72
123	Return Private/Political MEMO, FAILOR TO MAC GREGOR, 7/26/72
124	Retain Open
125	Return Private/Political MEMO/ATTACH, MAGRUDER TO HIGBY, 7/20/72
126	Retain Open
127	Retain Open
128	Retain Open
129	Retain Open
130	Return Private/Political MEMO/ATTACH, MAGRUDER TO STRACHAN, 7/25/72
131	Return Private/Political MEMO, FAILOR TO MAC GREGOR, 7/20/72
132	Return Private/Political NOTES, "DAILEY - CAMPAIGN SONG...", 7/26/[72]

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: BOB MARIK
SUBJECT: Campaign Mailings

July 12, 1972
Bob is on the right track here. Program makes sense - only real question now is whether we have the ability to implement it.
True

This memorandum is in response to your query of July 1, regarding mailings to Republicans. Several points should be made:

1. We had only contemplated mailings to Republicans in two or three of the top eleven states.
2. We have reduced the planned mailings to Republicans from three to two in those states.
3. The issue is not so much whether we can increase the 90% Republican support for the President. It is whether we can increase the turnout of those loyal Republicans by as much as 5%. The basis of our plans has been the evidence and political judgment from several statewide campaigns that direct mail can have that type of effect on turnout. For example, in California, there are approximately 3 million Republican voters. For every percentage that we increase their turnout, we add 30,000 votes to the President's total. When one recalls that the President's margin was approximately 220,000 in 1968 and 15,000 in 1960, the value of increased turnout becomes obvious.
4. In this election, we cannot take our Republican constituency for granted. With the presumed McGovern candidacy, we have already seen evidence of the tendency of "upper-end ticket splitters" (higher income suburban Republicans) to vote for McGovern. It will be absolutely necessary for the President to preserve his margin in that constituency to win the important industrial states. Direct mail can approach these voters with strong elements of the President's record, such as the Moscow and Peking summits.

CONFIDENTIAL

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5. In all of the eleven states, we are contemplating that the major emphasis of our direct mail efforts will be focused toward Democrats and Independents who might be persuaded to support the President, as you have suggested.

6. We have been subjecting the total direct mail strategy to a thorough review on the basis of the likely McGovern candidacy, of McGovern's strengths and weaknesses among Demographic segments and recent polling results both published and unpublished. Final recommendations will be made before the end of this week, and you will have an opportunity to review our updated analysis at that time.

I hope this information is helpful to you. Please give me a call if I can be of further assistance.

cc: Jeb S. Magruder
✓ Fred Malek

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 14, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Direct Mail

In our planning for direct mail, several of our people have suggested that a letter signed by the President would be more effective than any other approach. Such a letter would be "Presidential" in tone, and printed on official-type letterhead. The notation, "Not printed at government expense" would be included at the bottom of the page.

These would be computer letters, with personalized inside address and salutation. The first and last paragraphs would be standard, but interval paragraphs might be varied to reflect specific issues of interest to each voter segment.

It is now contemplated to send such letters to Democrats and Independents in priority precincts of the target states. The objective would be to exert strong influence on potential ticket splitters early in the campaign -- about mid-September. Although the mailings are several weeks in the future, we must commit on paper very soon. The paper for this mailing would be of a higher quality than that used for other mailings. If it were procured now, but not used as proposed, it could be sold back to the vendor, or applied to other mailings. Either option would incur some moderate cost. At the appropriate time, the proposed text of the letters and the areas to be mailed would be prepared for review before the President's signature is obtained. A small test mailing to one market will also be proposed, to measure any possible negative factors before the total mailing is committed.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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The purpose of this memo is to solicit an indication that a campaign mailing bearing the President's signature can be considered, so that the long lead-time procurement can begin, if appropriate.

Agree that the option of a mailing signed by the President should remain open and that procurement should proceed on that basis.

Agree _____ Disapprove _____

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 14, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN
SUBJECT: Direct Mail Strategy

Three (3) options are suggested in this memorandum for your review and decision. These options have been developed on the basis of political considerations within the specific confines of the budget restrictions.

In lieu of the magnitude of these decisions, a brief historical overview is warranted. The Direct Mail Budget was initially approved at \$4,490,000, which was supposed to cover the data base development in eleven (11) key states, research, postage, materials and mailing service for 31,667,000 ensembles. The breakdown by state is shown in TAB A. The original budget is shown in TAB B.

The data base is presently over budget by \$121,000, due to the fact that we were unable to negotiate cost-sharing arrangements with all state parties and/or the state-wide candidates. A Critical Path Plan is used to control and help manage each of the state data base projects. The detail of the specifics required to develop this data base is reflected in TAB C, which each state vendor has accepted as a standard for performance.

We developed programs for six (6) Primaries using the Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation for both the software, hardware and mailing operations. It did not become evident until May/June that they did not have the software and hardware capability to satisfy our total needs for the General Campaign. We then immediately reviewed capable software companies and changed to a centralized software system with decentralized production. University Computing Company (Sam Wyly) is now our software/data base facility in Dallas, Texas.

Their performance to date has been excellent, the positive attitude of their people and scientific management systems will allow us to meet our deadlines. Using University Computing Company as a central data processing center allows us to have regional computer printing and mailing services in California, Texas, Illinois (covering Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania), and Philadelphia (covering Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland). The 5¢ precancelled stamp will be used on all of our ensembles to give them the first-class look at the third-class bulk price.

We originally planned that Priority I states would have three (3) mailings to Republicans and two (2) mailings to non-Republicans who were for the President. Priority II states would receive "Get Out the Vote" telegrams for Republicans and non-Republicans for the President, plus a supportive letter as soon as they were identified. We had intended to mail undecided voters a convincing package to get them to support the President in these eleven (11) key states.

STRATEGY WITH MC GOVERN AS THE CANDIDATE

Our original direct mail strategy was to mail to Democrats and Independents only after they had been identified as favorable to the President by voter canvasses (telephone and door-to-door). The purpose was to reinforce their commitment and get them out to vote. With Senator McGovern as the Democratic candidate, it is possible that a fundamental shift of the electorate toward the President will occur. To capitalize on this, we now feel that direct mail should be targeted to the peripheral urban ethnic populations such as Italian, Polish, Irish; the Jewish population in all metropolitan areas in the key states and Spanish-speaking Americans. A history of Wallace voters and other specific split-voting precincts with identifiable demographics would also be included. We would plan to mail a non-personal letter with copy geared to that specific voting segment along with a brochure with emphasis on their area of interest. It is my opinion that direct mail will be most effective if we have an initial Presidential Mailing which will sensitize the recipients, particularly the several demographic classifications of voters, to the Campaign issues and concerns.

We have previously operated under the understanding that President Nixon would not send out a computer letter with his signature on White House stationery. Jeb S. Magruder has requested permission

to have a letter with the President's signature on White House stationery with the words at the bottom, "Not Printed at Government Expense", get sent out to sensitize the voters. Option No. 1 will create an environment within the Direct Mail milieu causing more effective results. This plan takes advantage of the incumbency and leaves greater flexibility to handle the unexpected within a cost effective atmosphere.

The three (3) options we are suggesting are listed below in their order of preference. The quantities for states mailed take into consideration the most recent priorities which eliminated a mailing to the State of Washington.

<u>OPTION I</u>	<u>QUANTITY MAILED (000's)</u>	<u>COSTS</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
Presidential Letter	6,260	\$ 713,640	This is our first option if the President will agree. The Presidential letter will include White House stationery letterhead with the 5¢ pre-cancelled stamp completely computerized on the envelope and letter. This would go out to reachable non-Republicans in California, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Cook County, Illinois.
Ethnic Mailing	5,478	657,300	
Republicans in NJ. and Calif.	3,125	450,000	
Telegram to Identified Pro- Nixon Voters	<u>13,825</u>	<u>1,244,250</u>	
	<u>28,698</u>	<u>\$3,065,190</u>	

An ethnic mailing ensemble to the specific voter segment would go out one week later. This ensemble would include a letter geared to that voter segment, a brochure in most instances, and a personalized volunteer/contribution card.

The letter to Republicans would include an absentee ballot request and non-personalized letter, a brochure and a personalized volunteer/contribution card.

DESCRIPTION

All of the Priority states would receive "Get Out the Vote" telegrams to all Republicans and all non-Republicans who are for the President.

TAB D shows the cost and quantity by state for Priority I and II states for OPTION I.

<u>OPTION II</u>	QUANTITY MAILED (000's)	<u>COSTS</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
Ethnic Mailing	6,260	\$ 751,200	The first ethnic mailing is the same.
Second Ethnic Mailing	4,695	563,400	
Republicans in NJ. and Calif.	3,125	450,000	The second ethnic mailing would include another hardselling message to the specific voter segment to reinforce what we originally sent and to tie in with the voter identification throughout the states.
Telegram to Identified Pro-Nixon Voters	<u>13,825</u>	<u>1,244,250</u>	
	<u>27,905</u>	<u>\$3,008,850</u>	

The Republican and "Get Out the Vote" telegrams would be the same.

TAB E shows the cost and quantity by state for Priority I and II states for OPTION II.

<u>OPTION III</u>	QUANTITY MAILED (000's)	<u>COSTS</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
Ethnic Mailings	6,260	\$ 751,200	The ensembles are the same as OPTION I, except that the second ethnic mailing is not included.
Republicans in NJ. and Calif.	3,125	450,000	
Telegram to Identified Pro-Nixon Voters	<u>13,825</u>	<u>1,244,250</u>	TAB F shows the cost and quantity by state for Priority I and II states for OPTION III.
	<u>23,210</u>	<u>\$2,445,450</u>	

The summary of the total budget is shown at TAB G.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve OPTION I as the Political Direct Mail Strategy Plan.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

OR

That you approve OPTION II as the Political Direct Mail Strategy Plan.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

OR

That you approve OPTION III as the Political Direct Mail Strategy Plan.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

Attachments:

- TAB A
- TAB B
- TAB C
- TAB D
- TAB E
- TAB F
- TAB G

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik

STATE DATA BASE SCHEDULE

California	10-20 July
Connecticut	17 July-21 August
Illinois	17 July-15 August
Maryland	17 July-15 August
Michigan	Universal List (presently available)
New Jersey	1 August-15 August
New York	Separate
Ohio	17 July-7 August
Pennsylvania	10 July-21 August
Texas	31 July-21 August

ORIGINAL DIRECT MAIL BUDGET

Materials	\$ 936,240
Mailing and Services	1,559,880
Postage	1,559,880
Research	41,500
List Development and Software	<u>392,500</u>
<u>TOTAL BUDGET</u>	<u>\$4,490,000</u>

COMMITTEE COMPUTER PROGRAMMING FORMAT MANUAL

This manual has been prepared by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President to define the tape input specification, data validity criteria documentation required to support the Voter Registration Data Base.

Individual Voter records must be rolled or netted to household records where all members of the household have the same political party designation. A file will be defined as the complete set of household voter records for a county.

Each file will contain one complete county. Partial counties or files containing multiple counties will not be accepted

The files will be supplied on magnetic tape recorded nine track 1600 BPI. There will be no internal tape labels. The files will contain 2,000 character blocks made up of 200 character logical records blocked ten. The last block may be truncated. See attachment "1" for the format of each logical record. Each reel of the file will be closed with a tape mark. Characters will be GBCD.

Each reel of magnetic tape will be clearly labeled with an adhesive external label. The date of file creation, state name, county name, county code, and reel number total reels in the file will be shown on each magnetic tape. The label will identify the organization that created the file.

The file sequence or sort will be, major to minor, in ascending sequence:

- State Abbreviation
- County Code
- Zip Code
- Town Name
- Local Address Code
- Street Number
- Street Name
- House Number
- Surname
- Given Name One

The above sort sequence will also result in the file being in ascending sequence based on the first twelve (12) positions of each logical record.

NOTE: In this document and in the accompanying file layouts and file descriptions position zero (0) is not used.

The first position of each logical record is referred to as position one (1).

Each file will be accompanied by three computer print-outs. These are the Zip City Audit, the Political Unit Audit, and a File Inspection Manuscript.

The Zip City Audit will contain date, page number, state name, county name, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings will consist of:

Zip Code
City Name
Republican Household Count
(number of records)
Democrat Household Count
Independent Household Count
Other Parties Household Count
Total Household Count
Republican Gross Count (number
of individuals)
Democrat Gross Count
Independent Gross Count
Other Parties Gross Count
Total Gross Count
Warning Error Count
Fatal Error Count
Magnetic Tape Reel #
(This indicates which reel
within the file these records
are contained on.)

Note that Household (record) count will never exceed Gross (individual) count.

There will be one detail line printed on the Zip City Audit each time any one of the following changes:

Zip Code
City Name
Reel Number

There will be sub totals for each zip code, city name, and magnetic tape reel. Do not sub total for single lines of detail. There will be grand totals for each file. A sample layout of the Zip City Audit is contained in attachment "2".

The Political Unit Audit will contain date, page number, state name, county name, county code, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings will consist of:

Township/City code
Ward Code
Precinct Code
Political Unit Code
Republican Household Count
Democrat Household Count
Independent Household Count
Other Party Household Count
Total Household Count
Republican Gross Count
Democrat Gross Count
Independent Gross Count
Other Party Gross Count
Total Gross Count

There will be one detail line for each of the smallest political units in the file, with subtotals for each successively larger political unit and grand totals for the file. A sample layout of the Political Unit Audit is contained in attachment "3".

The File Inspection Manuscript will contain date, page number, state name, county name, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings are described in attachment "4" which also contains a sample layout of the File Inspection Manuscript. The detail information contained in the manuscript will consist of each significant field contained in the records selected to be printed on this report. These records may be selected in one of two ways; error detection or every "Nth" record. The error detection option will be used by the List Compiler to display records with possible errors so they may be researched. When this is done each record will be keyed with error messages to aid in the research. When the final list validation process is performed, an every "Nth" record sample will be selected for display to be supplied with the final tape files. If the file size is 100,000 or fewer records, every one hundredth record in the file will be selected for inclusion in the file inspection audit. If the file size is greater than 100,000 records, every two hundredth record will be selected for inclusion. Error messages will not be keyed into the records in this step.

The List Compiler (the organization preparing the data files) will perform the following procedures prior to file shipment:

1. Prepare the file in the proper format.
2. Process the file with the validation program using the option of keying suspected error records and displaying them.
3. Research each record that is displayed.
4. Correct all discrepancies found in the file.
5. Repeat the above steps if necessary for "final cleanup".
6. Ship the completed files on magnetic tape with the Zip City Audit, the Political Unit Audit, and the File Inspection Manuscript.

Two types of errors will be defined in attachment "5". A Fatal Error is one considered definite and unacceptable. A file containing any Fatal errors is not acceptable. A Warning Error is a condition which may or may not be a problem. Each warning error should be researched and corrected if necessary, but does not necessarily indicate that the record is not acceptable.

COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE FIELD DEFINITION

BYTE	LENGTH	DESCRIPTION	JUSTIFICATION	ZERO	TYPE
			L LEFT R RIGHT X=NOT APPLICABLE	SUPPRESS Y YES N NO	A ALPHA N NUMERIC A/N ALPHA NUM
1	2	State Abbreviation	X	X	A
3	3	County Code	R	N	N
6	7	Sequence Number	R	N	N
13		Always 0	X	N	N
14	5	Zip Code	X	N	N
19	5	Township/City Code	R	N	A/N
24	2	Ward Code	R	N	A/N
26	5	Precinct Code	R	N	N
31	3	Political Unit Code	R	N	N
34	2	Congressional District Code	R	N	N
36	3	State Lower House Code	R	N	N
39	2	State Upper House Code	R	N	N
41	1	Title Code-Name 1	X	X	A/n
42	9	Given Name-1	L	X	A
51	1	Middle Initial-1	X	X	A
52	15	Surname	L	X	A
67	1	Surname Suffix Code-1	X	X	N
68	1	Title Code-Name 2	X	X	A/N
69	9	Given Name-2	L	X	A
78	1	Middle Initial-2	X	X	A
79	1	Surname Suffix Code 2	X	X	N
80	1	Title Code-Name 3	X	X	A/N

BYTE	LENGTH	DESCRIPTION	JUSTIFICATION	ZERO	TYPE
			L LEFT R RIGHT X NOT APPLICABLE	SUPPRESS Y YES N NO	A ALPHA N NUMERIC A/N ALPHA NUM
81	9	Given Name 3	L	X	A
90	1	Middle Initial-3	X	X	A
91	1	Surname Suffix Code-3	X	X	N
92	1	Title Code-Name 4	X	X	A/N
93	9	Given Name-4	L	X	A
102	1	Middle Initial-4	X	X	A
103	1	Surname Suffix Code-4	X	X	N
104	1	Local Address Code	X	X	N
<u>ADDRESS FIELDS</u>					
<u>If Code 1 in Byte 104:</u>					
105	7	House Number	R	N	A/N
112	5	Fraction or Apartment: Fraction 1/2 (3bytes) 112-116 Blank (2 bytes) 115-116 or Apt Designation (5 bytes) 112-116	-- L	-- X	A/N A/N
117	2	Prefix Street Direction	L	X	A
<u>STREET NAMES</u>					
119	3	Street Number (Numeric Sts. only	R	Y	N
122	16	Street Name Field	L	X	A/N
<u>If Code 2 in Byte 104:</u>					
105	17	Blank			
122	4	Rural Route Designation	R	Y	A/N
126	4	Post Office Box Designation	R	Y	A/N
130	8	Blank			

BYTE	LENGTH	DESCRIPTION	JUSTIFICATION	ZERO	TYPE
			L LEFT	SUPPRESS	A ALPHA
			R RIGHT	Y YES	N NUMERIC
			X NOT APPLICABLE	N NO	A/N ALPHA NUM
		If Code 3 in Byte 104:			
105	14	Blank			
119	19	Edited Address	L	X	A/N
138	13	Zip Post Office Name(Town Name)	L	X	A/N
151	1	Political Party Code	X	X	A
152	9	Census Tract	X	X	X
161	2	Length of Residence	R	N	N
163	1	Contributor/Volunteer Code	X	X	A
164	5	Contribution in Dollars	R	Y	N
169	2	Source of List	R	Y	A/N
171	7	Telephone Number	R	N	A/N
178	6	Special Interest Codes	X	X	A/N
184	8	Issue Codes	X	X	A/N
192	1	Attitude Code	X	X	A/N
193	8	Blank	X	X	X

COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE DETAIL DESCRIPTION

Only the following characters are acceptable in this file:

- A thru Z
- Ø (Zero) thru 9
- / (Slash) only in position 113
- (Dash) only in positions 106 thru 110

Reference to "Directory of Post Offices" will be shown as POD-26, which is that publication's issue number. A July 1971 or later issue should be used for reference.

A validation table will be constructed for each file to be compiled. Each record in the file will be checked against the validation table to insure that the following fields, singularly and in combination, are correct in content.

- Zip Code
- Township/City Code
- Ward Code
- Precinct Code
- Political Unit Code
- Congressional District Code
- State Lower House Code
- State Upper House Code
- Zip Post Office Name
(Town) (City) (Name)

Only those political codes that have been established by local political practice must be included in the table. However, the political coding structure must be such that the concatenation of Township/city code, ward code & precinct code uniquely defines a precinct in a county.

This procedure will insure that, for example, the county code in a record is valid for the state being processed, that his zip code is valid for this county, that this zip code and city name is consistent with POD-26, etc.

STATE ABBREVIATION - Use only standard abbreviations found in POD-26. An error found in this field results in a Fatal Error. Code A,

COUNTY CODE - Use only those codes supplied in the attached. If not consistent with the validation table, a Fatal Error results. This code must be consistent within a file.

SEQUENCE NUMBER - A unique contiguous sequence number must be applied to each record within a county file, beginning with 0000001. This number must be applied to the records so that when the file is sorted to ascending sequence number sort the following sequence, major to minor, will result:

Zip Code
Zip Post Office Name
Local Address Code
Street Number
Street Name
Street Direction
House Number
Surname
Given Name

An error in this field is considered Fatal.

ZIP CODE - This field must contain the correct zip code for this record. Refer to POD-26. Fatal Error if not consistent with table.

TOWNSHIP/CITY CODE - If a township or a city code has been established as a local convention, it will be contained in the validation table. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results.

WARD CODE - If political ward codes are assigned, they will be contained in the validation table. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results.

PRECINCT CODE - If precinct codes are available, they will be included in the validation table. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results.

POLITICAL UNIT CODE - If local convention has established a sub-division of the above political units, this coding will be included in the validation table. Failure of consistency with the validation table is a Fatal Error.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CODE - This is the code for the U. S. Congressional district which applies to this record. This code will be contained in the validation table and an error found in this field is considered Fatal.

STATE LOWER HOUSE CODE - Must be consistent with the validation table.

STATE UPPER HOUSE CODE - Must be consistent with the validation table.

TITLE CODE 1 - Must contain one of the following:

- "1" - Indicates Title "Mr."
- "2" - Female, Title unknown
- "3" - " " "Miss"
- "4" - " " "Mrs."
- "5" - " " "Dr."
- "6" - " " "Rev."
- "9" - " No Title - Warning Error
- "B" - " Title "Mr. & Mrs."
- "C" - " " "Dr. & Mrs."
- "D" - " " "Rev. & Mrs."

Any other character results in Fatal Error.

In the list compilation procedure, if titles are not available in the source information, table look-ups will be used to determine titles of individuals. Titles may require modification in the list netting procedure. (Example: Input John Doe, no title. Table look-up procedure applies title code "3". During netting procedure it is found that John Doe and Mary Doe live at same address. Netting procedure would be to change John Doe title to Code "B" and place Mary Doe's given name and other information into the Name 2 field of John Doe's record with a title code "4". Mary Doe's record would then be deleted from the file.

GIVEN NAME 1 - This is the Given Name of the person considered head of household. If Christian name is not available, then first initial is acceptable.

- Fatal Errors: .Imbedded Blanks
- .Numeric Characters
- .Blank Field

STATE PRIORITY I II	SEPTEMBER PRESIDENTIAL LTR Delivery 9/11		SEPTEMBER ETHNIC MAILING Delivery 9/18		SEPTEMBER REPUBLICANS ONLY Delivery 9/18		NOVEMBER "GET OUT THE VOTE" Delivery 11/2-4	
	QUANTITY I II		QUANTITY I II		QUANTITY I II		QUANTITY I II	
California	3,000,000		2,625,000		2,100,000		3,100,000	
Connecticut							725,000	
Cook Cty (Illinois)	960,000		840,000				600,000	300,000
Maryland							570,000	
Michigan							1,560,000	
New Jersey (New York)	800,000		700,000		1,025,000		1,370,000	
Ohio							1,600,000	
Pennsylvania	1,500,000		1,312,500				2,500,000	
Texas							1,500,000	
TOTALS	6,260,000		5,477,500		3,125,000		7,570,000	6,255,000
PRICE PER THOUSAND	\$114		\$120		\$144		\$90	\$90
COST PER MAILING	\$713,640		\$657,300		\$450,000		\$681,300	\$562,950

TAB D

STATE PRIORITY I II	SEPTEMBER ETHNIC MAILING Delivery 9/18		SEPTEMBER SECOND ETHNIC MAILING Delivery		SEPTEMBER REPUBLICANS ONLY Delivery 9/18		NOVEMBER "GET OUT. THE VOTE" Delivery 11/2-4	
	(a) Ltr	(d) Bristol Card	(a) Ltr	(d) Bristol Card	(a) Computer Ltr/Vol. Card	(b) Brochure (d) Window Env.	(a) Teleg. Form	(b) Window Env.
	(b) Brochure	(e) Window Env.	(b) Brochure	(e) Window Env.	(c) BRE	(c) BRE		
	QUANTITY I II		QUANTITY I II		QUANTITY I II		QUANTITY I II	
California	3,000,000		2,250,000		2,100,000		3,100,000	
Connecticut								725,000
Cook Cty (Illinois)	960,000		720,000				600,000	300,000
Maryland								570,000
Michigan								1,560,000
New Jersey (New York)	800,000		600,000		1,025,000		1,370,000	
Ohio								1,600,000
Pennsylvania	1,500,000		1,125,000				2,500,000	
Texas								1,500,000
TOTALS	6,260,000		4,695,000		3,125,000		7,570,000	6,255,000
PRICE PER THOUSAND	\$120		\$120		\$144		\$90	\$90
COST PER MAILING	\$751,200		\$563,400		\$450,000		\$681,300	\$562,950

TAB E

STATE PRIORITY I II	SEPTEMBER ETHNIC MAILING Delivery 9/18		SEPTEMBER REPUBLICANS ONLY Delivery 9/18		NOVEMBER "GET OUT THE VOTE" Delivery 11/2-4	
	(a) Ltr	(d) Bristol	(a) Computer Ltr/Vol. Card	(a) Teleg. Form		
	(b) Brochure	Card	(b) Brochure	(b) Window Env.		
	(c) BRE	(e) Window Env.	(c) BRE	(e) Window Env.		
	QUANTITY I II		QUANTITY I II		QUANTITY I II	
California	3,000,000		2,100,000		3,100,000	
Connecticut						725,000
Cook Cty (Illinois)	960,000				600,000	300,000
Maryland						570,000
Michigan						1,560,000
New Jersey (New York)	800,000		1,025,000		1,370,000	
Ohio						1,600,000
Pennsylvania	1,500,000				2,500,000	
Texas						1,500,000
TOTALS	6,260,000		3,125,000		7,570,000	6,255,000
PRICE PER THOUSAND	\$120		\$144		\$90	\$90
COST PER MAILING	\$751,200		\$450,000		\$681,300	\$562,950

TAB F

TOTAL BUDGET

\$ 4,490,000	First Budget Approval
+ 1,000,000	UCC Budget Approval
<u>\$ 5,490,000</u>	<u>TOTAL BUDGET</u>
	<u>LESS: EXPENSES</u>
- 300,000	California Primary Expense
<u>\$ 5,190,000</u>	
- 1,100,000	UCC Expense Including Key Punching
<u>\$ 4,090,000</u>	
- 514,000	Data Base Development Expense
<u>\$ 3,576,000</u>	
- 209,000	New York Direct Mail Request
<u>\$ 3,367,000</u>	
- 3,065,000	OPTION I
<u>\$ 302,000</u>	
- 50,000	Agricultural Mailings
<u>\$ 252,000</u>	
- 50,000	Volunteer Mailings
<u>\$ 202,000</u>	Remaining Monies for Emergency Mailings

\$ 4,490,000	First Budget Approval
+ 1,000,000	UCC Budget Approval
<u>\$ 5,490,000</u>	<u>TOTAL BUDGET</u>
	<u>LESS: EXPENSES</u>
- 300,000	California Primary Expense
<u>\$ 5,190,000</u>	
- 1,100,000	UCC Expense Including Key Punching
<u>\$ 4,090,000</u>	
- 514,000	Data Base Development Expense
<u>\$ 3,576,000</u>	
- 209,000	New York Direct Mail Request
<u>\$ 3,367,000</u>	
- 3,008,850	OPTION II
<u>\$ 358,150</u>	
- 50,000	Agricultural Mailings
<u>\$ 308,150</u>	
- 50,000	Volunteer Mailings
<u>\$ 258,150</u>	Remaining Monies for Emergency Mailings

- 2 -

\$ 4,490,000	First Budget Approval
+ 1,000,000	UCC Budget Approval
<u>\$ 5,490,000</u>	<u>TOTAL BUDGET</u>
	<u>LESS: EXPENSES</u>
- 300,000	California Primary Expense
<u>\$ 5,190,000</u>	
- 1,100,000	UCC Expense Including Key Punching
<u>\$ 4,090,000</u>	
- 514,000	Data Base Development Expense
<u>\$ 3,576,000</u>	
- 209,000	New York Direct Mail Request
<u>\$ 3,367,000</u>	
- 2,445,450	OPTION III
<u>\$ 921,550</u>	
- 50,000	Agricultural Mailings
<u>\$ 871,550</u>	
- 50,000	Volunteer Mailings
<u><u>\$ 821,550</u></u>	Remaining Monies for Emergency Mailings

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 12, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: BOB MARIK 
SUBJECT: Campaign Mailings

This memorandum is in response to your query of July 1, regarding mailings to Republicans. Several points should be made:

1. We had only contemplated mailings to Republicans in two or three of the top eleven states.
2. We have reduced the planned mailings to Republicans from three to two in those states.
3. The issue is not so much whether we can increase the 90% Republican support for the President. It is whether we can increase the turnout of those loyal Republicans by as much as 5%. The basis of our plans has been the evidence and political judgment from several statewide campaigns that direct mail can have that type of effect on turnout. For example, in California, there are approximately 3 million Republican voters. For every percentage that we increase their turnout, we add 30,000 votes to the President's total. When one recalls that the President's margin was approximately 220,000 in 1968 and 15,000 in 1960, the value of increased turnout becomes obvious.
4. In this election, we cannot take our Republican constituency for granted. With the presumed McGovern candidacy, we have already seen evidence of the tendency of "upper-end ticket splitters" (higher income suburban Republicans) to vote for McGovern. It will be absolutely necessary for the President to preserve his margin in that constituency to win the important industrial states. Direct mail can approach these voters with strong elements of the President's record, such as the Moscow and Peking summits.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

5. In all of the eleven states, we are contemplating that the major emphasis of our direct mail efforts will be focused toward Democrats and Independents who might be persuaded to support the President, as you have suggested.

- 6 We have been subjecting the total direct mail strategy to a thorough review on the basis of the likely McGovern candidacy, of McGovern's strengths and weaknesses among Demographic segments and recent polling results both published and unpublished. Final recommendations will be made before the end of this week, and you will have an opportunity to review our updated analysis at that time.

I hope this information is helpful to you. Please give me a call if I can be of further assistance.

cc: Jeb S. Magruder
Fred Malek

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

June 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Because of the time [^]problem, LaRue and I
approved Morgan's proposal.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 28, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN 

SUBJECT: Reassessment of Direct Mail Operations
First Follow-Up Memorandum

The magnitude of this memorandum deserves a brief recapitulation. The Direct Mail Budget was initially approved at \$4,490,000, which was supposed to cover the data base development in eleven key states, research, postage, materials and mailing service for 31,667,000 ensembles. The breakdown of mailings by state is shown in TAB A. The original budget is shown in TAB B.

Since the initial proposal was made in April, we have run over our data base budget by \$121,000, largely because we were unable to negotiate cost sharing arrangements with state parties and state-wide candidates in several cases. The time schedule for completed acquisition of voter lists is shown in TAB C. We have taken great care to select vendors capable of delivering on time and within budget. The contracts with these vendors have been written to assure performance. Many have penalty clauses included for late delivery. The detail of the specifications required is reflected in TAB D which each vendor has accepted as the standard for performance. We anticipate an additional \$500,000 in costs in order to perform the Voter Identification mailings stimulated from the telephone and door-to-door contacts. This is due to the high costs of key punching and updating our files with the responses.

On the other hand, on considering the advice of several knowledgeable people, we propose to reduce the number of mailings to Republicans in California and New Jersey from three to two. Therefore, we would be able to stay within our initial budget.

The original plan, as you may recall, contemplated the use of one vendor, the Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation, for the total mail program. The experience of the primaries, however, clearly indicated to both the vendor and ourselves that the complex data processing and the large volume of direct mail production was beyond the capacity of one facility.

Therefore, we have entered into negotiations with University Computing Company (Sam Wyly), on using their data processing capability to prepare the computer tapes which would be used to produce letters in several regional direct mail houses. Reuben H. Donnelley would serve Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and Pennsylvania. Others would be selected to cover Maryland, New Jersey, Connecticut, New York, California, Texas and Washington State (TAB E).

By having the six regional computer printer/mailing facilities, we significantly cut the lead time from the time we mail to the time the ensembles are delivered, plus we can use the 5¢ pre-cancelled stamp that looks as if it is mailed first-class. The increased logistical problems are manageable with added staff; and are worthwhile to achieve faster delivery to the voters.

The UCC management systems, software and facilities are the best we have seen to date, and if we can afford the additional cost, using their centralized data processing system would give us the greatest degree of certainty of performance. Our biggest obstacle in dealing with a software company like UCC is communicating the uncertainty, as well as the complexities of the political direct mail and data base development arena. Although this is not an easy task, we feel that it can be accomplished and that this approach represents our best overall opportunity for success.

The first UCC proposal was for \$1,616,000. They have subsequently reduced that to \$1,400,000. The adoption of that system would add approximately \$1,000,000 to the present budget.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That you approve using UCC as a centralized software facility and approve an added budget of \$1,000,000 to complete this task.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

That you approve the operating plan of using six regional computer letter/mailling facilities as shown in TAB E.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

That you approve the hiring of one additional Traffic Controller and Secretary based on the added complexity with decentralization.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

OVERALL DIRECT MAIL STRATEGY

Our original direct mail strategy was to mail to Democrats and Independents only after they had been identified as favorable to the President by voter canvasses. The purpose was to reinforce their commitment and get them out to vote. With Senator McGovern the odds-on-favorite to become the Democratic candidate, it is possible that a fundamental shift of the electorate toward the President will occur. To capitalize on this, we now feel that direct mail should be targeted only to the peripheral urban ethnic populations in the east such as Italian, Polish, Irish, etc., the Jewish population in all metropolitan areas in the key states and Spanish-speaking Americans, as well as other specific split-voting precincts with identifiable demographics. We would plan to mail a non-personal letter with copy geared for that specific voting segment along with a brochure with emphasis on their area of interest.

By switching from computerized letters exclusively for Democrats who support the President, to a non-personalized mailing geared to their specific interest and mailing in early September, we will be in a position to sway their opinions prior to voter identification. Voter identification will still occur which will stimulate "Get Out the Vote" telegrams and poll watching lists for all Democrats who are for the President. All identified Republicans will also receive "Get Out the Vote" telegrams as previously planned.

This change in approach does not require an increase in the total number of ensembles mailed and can be accomplished within the budget discussed earlier in this memorandum.

In summary, California and New Jersey as Priority I states, will receive one computerized mailing to Republicans in September. In all eleven states, non-personal mailings will be made to reachable Democrats, and all Republicans and others identified as for the President will receive "Get Out the Vote" telegrams.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the non-personal mailings to reachable Democrats by demographic segment in September.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

Attachments:

- TAB A
- TAB B
- TAB C
- TAB D
- TAB E

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik

PROJECTED PLAN FOR DIRECT MAIL
(INITIAL SUBMISSION)

TOP PRIORITY STATES

<u>STATE</u>	<u>(THOUSANDS)</u> <u>HOUSEHOLDS TO</u> <u>RECEIVE MAIL</u>	<u>MAILINGS PER</u> <u>HOUSEHOLD</u>	<u>(THOUSANDS)</u> <u>TOTAL</u> <u>MAILINGS</u>
California	1,900 (R) 885 (D&I)	x 3 x 2	5,700 <u>1,770</u> 7,470
Texas	1,292	x 2	2,584
Illinois	1,708	x 2	3,416
New Jersey	880 (R) 381 (D&I)	x 3 x 2	2,640 <u>762</u> 3,402
Ohio	1,680	x 2	<u>3,360</u>
	<u>TOTAL PRIORITY I</u>	=	<u>20,232</u>

PRIORITY II STATES

New York	1,690 (R) 850 (D&I)	x 1 x 2	3,390 <u>1,700</u> 3,390
Pennsylvania	1,531 (R) 619 (D&I)	x 1 x 2	1,531 <u>1,238</u> 2,769
Michigan	948 (R) 316 (D&I)	x 1 x 2	948 <u>632</u> 1,580
Maryland	215 (R) 1,120 (D&I)	x 1 x 2	215 <u>2,240</u> 2,455

<u>STATE</u>	(THOUSANDS) <u>HOUSEHOLDS TO RECEIVE MAIL</u>	<u>MAILING PER HOUSEHOLD</u>	(THOUSANDS) <u>TOTAL MAILINGS</u>
Connecticut	288 (R)	x 1	288
	153 (D&I)	x 2	<u>306</u> 594
Washington	395 (R)	x 1	395
	131 (D&I)	x 2	<u>262</u> <u>657</u>
	<u>TOTAL PRIORITY II</u>	=	<u>11,445</u>
	<u>TOTAL PRIORITIES I & II</u>		<u>31,677</u>

ORIGINAL DIRECT MAIL BUDGET

Materials	\$ 936,240
Mailing and Services	1,559,880
Postage	1,559,880
Research	41,500
List Development and Software	<u>392,500</u>
<u>TOTAL BUDGET</u>	<u>\$4,490,000</u>

STATE DATA BASE SCHEDULE

California	10-20 July
Connecticut	17 July-7 August
Illinois	17 July-15 August
Maryland	17 July-15 August
Michigan	Universal List (presently available)
New Jersey	1 August-15 August
New York	Separate
Ohio	17 July-7 August
Pennsylvania	10 July-21 August
Texas	31 July-15 August
Washington	31 July-21 August

COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE

List Description
and
Specifications

6/15/72

CONTENTS

General Page 1

Field Definitions
and Layout Attachment A

Zip City Audit Attachment B

Political Unit Audit Attachment C

File Inspection Audit Attachment D

Detail Description of Fields
Contained in File Attachment E

Modulus 10 Arithmetic Attachment F

COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE

Each file will contain one complete county. Partial counties or files containing multiple counties will not be accepted.

The files will be supplied on magnetic tape recorded nine track 1600 BPI. There will be no internal tape labels. The files will contain 2,000 character blocks made up of 200 character logical records blocked ten. The last block may be truncated. See Attachment "A" for the format of each logical record. Each reel of the file will be closed with a tape mark.

Each reel of magnetic tape will be clearly labeled with an adhesive external label. The date of file creation, state name, county name, county code, and reel number + total reels in the file will be shown on each magnetic tape. The label will identify the organization that created the file.

The file sequence or sort will be, major to minor, in ascending sequence:

- State Abbreviation
- County Code
- Zip Code
- Town Name
- Local Address Code
- Street Number
- Street Name
- House Number
- Surname
- Given Name One

The above sort sequence will also result in the file being in ascending sequence based on the first twelve (12) positions of each logical record.

NOTE: In this document and in the accompanying file layouts and file descriptions, position zero (0) is not used. The first position of each logical record is referred to as position one (1).

Each file will be accompanied by three computer printouts. These are the Zip City Audit, the Political Unit Audit, and a File Inspection Manuscript.

The Zip City Audit will contain date, page number, state name, county name, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings will consist of:

- Zip Code
- City Name
- Republican Household Count
- Democrat Household Count
- Independent Household Count
- Other Parties Household Count

Total Household Count
Republican Gross Count
Democrat Gross Count
Independent Gross Count
Other Parties Gross Count
Total Gross Count
Warning Error Count
Fatal Error Count
Magnetic Tape Reel #
(This indicates which reel
within the file these records
are contained on. Example:
* Reel 1.)

NOTE: Household count is equal to the number of records contained in the file. Gross count is equal to the number of individual names in the file.

There will be one detail line printed on the Zip City Audit each time any one of the following changes:

Zip Code
City Name
Reel Number

There will be subtotals for each zip code, city name, and magnetic tape reel. Do not subtotal for single lines of detail. Reel totals require only record count. There will be grand totals for each file. A sample layout of the Zip City Audit is contained in attachment "B".

The political unit audit will contain date, page number, state name, county name, county code, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings will consist of:

Township/City Code
Ward Code
Precinct Code
Political Unit Code
Republican Household Count
Democrat Household Count
Independent Household Count
Other Party Household Count
Total Household Count
Republican Gross Count
Democrat Gross Count
Independent Gross Count
Other Party Gross Count
Total Gross Count

There will be one detail line for each of the smallest political units in the file, with subtotals for each successively larger political unit and grand totals for the file. (Counts are required for county, township or city, ward, precinct, and political unit code.) A sample layout of the political unit

audit is contained in attachment "C".

The file inspection manuscript will contain date, page number, state name, county name, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings are described in attachment "D" which also contains a sample layout of the file inspection audit. The detail information contained in the manuscript will consist of each significant field contained in the records selected to be printed on this report. These records may be selected in one of two ways: error detection or every "Nth" record. The error detection option will be used by the List Compiler to display records with possible errors so they may be researched. When an error detection run is made, each record will be keyed with error messages to aid in the research. When the final list validation process is performed, an every "Nth" record sample will be selected for display to be supplied with the final tape files. Error codes will not be placed in the file during this run. If the file size is 100,000 or fewer records, every one hundredth record in the file will be selected for inclusion in the file inspection audit. If the file size is greater than 100,000 records, every two hundredth record will be selected for inclusion. Error messages will not be keyed into the records in this step.

The List Compiler (the organization preparing the data files) will perform the following procedures prior to file shipment:

1. Prepare the file in the proper format.
2. Process the file with the validation program using the option of keying suspected error records and displaying them.
3. Research each record that is displayed.
4. Correct all discrepancies in the file.
5. Repeat the above steps if necessary for "final cleanup".
6. Ship the completed files on magnetic tape with the Zip City Audit, the Political Unit Audit, and the every "Nth" Record File Inspection Audit.

Two types of errors will be defined in attachment "E". A Fatal Error is one considered definite and unacceptable. A file containing any fatal errors is not acceptable. A Warning Error is a condition which may be a problem. Each should be researched and corrected if necessary, but does not necessarily indicate that the record is not acceptable.

Positions 178 through 200, which will be blank during list compilation may be used to post error flags into records selected from the file for display purposes. This must be considered only a temporary use of these record positions for display purposes. The error flags will not be left in the final tape.

COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE FIELD DEFINITION

BYTE	LENGTH	DESCRIPTION	JUSTIFICATION		ZERO	TYPE
			L=LEFT	R=RIGHT	SUPRESS	A=ALPHA
			X=NOT	APPLICABLE	Y=YES	N=NUMERIC
					N=NO	A/N=ALPHA NUM
1	2	State Abbreviation		X	X	A
3	3	County Code		R	N	N
6	7	Sequence Number		R	N	N
13	1	Check Digit		X	N	N
14	5	Zip Code		X	N	N
19	5	Township/City Code		R	N	A/N
24	2	Ward Code		R	N	A/N
26	5	Precinct Code		R	N	N
31	3	Political Unit Code		R	N	N
34	2	Congressional District Code		R	N	N
36	3	State Lower House Code		R	N	N
39	2	State Upper House Code		R	N	N
41	1	Title Code-Name 1		X	X	A/N
42	9	Given Name-1		L	X	A
51	1	Middle Initial-1		X	X	A
52	15	Surname		L	X	A
67	1	Surname Suffix Code-1		X	X	N
68	1	Title Code-Name 2		X	X	A/N
69	9	Given Name-2		L	X	A
78	1	Middle Initial-2		X	X	A
79	1	Surname Suffix Code 2		X	X	N
80	1	Title Code-Name 3		X	X	A/N
81	9	Given Name 3		L	X	A
90	1	Middle Initial-3		X	X	A

BYTE	LENGTH	DESCRIPTION	JUSTIFICATION L=LEFT R=RIGHT X=NOT APPLICABLE	ZERO SUPRESS Y=YES N=NO	TYPE A=ALPHA N=NUMERIC A/N=ALPHA NUM
91	1	Surname Suffix Code-3	X	X	N
92	1	Title Code-Name 4	X	X	A/N
93	9	Given Name-4	L	X	A
102	1	Middle Initial-4	X	X	A
103	1	Surname Suffix Code-4	X	X	N
104	1	Local Address Code	X	X	N
<u>ADDRESS FIELDS</u>					
<u>If Code 1 in Byte 104:</u>					
105	7	House Number	R	N	A/N
112	5	Fraction or Apartment: Fraction 1/2 (3bytes) 112-114 Blank (2 bytes) 115-116 or Apt Designation (5 bytes) 112-116	--	--	A/N
117	2	Prefix Street Direction	L	X	A
<u>STREET NAMES</u>					
119	3	Street Number (Numeric Sts. only)	R	Y	N
122	16	Street Name Field	L	X	A/N
<u>If Code 2 in Byte 104:</u>					
105	17	Blank			
122	4	Rural Route Designation	R	Y	A/N
126	4	Post Office Box Designation	R	Y	A/N
130	8	Blank			
<u>If Code 3 in Byte 104:</u>					
105	14	Blank			
119	19	Edited Address	L	X	A/N
138	13	Zip Post Office Name (Town Name)	L	X	A/N

BYTE	LENGTH	DESCRIPTION	JUSTIFICATION	ZERO	TYPE
			L=LEFT R=RIGHT X=NOT APPLICABLE	SUPRESS Y=YES N=NO	A=ALPHA N=NUMERIC A/N=ALPHA NUM
151	1	Political Party Code	X	X	A
152	9	Census Tract	X	X	X
161	2	Length of Residence	R	N	N
163	1	Contributor/Volunteer Code	X	X	A
164	5	Contribution in Dollars	R	Y	N
169	2	Source of List	R	Y	A/N
171	7	Telephone Number	R	N	A/N
178	6	Special Interest Codes	X	X	A/N
184	8	Issue Codes	X	X	A/N
192	1	Attitude Code	X	X	A/N
193	8	Blank	X	X	X

SYMBOLIC	ST	CO	SEQ NO	ZIP	TWNSHP OR CITY CODE	WARD	PRECINCT	POLITICAL UNIT CD.	CO	SLH	UH	PHONE	GIVEN NAME	SURNAME	GIVEN NAME 2	GIVEN NAME 3	GIVEN NAME 4
LOCATION WORD MARK	0	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80

SYMBOLIC	LOCAL ADDRESS FIELD ... SEE BELOW	CITY NAME	CENSUS TRACT	CONTRIBUTOR/VOLUNTEER CODE	TELEPHONE NUMBER	SPEC INTEREST CODES	ISSUES	BLANK TO END
LOCATION WORD MARK	0	5	10	15	20	25	30	35

SYMBOLIC	DATA
LOCATION WORD MARK	0

SYMBOLIC	DATA
LOCATION WORD MARK	0

LOCAL ADDRESS CODE "1"	SYMBOLIC	DATA
LOCATION WORD MARK	0	5

LOCAL ADDRESS CODE "2"	SYMBOLIC	DATA
LOCATION WORD MARK	0	5

LOCAL ADDRESS CODE "3"	SYMBOLIC	DATA
LOCATION WORD MARK	0	5

SYMBOLIC	DATA
LOCATION WORD MARK	0

SYMBOLIC	DATA
LOCATION WORD MARK	0

DATE 06/12/72

COMPANY NAME

PAGE XXX

KERN COUNTY Cal

ZIP CITY AUDIT

ATTACHMENT "B"

ZIP	CITY NAME	*** REPUB	*** DEMOC	*** INDEP	*** OTHER	*** TOTAL	*** REPLUB	*** DEMOC	*** INDEP	*** OTHER	*** TOTAL	WARNING ERR CNT	FATAL ERR CNT	REEL NO.
* 35001	JOHNSTON	1,450	80	1	4	1,535	1,500	90	4	8	1,602	25	15	01
35002	TALION	50	20	5	10	85	60	25	15	20	120	8	3	01
35003	TALION	30	25	5	5	65	40	30	10	15	95	10	5	01
**	CITY TOTAL	80	45	10	15	150	100	55	25	35	215	18	8	01
35004	JAMISON	1,500	100	20	25	1,645	1,800	150	60	50	2,060	150	40	01
35004	NEWHILL	600	150	10	5	765	1,000	350	30	10	1,390	800	400	01
**	ZIP TOTAL	2,100	250	30	30	2,410	2,800	500	90	60	3,450	950	440	01
***	35005 THOMPSON	500	600	50	40	1,190	600	700	70	50	1,420	75	25	01
***	RECORD TOTAL FOR REEL 01	5,285												
35005	THOMPSON	200	300	40	60	600	300	400	50	70	820	25	10	02
	ZIP TOTAL	700	900	90	100	1,790	900	1,100	120	120	2,240	100	35	02
	RECORD TOTAL FOR REEL 02	600												
***	GRAND TOTAL	4,339	1,275	131	149	5,885	5,300	1,715	239	223	7,307	1,093	498	

- * FOR SINGLE ZIP CITY DOUBLE SPACE COUNT LINE.
- ** PRINT CITY TOTAL WHEN THERE ARE MULTI-ZIP CITIES.
(SINGLE SPACE ZIP LINES AND DOUBLE SPACE TOTAL LINE)
- *** PRINT ZIP TOTAL WHEN THERE ARE MULTI-CITY ZIPS.
(SINGLE SPACE ZIP LINES AND DOUBLE SPACE TOTAL LINE)
- **** PRINT RECORD TOTAL (TOTAL RECORDS ON REEL) WHEN CHANGE OF REEL)
(IF REEL SPLITS A ZIP - COMPLETE ZIP AND PRINT ZIP TOTAL)
- ***** AT END-OF-JOB PRINT RECORD COUNT AND GRAND TOTALS.
(RECORD TOTAL SHOULD BE DOUBLE SPACED AND GRAND TOTAL LINE IS TO BE STAGGERED)

DATE 06/12/12

COMPANY NAME

PAGE 1

KERN COUNTY CA

POLITICAL UNIT AUDIT

ATTACHMENT "C"

TWNSP	CD	PRNCT	POLIT	REPUB	DEMOC	INDEP	OTHER	TOTAL	REPUB	DEMOC	INDEP	OTHER	TOTAL
00001	01	00021	1	125	15	5	15	160	135	20	15	20	190
00001	01	00021	2	200	30	5	5	240	210	35	10	10	265
PRECINCT SUBT				325	45	10	20	400	345	55	25	30	445
00001	01	00029		150	235	95	20	500	200	240	100	25	565
00001	01	00032		535	485	145	30	1,195	540	490	150	35	1,215
WARD SUBT				1,010	765	250	70	2,095	1,085	735	265	90	2,225
00001	02	00016		395	275	160	20	840	390	290	160	25	855
00001	02	00017		340	25	110	80	555	345	30	110	85	570
00001	02	00018	1	295	40	300	95	730	295	45	305	95	740
00001	02	00018	2	310	80	155	15	530	315	90	155	20	580
PRECINCT SUBT				605	120	455	110	2,260	610	135	460	115	1,320
00001	02			120	550	220	10	900	125	550	230	15	920
00001	02	00020	1	290	395	110	15	810	295	400	115	20	830
WARD SUBT				1,740	1,365	1,055	235	4,365	1,765	1,395	1,075	260	4,495
TWNSP/CITY SUBT				2,750	2,130	1,305	305	6,460	2,850	2,180	1,337	350	6,720
00002	01	00001	1	175	210	65	15	465	180	215	70	20	485
00002	01	00001	2	155	85	25	10	275	165	90	30	15	300
PRECINCT SUBT				330	295	90	25	740	345	305	100	35	785
00002	01	00002		310	215	85	65	675	320	215	90	70	695
00002	01	00003		125	375	70	55	625	135	405	75	60	675
00002	01	00004		275	210	100	35	620	230	220	120	40	650
WARD SUBT				1,040	1,095	345	180	2,660	1,080	1,145	375	205	2,805
TWNSP/CITY SUBT				1,040	1,095	345	180	2,660	1,080	1,145	375	205	2,805
COUNTY TOTAL				3,790	3,225	1,650	495	9,120	3,930	3,325	1,712	555	9,525

DATE 6/15/72

COMPANY NAME

PAGE XXXX

KERN COUNTY CA

FILE INSPECTION MANUSCRIPT

ATTACHMENT "D"

T	CNTY	SEQ #	ZIP	POLITICAL UNIT CODES	CD	LWR	UPR	GIVEN NAMES	M T S I L X	SURNAME	ADRS CODE	T A P E	POSITIONS	P O NAME	PTY
X	XXX	XXXXXXXXX	XXXXX	T-XXXXX	XX	XXX	XX	1-XXXXXXXXXX	X X X	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	1- X	-----	-----	X X	X X
				W- XX				2-XXXXXXXXXX	X X X		2- X	-----	-----	X	
				P- XXXXX				3-XXXXXXXXXX	X X X		3- X	-----	-----	X	
				U- XXX				4-XXXXXXXXXX	X X X			-----	-----		

FILE ERROR CODES
BCDEFGHIJKLMPQRSTU

TOTAL INPUT FILE COUNT X,XXX,XXX TOTAL MANUSCRIPT COUNT XXX,XXX

TOTAL FILE ERROR RECORDS X,XXX,XXX

TO BE PRINTED FROM ERROR RECORD RUN ONLY

COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE DETAIL DESCRIPTION

Only the following characters are acceptable in this file:

A thru Z
Ø (Zero) thru 9
/ (Slash) only in position 113
- (Dash) only in positions 106 thru 110
Blank

Reference to "Directory of Post Offices" will be shown as POD-26, which is that publication's issue number. A July, 1971 or later issue should be used for reference. In some cases it may also be necessary to refer to The National Zip Code Directory, Publication 65.

A validation table will be constructed for each file to be compiled. Each record in the file will be checked against the validation table to insure that the following fields, singularly and in combination, are correct in content.

State Abbreviation
County Code
Zip Code
Township/City Code
Ward Code
Precinct Code
Political Unit Code
Congressional District Code
State Lower House Code
State Upper House Code
Zip Post Office Name
(Town) (City) (Name)

Only those political codes that have been established by local political practice must be included in the table. Four of these codes, however, must uniquely identify the smallest political unit within county. These are township / city, ward code, precinct, and political unit code.

This procedure will insure that, for example, the county code in a record is valid for the state being processed, that this zip code is valid for this county, that this zip code and city name is consistent with POD-26, etc.

STATE ABBREVIATION - Use only standard abbreviations found in POD-26. An error found in this field when checked against the validation table results in a Fatal Error, code A, placed in Location 178.

COUNTY CODE - Use only those codes supplied in the attached. If not consistent with the validation table, a Fatal Error results. This code must be consistent within a file. Error Code A, Location 178.

SEQUENCE NUMBER - A unique contiguous sequence number must be applied to each record within a county file, beginning with 0000001. This number must be applied to the records so that when the file is sorted to ascending sequence number sort the following sequence, major to minor, will result:

Zip Code
 Zip Post Office Name
 Local Address Code
 Street Number
 Street Name
 Street Direction
 House Number
 Surname
 Given Name

An error in this field is considered Fatal, code B, Location 179.

CHECK DIGIT - This digit is calculated for each record using Modulus 10 arithmetic applied to the county code and sequence number as a continuous field. An explanation of the Modulus 10 procedure is included in attachment "F". An error detected in this field causes a Fatal Error, code B, Location 179.

ZIP CODE - This field must contain the correct zip code for this record. Refer to POD-26. Fatal Error if not consistent with table. Code C. Location 180.

TOWNSHIP/CITY CODE - If a township or a city code has been established as a local convention, it will be contained in the validation table. If township/city code is not used in this file, the field should be zero filled. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results. Code D, Location 181.

WARD CODE - If political ward codes are assigned, they will be contained in the validation table. If ward codes are not used in this file, the field will be zero filled. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results. Code D, Location 181.

PRECINCT CODE - If precinct codes are available, they will be included in the validation table. If precinct code is not used in this file, this field will be zero filled. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results. Code D, Location 181.

POLITICAL UNIT CODE - If local convention has established a subdivision of the above political units, this coding will be included in the validation table. If this field is not used for a given file, it will be zero filled. Failure of consistency with the validation table is a Fatal Error, Code D, Location 181.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CODE - This is the code for the U. S. Congressional District which applies to this record. This code will be contained in the validation table and an error found in this field is considered Fatal. Code D, Location 181.

STATE LOWER HOUSE CODE - Must be consistent with the validation table. Fatal Error, Code D, Location 181.

STATE UPPER HOUSE CODE - Must be consistent with the validation table. Fatal Error, Code D, Location 181.

TITLE CODE 1 - Must contain one of the following:

"1"	-	Indicates Title "Mr."
"3"	-	" " "Miss"
"4"	-	" " "Mrs."
"5"	-	" " "Dr."
"6"	-	" " "Rev."
"9"	-	No Title - <u>Warning Error</u> (if not initials only)
"B"	-	Title "Mr. & Mrs."
"C"	-	" " "Dr. & Mrs."
"D"	-	" " "Rev. & Mrs."

Any other character results in Fatal Error. Warning error (Title Code 9) or fatal error is Code E, Location 182.

In the list compilation procedure, if titles are not available in the source information, table look-ups will be used to determine titles of individuals. Titles may require modification in the list netting procedure. (Example: Input John Doe, no title. Table look-up procedure applies title code "1". Input Mary Doe, no title. Table look-up procedure applies title code "3". During netting procedure it is found that John Doe and Mary Doe live at same address and are members of the same party. Netting procedure would be to change John Doe title to Code "B" and place Mary Doe's given name and other information into the Name 2 field of John Doe's record with a title code "4". Mary Doe's record would then be deleted from the file.

GIVEN NAME 1 - This is the given name of the person considered head of household. If christian name is not available, then first initial is acceptable.

Fatal Errors: .Imbedded Blanks
 .Numeric Characters
 .Blank Field

Warning Errors: .Two character names other than ED, AL
 .Names with no vowels (Exclude initials only)
 .Two contiguous identical vowels

Addresses which consist of Route or Box or both are coded "2". Addresses which do not fall into the above categories are coded "3". Each record must be coded with a 1, 2, or 3, or otherwise a Fatal Error results. Error Code J, Location 187.

ADDRESS FIELD FOR LOCAL ADDRESS CODE "1"

HOUSE NUMBER - All records with a local address code "1" must have a house number.

Blank or Imbedded Blank = Fatal Error
 Non Numeric Characters = Warning Error
 First Character Zero (Ø) = Warning Error

Error Code K, Location 188.

ADDRESS WITH FRACTION - The fraction appears in the fraction field, Bytes 112 - 114. The following are permissible: 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/6, 1/7, 1/8, 1/9. All fractions must contain (/) (slash) in Byte 113. Error Code K, Location 188.

ADDRESS WITH APARTMENT - The apartment designation appears in Bytes 112 - 116. The abbreviation "APT" should not be included. (Example: Apartment 14B would result in "14B" being placed in Bytes 112 - 114 and Bytes 115 - 116 would be blank. Error Code K, Location 188.

STREET DIRECTION - If the street has preceding directional indicators, they will be placed in this field. The permissible directional indicators are:

N
 S
 E
 W
 NE
 NW
 SE
 SW

All other character combinations except blanks are Fatal Error. Error Code L, Location 189.

STREET NUMBER - All records containing a street name which has numeric designation at the beginning of the street name (example: 2ND ST) will contain a street number. Otherwise, this field will be blank. If this record contains a numeric street, the first three (if there are three or more numeric characters, or fewer characters if there are fewer than three numeric characters at the beginning of the street name) numeric characters of the street name will be placed in this field. This field is used only for sorting purposes. The full street name is repeated in the street name field. Alpha characters in this field result in a Fatal Error. Error Code L, Location 189.

STREET NAME - All records with a local address code "1" must have a street name. Examples: 10TH ST
ADAMS AVE
ROCKY CIRCLE RD

The street name contained in this field is the name of the street on which the people defined by this record live. The spelling for any given street name must be consistent throughout the town in which it appears. Apartment definitions should not be included in this field. Rural route or Post Office Box information should not be included in this field. Suffix directions may be included in this field. These are directional indications that follow the street name. Examples: (1701) Pennsylvania AVE SW
(142 1/2) (N) Adams Rd SE
(1223) Avenue of Stars N

The street name field must be left justified. It may contain not more than one contiguous imbedded blank. In other words, one blank may be used to separate logical segments of the street name, but not more than one blank should appear between the elements of the street name.

- Fatal Errors:
- .Blank street name field
 - .Multiple contiguous imbedded blanks
Example: Rocky__Hill Rd
 - .Numeric character in first position of street name field and a street number field that does not coincide.
 - .Numeric streets that do not have the proper suffix behind the numeric portion of the name.

Streets ending in "1"	should have	"ST"
" " "2"	"	"ND"
" " "3"	"	"RD"
" " "4"	"	"TH"
" " "5"	"	"TH"
" " "6"	"	"TH"
" " "7"	"	"TH"
" " "8"	"	"TH"
" " "9"	"	"TH"
" " "Ø"	"	"TH"

Examples:	2ND AVE	OK
	2TH ST	Warning
	3TH AVE	Warning
	3RD ST	OK

Error Code L, Location 189.

Warning Errors: .Street names that do not end in one of the following street designators:

ST	CT	AVE
RD	PL	LN
CIR	DR	BLVD
BCH	CTR	HWY
PKY	TER	CTR
EXPY	FWY	PK
	PLZ	

NOTE: Street designators may in some cases be followed by suffix directional indicators. Example: 1701 Pennsylvania Ave NW. In this situation the validation program must first recognize the suffix direction, then look to the left of the suffix direction for a valid street designator.

Examples: ADAMS AVE OK
 ADAMS AVE SW OK
 ADAMS SW Warning
 AVENUE OF STARS Warning

.Street names that start with directional indicators. (prefix directional indicators must be in the street direction field.)

Examples: N ADAMS AVE Warning
 SW TOUGHY BLVD Warning
 10TH ST OK
 MATCH RD OK

NOTE: Lettered street names should be contained wholly in the Street Name Field.

	<u>DIR</u>	<u>ST NAME</u>	
	N	Adams Ave	OK
	N	Ave	Warning
Should be:		N Ave	OK
	SW	E St	OK

.Street names that start with street designators (see list above.)

Examples: Adams Ave OK
 ST Warning
 Ave SW Warning

.Street names that start with ND or TH.

Examples:	10TH ST	OK
	TH ST	Warning
	102ND AVE	OK
	ND AVE	Warning

.Street names starting with a numeric zero (0).

Examples:	10TH ST	OK
	01ST ST	Warning

.Street names containing three or more contiguous identical consonants.

Examples:	MATTHEW AVE	OK
	MATTTEW AVE	Warning
	HAMMER RD	OK
	HAMMMER RD	Warning

.Street names containing three or more contiguous vowels.

Examples:	BEANIE CIR	OK
	BEAINE CIR	Warning

.Street names containing four contiguous consonants.

Examples:	COLLECTION AVE	OK
	COLLCTION AVE	Warning

.Street names containing no vowels.

Examples:	BELL ST	OK
	BLL ST	Warning

Error Code L, Location 189.

RURAL ROUTE AND/OR POSTAL BOXES - All records with a local address code "2" must have a Rural Route designation or a postal box designation, or both.

RURAL ROUTE DESIGNATION - The Rural Route designation field should contain the specific route identifier. This field should not contain a "R" or "RR" to indicate Rural Route.

Examples:	"1"	OK
	"RR 1"	Wrong
	"14"	OK
	"1 A"	OK
	"EAST"	OK
	"RFD"	Wrong

Error Code M, Location 190.

POSTAL BOX DESIGNATION - The postal box designation should contain the specific box designator. This field should not contain "BOX" or "BX", etc.

Examples:	"1"	OK
	"BOX 1"	Wrong
	"14 A"	OK
	"BX 14"	Wrong

Error Code M, Location 190.

EDITED LOCAL ADDRESS - The local address field will be used as the second line of a three line address, and must be acceptable for that purpose.

Records with a local address code "3" must have a local address acceptable to the postal authorities for delivery to the addressee. (The family in this record.) In some areas a blank local address line may be acceptable.

Example: Mr. John Doe
Ridge Star Route (Local Address Line)
Reeds Ferry NH 03054

All Code "3" records should receive a code N warning flag in Location 191 so they may be inspected to insure they are acceptable.

CITY NAME (Town) (Zip Post Office) (Name) - The city name must be consistent with POD-26. POD-26 contains abbreviations for city names that will exceed the field. This field must also be consistent with the Validation Table. Any errors detected in this field are fatal. Error Code P, Location 192.

PARTY - Only the following are acceptable in this field:

- R - Republican
- D - Democrat
- I - Independent
- C - Conservative
- L - Liberal
- A - American Independent
- N - No Party
- X - Other

Any other character = Fatal Error

Error Code Q, Location 193.

CENSUS TRACT - Will be included in the file if available. This field will not be validated.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE - Will be included in file if available. This field will not be validated.

CONTRIBUTOR/VOLUNTEER CODE - Must be blank. Fatal.

CONTRIBUTION - Must be blank. Fatal

SOURCE OF LIST - Must contain the code assigned by the committee for each list. Error Code R, Location 194.

TELEPHONE NUMBER - The telephone number will be included in the file if available. This field will not be validated.

SPECIAL INTEREST CODES - Blank. Fatal Error.

ISSUE CODES - Must be blank. Fatal.

ATTITUDE CODE - Must be blank. Fatal.

BLANKS (193 - 200) - Must be blank. Fatal.

NOTE: In addition to checking all of the items listed above, the validation program will check the file to insure that left-right justification, zero suppression or leading zeros, and character type content is correct. (Alpha in alpha fields, numeric in numeric.)

The validation program will check to insure the file sort is correct and that no duplication of information is contained in the file.

Sequence or sort errors will be flagged by a code S in Location 195. Fatal error.

Duplication detection will be flagged by a code T in Location 196. Fatal.

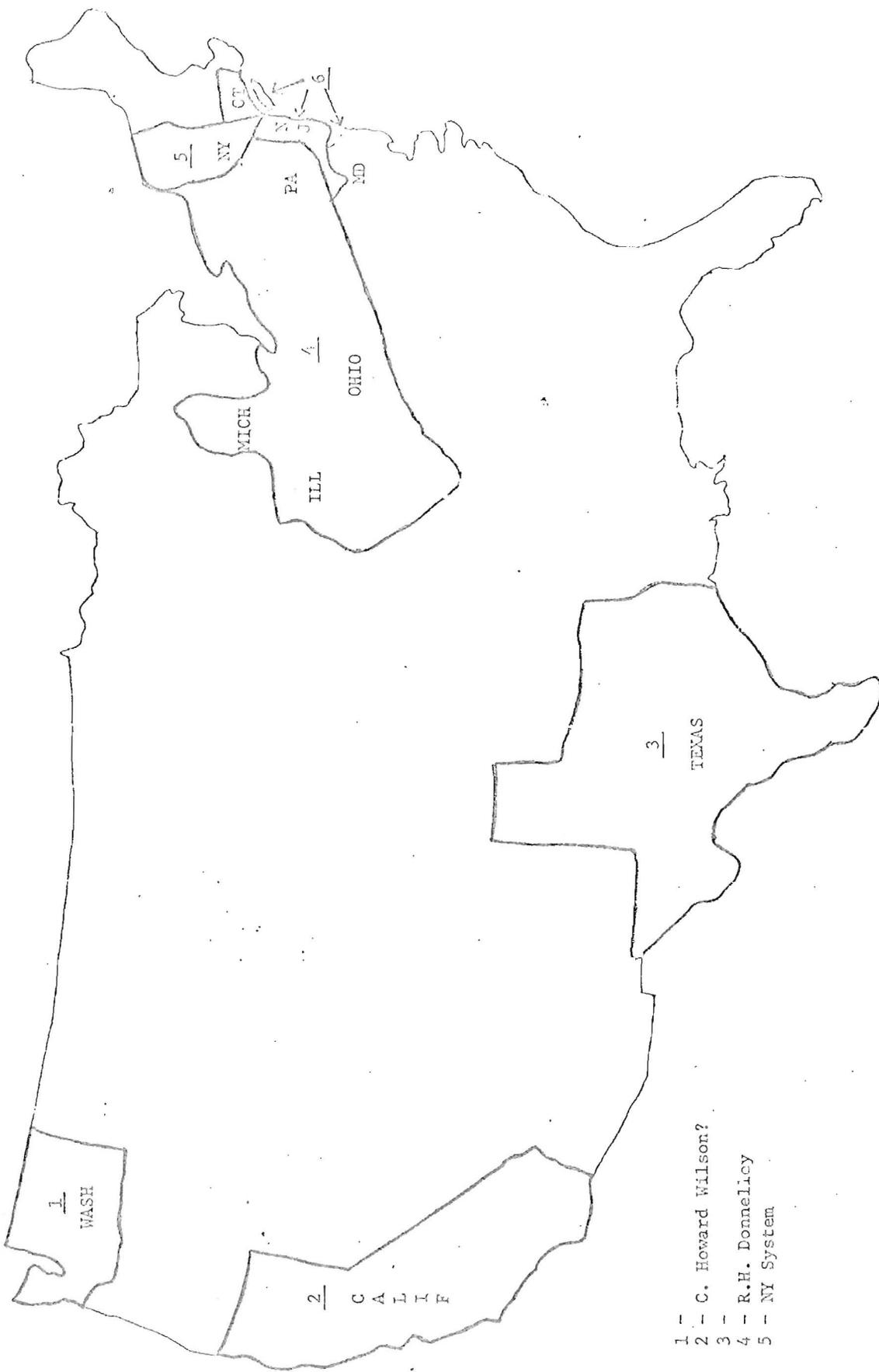
Detection of error flags in Locations 178 - 200 will be flagged by a U in Location 197.

MODULUS 10 CHECK DIGIT

The modulus 10 method is as follows:

1. The units position and every alternate position of the basic code number are multiplied by 2.
2. The digits in the product and the digits in the basic code number not multiplied by 2 are crossfooted.
3. The crossfooted total is subtracted from the next-higher number ending in zero.
4. The difference is the check digit.

Basic code number:	1 2 5 0 0 6 3 4 8 7
Units and every alternate position of basic code number:	2 0 6 4 7
Multiply by 2:	x2
Product:	4 1 2 9 4
Digits not multiplied by 2:	1 5 0 3 8
Cross-add:	1+4+5+1+0+2+3+9+8+4 = 37
Next-higher number ending in zero:	40
Subtract crossfooted total:	<u>-37</u>
Check digit:	3
Self-checking number:	1 2 5 0 0 6 3 4 8 7 3



- 1 - C. Howard Wilson?
- 2 - R.H. Donnelicy
- 3 - NY System

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT: Campaign Direct Mail

Magruder is asking whether a direct mail letter over the President's signature can be considered for the campaign. He claims he is under severe time pressure or I wouldn't have forwarded this to you without complete staffing.

I believe such a letter would be a mistake. It raises the President's campaign profile too high. It demeans the Presidency. It cannot be self-laudatory, harshly critical of McGovern's issue stands, or "political" enough to accomplish the goal of getting the President's voters to the polls.

*H
NO*

Dean ~~Moore~~, Chapin, Colson, Safire, Garment, Buchanan
 Buchanan - not rule it out; definitely not on fundraiser;
 hi-level issues; not autom agl; would do it;
 yet doesn't want to draw P. down off pedestal
 Garment - doesn't bother him at all; during camp;
 not beneath dignity of P; not a particularly
 good idea; if message good; OK.
 Colson - no prob w/ P sign on mass mlg; but each
 reviewed carefully; generally not bad idea in
 some cases
 Moore - inappropriate; P shouldn't write to 10 million people; only if
 a special list + P had special reason. "P must be in a
 bad way." Don't expect P to be that solicitous. "1" letter written
 privately
 Mauld - P's signature - read carefully; catches interest;
 think about content of letter; Test market a must before;
 Chapin - very potent, worked well in NH in '68; but costly;
 pers letter impressive

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 14, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Direct Mail

In our planning for direct mail, several of our people have suggested that a letter signed by the President would be more effective than any other approach. Such a letter would be "Presidential" in tone, and printed on official-type letterhead. The notation, "Not printed at government expense" would be included at the bottom of the page.

These would be computer letters, with personalized inside address and salutation. The first and last paragraphs would be standard, but interval paragraphs might be varied to reflect specific issues of interest to each voter segment.

It is now contemplated to send such letters to Democrats and Independents in priority precincts of the target states. The objective would be to exert strong influence on potential ticket splitters early in the campaign -- about mid-September. Although the mailings are several weeks in the future, we must commit on paper very soon. The paper for this mailing would be of a higher quality than that used for other mailings. If it were procured now, but not used as proposed, it could be sold back to the vendor, or applied to other mailings. Either option would incur some moderate cost. At the appropriate time, the proposed text of the letters and the areas to be mailed would be prepared for review before the President's signature is obtained. A small test mailing to one market will also be proposed, to measure any possible negative factors before the total mailing is committed.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

The purpose of this memo is to solicit an indication that a campaign mailing bearing the President's signature can be considered, so that the long lead-time procurement can begin, if appropriate.

Agree that the option of a mailing signed by the President should remain open and that procurement should proceed on that basis.

Agree _____ Disapprove _____

CONFIDENTIAL

Strackan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 26, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: E. D. FAILOR *E.D.F.*

SUBJECT: Attacking the McGovern-Eagleton Ticket on
Advocating Tax Increases

Background

On Sunday, July 23, 1972, Senator Thomas Eagleton appeared on Face the Nation at which time he was asked if new tax increases would be needed. Senator Eagleton replied:

"There will be need, I think, for some additional revenues to begin to deliver on some of the domestic programs that the Democratic Party has sponsored and articulated."

Concept

Taxes are a gut issue. Seldom can a candidate run on a platform of higher taxes and win. People are over-whelmed by all the taxes they are paying now.

We should, as soon as possible, get the message to the people that the McGovern-Eagleton ticket is advocating higher taxes (in addition to a redistribution of wealth), apparently for everyone, to implement its dangerous domestic programs. The message should become a major theme in our campaign from now until our convention. A maximum effort would be justified in getting this message out.

We should research the cost of all of McGovern's domestic proposals in depth coming up with figures showing a much greater need for more monies. Deducted from these increased expenditures would be his military cuts and "closure of tax loopholes." Our speakers should be prepared in depth so that McGovern cannot wiggle off the

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

hook without being put firmly on the defensive.

Our logic would be that there is a major difference between the candidates on the matter of taxes. Senator Eagleton has been forth right in telling Americans that a general tax increase will be necessary if his ticket is elected. The McGovernites believe in more government and higher taxes; and President Nixon believes that what "the people of America needs is less government, fewer federal programs that don't work, lower taxes with more money in the pockets of the people and less money in the hands of federal bureaucracy."

Methods

We should shoot for a maximum effort during the week of July 31 to:

- a) get the message out;
- b) see just how well we produce under a maximum effort;
and
- c) get our people in the field initiated to this kind of effort.

The following methods should be used:

1. Clark MacGregor speak at a forum that would give him T.V. network coverage;
2. Senator Bob Dole speak at a forum that would give him T.V. network coverage;
3. Vice President Agnew would use this as a main topic in a speech or at a press conference;
4. Speech inserts would be prepared for all surrogates;
5. A fact idea sheet would be prepared for and sent to each Republican candidate for the House and the Senate with the request that they make a press release on their political sub-division on this topic;
6. The same request as in 5 above would be made of each Republican governor and Republican candidate for governor;
7. Democrats for Nixon would be programmed for this attack;

8. Union leaders for Nixon would be asked to speak out on this issue;
9. Radio recordings of MacGregor's and Dole's statements would be sent out country wide;
10. Our entire letter writing organization would be turned on;
11. Friendly editorial and news writers would be contacted;
12. State Chairmen of CRP would be asked to issue appropriate news releases and/or have news conferences; and
13. Our Business and Industry would be alerted to have their people make states.

The other side of this attack would be the positive line setting out the Nixon record of reducing taxes in 1969. In each statement the attack line should be contrasted with the Nixon record.

Recommendation

Recommend that the above line be adopted from July 31 through August 19.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

July 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: LAWRENCE M. HIGBY

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

For your information.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

July 19, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR.
SUBJECT: Monitoring Senator McGovern's Compliance
with the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1972

We have proceeded to establish a Task Force to monitor the Democratic Candidate's performance in complying with the requirements of the new Federal Election Campaign Act. The Task Force, as we now see it, will be divided into two teams, each of which will function in a distinct area.

One team, composed of volunteer lawyers and accountants from Washington firms, will scrutinize present and future filings by the McGovern Committee and all associated committees at the Federal Election Office. We have obtained copies of all such filings to date and this team will thoroughly audit every aspect of these and future reports. In so doing our people will attempt to correlate actual activity in the field with reported receipts and expenditures. The team's immediate goals will be:

- (1.) To obtain an immediate check on some of the more visible and obvious violations that McGovern and his committees might have committed under the new act during the primary elections and pre-nominating period; and to indicate whether further more detailed checking is warranted.
- (2.) To provide a testing ground which, by trial and error, can develop the most efficient mechanism for conducting a similar monitoring program when reports are filed on the general election campaign.
- (3.) To initiate the formation of a data base of the names and addresses of contributors and other persons and organizations connected with the McGovern campaign so as to better be able to ascertain violations under the media expenditure limitation provisions of the new Act.

Our Washington team will be headed by Geoffrey Myers, an able

young attorney who was recommended to us by Larry Higby. Geoff will be assisted by Jim Swenson, a tax accountant of 13 years experience at Price-Waterhouse and reputed to be the youngest man ever made a partner at that firm.

The other team of the Task Force will monitor the opposition's campaign activities in each of the states. Particular emphasis will be placed upon checking anti-Administration advertisements which, on their face, can not be directly linked to the McGovern candidacy. This team will feed the names of persons signing or paying for such advertisements back to Washington. The Washington team will then attempt to match those names with the names of people within the McGovern organization and contributors to his candidacy which are listed in the filings.

Our field team will be headed by Mr. Carl W. Vogt, a Washington partner of the Atlanta law firm of Thompson, Ogletree, Haynsworth, and Deakins. Mr. Vogt will be working with the aid of local lawyers in each state. We had considered using volunteers supplied through Lawyers for the Re-election of The President, but have concluded that a person responsible directly to the state Nixon chairmen would be preferable. Attached at Tab A is the draft of a letter from you to the individual state chairmen which requests the appointment of a lawyer to assist on this project.

Both Task Force project teams will be generally supervised by Thomas S. Markey, a senior partner in the Washington law firm of Dow, Lohnes and Albertson. Mr. Markey will be retiring from his firm at the end of July and will be available to the Committee on a full-time volunteer basis beginning August 1st. Mr. Markey, who was recommended to us by Larry Higby, will coordinate all activities of the two teams and will generally be available to us for counsel on other matters as well.

July 20. 1972

Proposed letter from Mr. MacGregor to all State Nixon Chairmen.

Dear _____,

The Committee for the Re-election of the President has commenced a nation-wide program to monitor the activities of the McGovern organization as such relate to the requirements set forth in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

The success of this program will depend in large measure on the help we are able to receive from each state organization. From now until the election we must closely observe opposition fund raising activities, and expenditures for radio, television, newspaper, magazine, and billboard advertising. It seems evident that this can best be done from within each state.

Will you please promptly designate for me a lawyer whom you regard as qualified, and available, to handle this assignment in your state? We will then contact him through our Counsel, Glenn Sedam, who is directing this program for the Committee. Your cooperation and prompt reply will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

July 19, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR.
SUBJECT: Monitoring Senator McGovern's Compliance
with the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1972

We have proceeded to establish a Task Force to monitor the Democratic Candidate's performance in complying with the requirements of the new Federal Election Campaign Act. The Task Force, as we now see it, will be divided into two teams, each of which will function in a distinct area.

One team, composed of volunteer lawyers and accountants from Washington firms, will scrutinize present and future filings by the McGovern Committee and all associated committees at the Federal Election Office. We have obtained copies of all such filings to date and this team will thoroughly audit every aspect of these and future reports. In so doing our people will attempt to correlate actual activity in the field with reported receipts and expenditures. The team's immediate goals will be:

- (1.) To obtain an immediate check on some of the more visible and obvious violations that McGovern and his committees might have committed under the new act during the primary elections and pre-nominating period; and to indicate whether further more detailed checking is warranted.
- (2.) To provide a testing ground which, by trial and error, can develop the most efficient mechanism for conducting a similar monitoring program when reports are filed on the general election campaign.
- (3.) To initiate the formation of a data base of the names and addresses of contributors and other persons and organizations connected with the McGovern campaign so as to better be able to ascertain violations under the media expenditure limitation provisions of the new Act.

Our Washington team will be headed by Geoffrey Myers, an able

young attorney who was recommended to us by Larry Higby. Geoff will be assisted by Jim Swenson, a tax accountant of 13 years experience at Price-Waterhouse and reputed to be the youngest man ever made a partner at that firm.

The other team of the Task Force will monitor the opposition's campaign activities in each of the states. Particular emphasis will be placed upon checking anti-Administration advertisements which, on their face, can not be directly linked to the McGovern candidacy. This team will feed the names of persons signing or paying for such advertisements back to Washington. The Washington team will then attempt to match those names with the names of people within the McGovern organization and contributors to his candidacy which are listed in the filings.

Our field team will be headed by Mr. Carl W. Vogt, a Washington partner of the Atlanta law firm of Thompson, Ogletree, Haynsworth, and Deakins. Mr. Vogt will be working with the aid of local lawyers in each state. We had considered using volunteers supplied through Lawyers for the Re-election of The President, but have concluded that a person responsible directly to the state Nixon chairmen would be preferable. Attached at Tab A is the draft of a letter from you to the individual state chairmen which requests the appointment of a lawyer to assist on this project.

Both Task Force project teams will be generally supervised by Thomas S. Markey, a senior partner in the Washington law firm of Dow, Lohnes and Albertson. Mr. Markey will be retiring from his firm at the end of July and will be available to the Committee on a full-time volunteer basis beginning August 1st. Mr. Markey, who was recommended to us by Larry Higby, will coordinate all activities of the two teams and will generally be available to us for counsel on other matters as well.

July 20. 1972

Proposed letter from Mr. MacGregor to all State Nixon Chairmen.

Dear _____,

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The success of this program will depend in large measure on the help we are able to receive from each state organization. From now until the election we must closely observe opposition fund raising activities, and expenditures for radio, television, newspaper, magazine, and billboard advertising. It seems evident that this can best be done from within each state.

Will you please promptly designate for me a lawyer whom you regard as qualified, and available, to handle this assignment in your state? We will then contact him through our Counsel, Glenn Sedam, who is directing this program for the Committee. Your cooperation and prompt reply will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

July 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON C. STRACHAN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

The attached memorandum, which has been approved, supersedes the previous memorandum of the same subject.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 24, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: E. D. FAILOR *E.D.F.*

SUBJECT: Strategy From Now To Republican National Convention

Elements to be used:

1. Democrats for Nixon and other Second Parties

Chuck Colson has the responsibility for coordinating this effort on behalf of the President through this time period.

The following recommendations are made for the Democrats for Nixon during this time frame:

- a) That a formal, publicly announced Democrats for Nixon organization with a well-known person as its head be established as soon as possible to serve as a rallying point;
- b) That state and local Democrats for Nixon organizations be set up in as many states as soon as possible with key states to be given priority -- we recognize that in some southern states we will not have Democrats for Nixon organizations, for example: Virginia;
- c) That Democrats for Nixon, collectively and individually, be used as our primary attack vehicle during this time frame;
- d) That well-known Democrats coming out for the President be briefed by Colson's representatives on the "line" before the public announcement;

Other second parties including union leaders, community and business leaders, religious leaders, well-known

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

celebrities and the like, also carry out our attack line.

2. Surrogates

During this time period our surrogates will put out the affirmative line as indicated below. The correct attack line should also be made available to them to use in the event they are asked questions by the press about McGovern and Eagleton.

3. Other Vehicles

For both the affirmative line and attack line we will endeavor to plant stories with friendly wire writers, newspaper and magazine writers and commentators. We will, also, feed relevant radio tapes to radio stations.

Time Periods

	<u>Attack Line</u>	<u>Affirmative Line</u>
July 23-29	McGovern's Welfare Tax Proposals	The President's Welfare and Revenue Sharing proposals

McGovern's welfare and tax proposals seem to scare people the most. We should continue this attack theme another week to set it clearly in the public's mind and to make it more difficult for McGovern to move away from these positions as he must do. We should attack on both the \$6,500 and \$1,000 proposals made by McGovern. We would use Democrats for Nixon and second parties to put out this attack line.

The President's welfare and revenue sharing proposals will serve as a responsible contrast to McGovern's radical and ill-thought through proposals. Speech inserts would be provided to our surrogates on the affirmative line.

Recommendation

Recommend that from July 23 to July 29 our attack line to McGovern's welfare and tax proposals and that our affirmative line be the President's welfare and revenue sharing proposals.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

	<u>Attack Line</u>	<u>Affirmative Line</u>
July 30-August 5	McGovern's Defense Proposals including withholding funds from Greece and how it would weaken Israel.	SALT Agreements

During this time period our attack line will be against McGovern's defense reduction proposals -- the closing of bases and plants in this country with resulting job losses, the sell out of Israel, the sell out of N.A.T.O. and Europe; becoming a second rate power and subject to the power plays of super powers; raising the white flag of surrender and going to Hanoi to beg. We would use Democrats for Nixon and second parties to put out this line -- labor leaders -- veteran groups -- community leaders and Congressmen in areas that would suffer base and/or plant closings.

During this period our surrogates and friendly press would praise the President for his leadership from a position of strength in obtaining the SALT agreements and the potential of second SALT agreements, but only from a position of strength.

Recommendation

Recommend that during the above time period our attack line will be McGovern's defense proposals and our affirmative line will be the President's SALT agreements.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comments:

	<u>Attack Line</u>	<u>Affirmative Line</u>
August 6-12	Congress's record of over spending the budget and refusal to enact the President's domestic proposals	President's proposals to Congress to solve domestic problems.

During this time period we would attack the Democratic Congress on its record of passing programs in excess of the President's guidelines and its refusal to bring the President's domestic proposals to a vote. We should use the surrogates and other administrative spokesmen for this attack line. We can use the same people to point out the President's proposals which would benefit the country. It might be possible for the President to talk to the nation on these problems.

Recommendation

Recommend that the above attack and affirmative line be

used during this time period.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

Attack Line

Affirmative Line

August 13-20

Convention Theme

Convention Theme

During the week prior to our convention, we should emphasize several aspects of that gathering. One is that the make-up of our delegations will reflect a broad cross-section of the population and will include a large proportion of delegates attending their first convention and that this was done without excluding important groups as the Democrats did. We should also lay the groundwork for assigning the blame for any disturbances to McGovern supporters. If there is any violence in Miami, it must not be compared to Chicago where a segment of the Democratic party was not allowed to participate in the nominating process. Rather, these are opponents of the Republican party who are seeking to prevent it from functioning peacefully in a democratic system. There are several quotes from newspapers from the past week describing how the radicals kept cool in deference to McGovern, but would have blown up if McGovern had not gotten the nomination. They have vowed to focus their intensity on the Republicans.

Within our convention theme we should include particular emphasis on encouraging and underlining the divisiveness in the Democratic Party as demonstrated by its convention. We should show that McGovern's "new politics" is a sham; that the "open convention" was closed to the traditional proud Democrats; that the McGovern machine gave no quarter to their opponents; that McGovern was willing to walk away from his party if he had lost the nomination.

Recommendation

Recommend that during this time period that we use the Convention Theme both as our attack line and our affirmative line.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

July 23-August 20

During the entire time period, in addition to the above weekly themes, we should use the following general themes:

1. McGovern's proposals are extreme - elitist (shared by a small minority)!

One of McGovern's real strengths is his ability to produce a most effective organizaion. We can neutralize his ability to get more workers by making it unpopular to work for his ideas. Most people that perceive his proposals as extreme or radical will not work for him because they don't want their neighbors to know they're working for such a person with such ideas. This will hurt McGovern during the time that he is trying to legitimize himself by moving to the center and when he is starting to organize.

VEHICLES

The vehicles for this attack should be Democrats and Independents for Nixon, stories by friendly writers, surveys indicating people perceive McGovern's proposals extreme and/or radical, Jewish and ethnic leaders, religious leaders and other leaders other than Republicans.

Recommendation

Recommend that we use the "McGovern's proposals are extreme-radical!" attack during this time period.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

2. The McGovern Market

Since May 26, 1972, the Dow Jones Industrials Averages have dropped from 980 to 910. This has been a dramatic drop and has occurred since McGovern has been the acknowledged front runner for the Democratic presidential nomination. Some references have been made to this market drop as the "McGovern Market" because investors feel that the McGovern proposals will hurt business.

Approximately thirty million Americans own stocks in corporations. These owners, to a great extent, are opinion makers

in their communities and vote more often than the public as a whole. They have their savings in the stock market. We should scare the hell out of them by equating the current bear market with fears of McGovern's economic and tax policies and alleging that there would be an even bigger drop in the market if McGovern were elected and his election would be accompanied by a recession and loss of jobs.

We should use every available means to make the term "McGovern Market" a household phrase. Planting articles in all business papers and magazines, planting in Time and Newsweek, have Secretaries of Treasury and Commerce give speeches and/or issue statements, have Connally give a major speech on this, have friendly editorial writers write editorials, plant the message in newsletters giving stock market and business advice, and have heads of friendly brokerage houses make statements about the "McGovern Market."

In the event the market starts to go back up, the line is that investors now feel that McGovern has no chance of winning and they have confidence in Nixon's policies.

Recommendation

Recommend that we use the "McGovern Market" attack during this period.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comments:

3. Youth for Nixon

During this time period we should emphasize the young voters for the President to offset McGovern's organizational effort.

The following is from a memorandum to Jeb Magruder and Fred Malek from Ken Reitz:

"With McGovern as our opponent in November, youth will be in the spotlight throughout the campaign. As it has over the past few months, the press will continue to claim McGovern is the youth candidate, and they can be expected to do everything possible to emphasize McGovern's youth support.

As outlined in the initial youth plan written a year ago,

the thing we have to overcome with young people is the peer group pressure they are subject to. This pressure building now is pro-McGovern. This makes our job a little tougher but not much different.

McGovern is a media created youth candidate. He has no right to the title other than the fact that he has a large army of young volunteers. After all, what's so young about Mankiewicz, Salinger, Dutton, etc. But, that is not what the media has played up. They have concentrated on his younger volunteers --- the ones in the street going door-to-door. Today a young person supports McGovern because he feels other young people are.

During the past year we have built a good volunteer organization throughout the country. At this writing we have more than 125,000 young volunteers, 200 college leaders for the President, 50 young celebrities, 3 of 7 young leaders of vocational education groups, and numerous additional outstanding young people who have joined Young Voters for the President.

Now it is time to publicize all of this. Senator McGovern cannot match this, but we will have to move rapidly. Between now and the convention every publicity resource available at the Committee, RNC, and White House should be concentrated on our effort to get national publicity for the young people involved in the President's campaign. Thus far, a good job has been done state by state on local publicity, but a major national effort must be made.

By emphasizing young people's support for the President during the next six weeks we will accomplish several objectives:

- 1) Attract young people to the campaign because they will see that other young people support the President.
- 2) Knock McGovern off guard because he expects us to write off the youth vote and concentrate in other areas. This should force him to alter his campaign plan.
- 3) Create the feeling nationwide that there is an active Nixon campaign oriented toward a volunteer effort.
- 4) Start the volunteer bandwagon rolling with young people.

5) Build a positive youth image for the President that will be emphasized at the convention with over 3,000 young volunteers.

I suggest the following youth media plan over the next six weeks:

July 24 (week of) - press conference with Mr. MacGregor and Senator Brock to announce and explain the young voters convention program. This is the first time any political party has provided for 3,000 under 30 age people to attend its national convention.

July 25 - youth speakers school in California to be covered by CBS. Conducted by Ken Smith, youth speakers bureau director.

July 29 - Wisconsin Young Voters for the President youth leadership school. Press coverage should be maximized. CBS again covers for the feature it is doing.

July 30 - Maine Young Voters for the President Lobster day featuring Governor Sargeant and Ray Stevens. Press coverage should be maximized.

July 31 (week of) - mail press releases to local newspapers about young people attending the convention.

July 31 (week of) - YVP press conference in key states kicking off youth voter registration drives.

August 5 - YVP national youth registration day. Emphasis on key states. Young people going door-to-door with voter registration kits. Maximize local and national press coverage.

August 7 - announcement by Brock of YVP schedule of events at the national convention.

August 7 (week of) - feature articles in national news magazines about the 125,000 youth volunteers, youth voter registration drives and the special convention program.

August 14 (week of) - press conferences in the states with young people who will be going to the convention.

August 14 (week of) - national feature articles on 6-10 of the young people who have earned their own money, etc.

to be able to go to the convention.

August 14 (week of) - special youth testimony at the platform hearings.

August 19 - young people begin arriving in Miami. All will be photographed on arrival and photos sent to hometown newspapers.

August 20-23 - convention city press activities will include:

- special youth events every night designed for maximum press coverage.

- film clips of young people from major media centers mailed to hometown TV stations.

- radio actualities transmitted to local radio outlets in the major media areas.

- young people available to the press for individual interviews.

- press conferences to announce:

- 1) Young Voters national chairman - we are currently considering Barbara Cochran (Olympic medal winner), Eddie Wilchinski (vocational education leaders), Bob Briese, Pan Powell (actress), etc.

- 2) Student leaders for the President - we have 200 now and will have about 400.

- 3) Vocational education leaders for the President - we now have 3 of 7 who represent more than 1-1/2 million vocational education students.

- 4) Young labor leaders for the President - we have just started work on this.

- an effort for feature articles including:

- 1) Young celebrities for the President who will be present -- including Mary Ann Mobley, Chad Everett, etc.

- 2) Professional tennis players who will put on an

exhibition tournament. We hope to have Stan Smith.

3) Young Blacks involved, etc.

Additional ideas to be developed during the six week period:

- Press conference by Richard Solomon and his associates. These are the people who developed the youth poster -- all long haired California types. They want to hold a press conference to display the poster and talk about why they support the President. They would generate and handle this themselves. It would probably make particularly good press in youth-oriented publications.

- Special publicity on youth celebrities. Many of these people have their own publicity agents and with a little urging and direction will be willing to publicize their involvement with the President.

- Some months ago Hays Corey did a Time feature on the Young Voters effort. It's time for a follow-up feature. We should allow Hays or some other reporter for a national news magazine to come into the youth campaign for a week and see it operate. The story should be timed for release just before the convention.

- Members of the YVP Congressional Advisory Committee should be encouraged to speak out on the YVP program and youth involvement using facts and figures to back up our claim for the youth vote.

Recommendation

Recommend that the above Young Voters for the President program be carried out.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

Newspaper Ads

During the time period previous to the Republican National Convention no newspaper ads on behalf of the Re-election Committee should be run because such ads would signal the start of the President's campaign.

Recommendation

Recommend that no newspaper ads on behalf of the Re-election Committee be published prior to the Republican National Convention.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

It is possible that the Democrats for Nixon will want to use newspaper ads to solicit support of rank and file Democrats after formal announcement of that organization and after an appropriate period of time to raise money for such ads.

The President Cares

McGovern's acceptance speech puts himself in the role of an evangelist that is a humanitarian and contrasts that role with the President that is a "destroyer" (Vietnam) that doesn't care about the people. Every effort should be made to show the humanitarian personality of the President. His programs and record of achievement should be shown as being derived from a moral and spiritual commitment to mankind.

An effective way to lay a foundation for the above is to reinstitute Sunday worship services at the White House. Then as we go through the campaign the President's "caring" can flow from his convictions. A spin off of this can be Democrats for Nixon participating in the services, little black and white children, the elderly, etc.

Recommendation

Recommend that Sunday Worship Services be reinstated at the White House from now through the campaign.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 20, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: E. D. FAILOR *E.D.F.*

SUBJECT: Strategy from Now To Republican National Convention

Elements to be used:

1. Democrats for Nixon and other Second Parties

Chuck Colson has the responsibility for coordinating this effort on behalf of the President through this time period.

The following recommendations are made for the Democrats for Nixon during this time frame:

- a) That a formal, publicly announced Democrats for Nixon organization with a well-known person as its head be established as soon as possible to serve as a rallying point;
- b) That state and local Democrats for Nixon organizations be set up in as many states as soon as possible with key states to be given priority;
- c) That Democrats for Nixon, collectively and individually, be used as our primary attack vehicle during this time frame;
- d) That well-known Democrats coming out for the President be briefed by Colson's representatives on the "line" before the public announcement;

Other second parties including union leaders, community and business leaders, religious leaders, well-known

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

celebrities and the like, also carry out our attack line.

2. Surrogates

During this time period our surrogates will put out the affirmative line as indicated below. The correct attack line should also be made available to them to use in the event they are asked questions by the press about McGovern.

3. Other Vehicles

For both the affirmative line and attack line we will endeavor to plant stories with friendly wire writers, newspaper and magazine writers and commentators. We will, also, feed relevant radio tapes to radio stations.

Time Periods

July 23-29	<u>Attack Line</u> McGovern's Welfare Tax Proposals	<u>Affirmative line</u> The President's Welfare and Revenue Sharing proposals
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McGovern's welfare and tax proposals seem to scare people the most. We should continue this attack theme another week to set it clearly in the public's mind and to make it more difficult for McGovern to move away from these positions as he must do. We would use Democrats for Nixon and second parties to put out this attack line.

The President's welfare and revenue sharing proposals will serve as a responsible contrast to McGovern's radical and ill-thought through proposals. Speech inserts would be provided to our surrogates on the affirmative line.

Recommendation

Recommend that from July 23 to July 29 our attack line to McGovern's welfare and tax proposals and that our affirmative line be the President's welfare and revenue sharing proposals.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comments:

Attack Line

Affirmative Line

July 30-August 5

McGovern's Defense Proposals

SALT Agreements

During this time period our attack line will be against McGovern's defense reduction proposals -- the closing of bases and plants in this country with resulting job losses, the sell out of Israel, the sell out of N.A.T.O. and Europe; becoming a second rate power and subject to the power plays of the super powers; raising the white flag of surrender and going to Hanoi to beg. We would use Democrats for Nixon and second parties to put out this line -- labor leaders -- veteran groups -- community leaders and Congressmen in areas that would suffer base and/or plant closings.

During this period our surrogates and friendly press would praise the President for his leadership from a position of strength in obtaining the SALT agreements and the potential of second SALT agreements, but only from a position of strength.

Recommendation

Recommend that during the above time period our attack line will be McGovern's defense proposals and our affirmative line will be the President's SALT agreements.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

Attack Line

Affirmative Line

August 6-12

Congress's record of over spending the budget and refusal to enact the President's domestic proposals.

President's proposals to Congress to solve domestic problems.

During this time period we would attack the Democratic Congress on its record of passing programs in excess of the President's guidelines and its refusal to bring the President's domestic proposals to a vote. We should use the surrogates and other administrative spokesmen for this attack line. We can use the same people to point out the President's proposals which would benefit the country. It might be possible for the President to talk to the nation on these problems.

Recommendation

Recommend that the above attack and affirmative lines be

used during this time period.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

Attack Line

Affirmative Line

August 13-20

Convention Theme

Convention Theme

During the week prior to our convention, we should emphasize several aspects of that gathering. One is that the make-up of our delegations will reflect a broad cross-section of the population and will include a large proportion of delegates attending their first convention and that this was done without excluding important groups as the Democrats did. We should also lay the groundwork for assigning the blame for any disturbances to McGovern supporters. If there is any violence in Miami, it must not be compared to Chicago where a segment of the Democratic party was not allowed to participate in the nominating process. Rather, these are opponents of the Republican party who are seeking to prevent it from functioning peacefully in a democratic system. There are several quotes from newspapers from the past week describing how the radicals kept cool in deference to McGovern, but would have blown up if McGovern had not gotten the nomination. They have vowed to focus their intensity on the Republicans.

Within our convention theme we should include particular emphasis on encouraging and underlining the divisiveness in the Democratic Party as demonstrated by its convention. We should show that McGovern's "new politics" is a sham; that the "open convention" was closed to the traditional proud Democrats; that the McGovern machine gave no quarter to their opponents; that McGovern was willing to walk away from his party if he had lost the nomination.

Recommendation

Recommend that during this time period that we use the Convention Theme both as our attack line and our affirmative line.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

July 23-August 20

During the entire time period, in addition to the above weekly themes, we should use the following general themes:

1. McGovern's proposals are extreme - radical!

One of McGovern's real strengths is his ability to produce a most effective organization. We can neutralize his ability to get more workers by making it unpopular to work for his ideas. Most people that perceive his proposals as extreme or radical will not work for him because they don't want their neighbors to know they're working for such a person with such ideas. This will hurt McGovern during the time that he is trying to legitimize himself by moving to the center and when he is starting to organize.

VEHICLES

The vehicles for this attack should be Democrats and Independents for Nixon, stories by friendly writers, surveys indicating people perceive McGovern's proposals extreme and/or radical, Jewish and ethnic leaders, religious leaders and other leaders other than Republicans.

Recommendation

Recommend that we use the "McGovern's proposals are extreme-radical!" attack during this time period.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

2. The McGovern Market

Since May 26, 1972, the Dow Jones Industrials Averages have dropped from 980 to 910. This has been a dramatic drop and has occurred since McGovern has been the acknowledged front runner for the Democratic presidential nomination. Some references have been made to this market drop as the "McGovern Market" because investors feel that the McGovern proposals will hurt business.

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in their communities and vote more often than the public as a whole. They have their savings in the stock market. We should scare the hell out of them by equating the current bear market with fears of McGovern's economic and tax policies and alleging that there would be an even bigger drop in the market if McGovern were elected and his election would be accompanied by a recession and loss of jobs.

We should use every available means to make the term "McGovern Market" a household phrase. Planting articles in all business papers and magazines, planting in Time and Newsweek, have Secretaries of Treasury and Commerce give speeches and/or issue statements, have Connally give a major speech on this, have friendly editorial writers write editorials, plant the message in newsletters giving stock market and business advice, and have heads of friendly brokerage houses make statements about the "McGovern Market."

In the event the market starts to go back up, the line is that investors now feel that McGovern has no chance of winning and they have confidence in Nixon's policies.

Recommendation

Recommend that we use the "McGovern Market" attack during this period.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

3. Youth for Nixon

During this time period we should emphasize the young voters for the President to offset McGovern's organizational effort.

The following is from a memorandum to Jeb Magruder and Fred Malek from Ken Reitz:

"With McGovern as our opponent in November, youth will be in the spotlight throughout the campaign. As it has over the past few months, the press will continue to claim McGovern is the youth candidate, and they can be expected to do everything possible to emphasize McGovern's youth support.

As outlined in the initial youth plan written a year ago,

-7-

the thing we have to overcome with young people is the peer group pressure they are subject to. This pressure building now is pro-McGovern. This makes our job a little tougher but not much different.

McGovern is a media created youth candidate. He has no right to the title other than the fact that he has a large army of young volunteers. After all, what's so young about Mankiewicz, Salinger, Dutton, etc. But, that is not what the media has played up. They have concentrated on his younger volunteers -- the ones in the street going door-to-door. Today a young person supports McGovern because he feels other young people are.

During the past year we have built a good volunteer organization throughout the country. At this writing we have more than 125,000 young volunteers, 200 college leaders for the President, 50 young celebrities, 3 of 7 young leaders of vocational education groups, and numerous additional outstanding young people who have joined Young Voters for the President.

Now it is time to publicize all of this. Senator McGovern cannot match this, but we will have to move rapidly. Between now and the convention every publicity resource available at the Committee, RNC, and White House should be concentrated on our effort to get national publicity for the young people involved in the President's campaign. Thus far, a good job has been done state by state on local publicity, but a major national effort must be made.

By emphasizing young people's support for the President during the next six weeks we will accomplish several objectives:

- 1) Attract young people to the campaign because they will see that other young people support the President.
- 2) Knock McGovern off guard because he expects us to write off the youth vote and concentrate in other areas. This should force him to alter his campaign plan.
- 3) Create the feeling nationwide that there is an active Nixon campaign oriented toward a volunteer effort.
- 4) Start the volunteer bandwagon rolling with young people.

-8-

5) Build a positive youth image for the President that will be emphasized at the convention with over 3,000 young volunteers.

I suggest the following youth media plan over the next six weeks:

July 24 (week of) - press conference with Mr. MacGregor and Senator Brock to announce and explain the young voters convention program. This is the first time any political party has provided for 3,000 under 30 age people to attend its national convention.

July 25 - youth speakers school in California to be covered by CBS. Conducted by Ken Smith, youth speakers bureau director.

July 29 - Wisconsin Young Voters for the President youth leadership school. Press coverage should be maximized. CBS again covers for the feature it is doing.

July 30 - Maine Young Voters for the President Lobster day featuring Governor Sargeant and Ray Stevens. Press coverage should be maximized.

July 31 (week of) - mail press releases to local newspapers about young people attending the convention.

July 31 (week of) - YVP press conferences in key states kicking off youth voter registration drives.

August 5 - YVP national youth registration day. Emphasis on key states. Young people going door-to-door with voter registration kits. Maximize local and national press coverage.

August 7 - announcement by Brock of YVP schedule of events at the national convention.

August 7 (week of) - feature articles in national news magazines about the 125,000 youth volunteers, youth voter registration drives and the special convention program.

August 14 (week of) - press conferences in the states with young people who will be going to the convention.

August 14 (week of) - national feature articles on 6-10 of the young people who have earned their own money, etc.

to be able to go to the convention.

August 14 (week of) - special youth testimony at the platform hearings.

August 19 - young people begin arriving in Miami. All will be photographed on arrival and photos sent to hometown newspapers.

August 20-23 - convention city press activities will include:

- special youth events every night designed for maximum press coverage.

- film clips of young people from major media centers mailed to hometown TV stations.

- radio actualities transmitted to local radio outlets in the major media areas.

- young people available to the press for individual interviews.

- press conferences to announce:

- 1) Young Voters national chairman - we are currently considering Barbara Cochran (Olympic medal winner), Eddie Wilchinski (vocational education leaders), Bob Briese, Pam Powell (actress), etc.

- 2) Student leaders for the President - we have 200 now and will have about 400.

- 3) Vocational education leaders for the President - we now have 3 of 7 who represent more than 1½ million vocational education students.

- 4) Young labor leaders for the President - we have just started work on this.

- an effort for feature articles including:

- 1) Young celebrities for the President who will be present -- including Mary Ann Mobley, Chad Everett, etc.

- 2) Professional tennis players who will put on an

exhibition tournament. We hope to have Stan Smith.

3) Young Blacks involved, etc.

Additional ideas to be developed during the six week period:

- Press conference by Richard Solomon and his associates. These are the people who developed the youth poster -- all long haired California types. They want to hold a press conference to display the poster and talk about why they support the President. They would generate and handle this themselves. It would probably make particularly good press in youth-oriented publications.

- Special publicity on youth celebrities. Many of these people have their own publicity agents and with a little urging and direction will be willing to publicize their involvement with the President.

- Some months ago Hays Corey did a Time feature on the Young Voters effort. It's time for a follow-up feature. We should allow Hays or some other reporter for a national news magazine to come into the youth campaign for a week and see it operate. The story should be timed for release just before the convention.

- Members of the YVP Congressional Advisory Committee should be encouraged to speak out on the YVP program and youth involvement using facts and figures to back up our claim for the youth vote."

Recommendation

Recommend that the above Young Voters for the President program be carried out.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

Newspaper Ads

During the time period previous to the Republican National Convention no newspaper ads on behalf of the Re-election Committee should be run because such ads would signal the start of the President's campaign. We do not want his campaign to formally start

until the middle of September.

Recommendation

Recommend that no newspaper ads on behalf of the Re-election Committee be published prior to the Republican National Convention.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

It is possible that the Democrats for Nixon will want to use newspaper ads to solicit support of rank and file Democrats after formal announcement of that organization and after an appropriate period of time to raise money for such ads.

The President Cares

McGovern's acceptance speech puts himself in the role of an evangelist that is a humanitarian and contrasts that role with the President that is a "destroyer" (Vietnam) that doesn't care about the people. Every effort should be made to show the humanitarian personality of the President. His programs and record of achievement should be shown as being derived from a moral and spiritual commitment to mankind.

An effective way to lay a foundation for the above is to reinstitute Sunday worship services at the White House. Then as we go through the campaign the President's "caring" can flow from his convictions. A spin off of this can be Democrats for Nixon participating in the services, little black and white children, the elderly, etc.

Recommendation

Recommend that Sunday Worship Services be reinstated at the White House from now through the campaign.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

Bailey - Campaign Song.

7/26

Camp Strategy Mtes

Failer, Teeter, Merrill, Maguadan, FM

Mac G, Lukue, Miller

Mac G - gd mtgs in NY, NJ, Phil (al Gadiosa)
Route - but many young people

Teeter - all familiar w/ ballot

data + in very good shape

- Cal a close st + tough for us to carry - people w/

hard attitudes - vote for org/RA

Outcasts in 72 | - 2 types of Tie Spl - hi income, upper mid + 2nd - top blue collar

P's percep - not seen as warm, friendly but it doesn't cost us votes, yet a professional P, statesman, not head of all countries (arts, athletes, etc) like He + TFK

- Increase in P's trust + credibility since War I, due to China + USSR

- Considered competent, way ahead of Mac G; even w/ Mac G on trust

Mac G awareness up but no set implications

His perception will be set in the next 2-3 wks.

Surprising level of negatives in open end on Mac G,

VN, Econ, Inflation - Taxes: major vote deciding issues

People see P handling UN well + Mac G
in meddling position

- want war over + out but
handling up at least 5%

Mac G - How do you relate Wave II results
to Gallup? - Very close netly, telephone poll

Teeter - Gal is accurate + Mac G
will close gap, + yet a
possibl we will win handsily.

Fairer/Cell - 2 to 1 Dems over Rep +
Mac G excellent organization.

FM - Women's Sun Teams - under
Barbara Mac G -

FM - Field people will have some
reluctance to moving into T-S
areas but will do.

P's Rating on UN strong but
dropping fast on Inflation/Econ/Taxes;

① Ed Fairer - Suns - must
sell over Econ stat's, esp
infla / Taxes

② Drugs Is - ratings of P up.

③ Abortion - no more mention

④ Busing - intense where a pd +
no issue generally

⑤ Basic Issue of Change - we are weak



- Teeter must move on Inflation/Taxes and on Change Now, - Keep McG down
- P must do or say something on Inflation + Taxes.
- Keep Elec on major issues, not maj.
- Still need positive theme for Campaign + tie to Hope
- Stress breadth + complexity of issues, Demerising / Covered in Documentaries not there now / Vision, fl by Execution - China - 5 ans Much more than Skilled Tactician

Teeter
will
Price
Need
Destiny Appeal

Accept Spe must be on Hope + Dreams of R.A
 - P's programs don't directly help indie people, use 1st Fam on people as P thinks of "Anitit"
 HH - Hope, Promise + Tomorrow
 Everyone needs Hope, promises needn't be kept + tomorrow never comes.

McG Strategy + Reallocation of Our Resources
 ① assume P has 147 So Sts
 ② McG must move in Farm + ^{Rly} Mtn Sts
 ③ Big 8 Battleground -
 FM → ④ allocating Supplemental Field
 - Budgets to Farm + Rly Mtn Sts.

5²⁰ P → MacG Bee / Ruelle called + very positive

- Must talk all uncertain + hearing that still not 270, so must get some on p. 2.
- FM these p. 2 plus ~~some others~~ are receiving some alloc + possib Direct Mail,
 esp to farmers Iowa, Me, N. D.
- Cal: could spend 7-8 million overall and wonder who cost effective.
- \$1 Natl, \$4 local - advertising

FM - instead of media + direct mail to persuade people makes no sense bec/ those in Farm + Relying sts have people w/ our values. ∴ our \$ in these sts shed light organizing and bec/ that is where MacG must work to win.

TALKING PAPER

McGovern faces a situation unique to Democratic Presidential candidates in recent times--the prospect of a Republican sweep in the South. If that happens, President Nixon thereby starts out with 147 electoral votes.

McGovern must, therefore, cut deeply into the states to win 270 of the remaining 391 electoral votes. His strategy, as outlined in the recent issue of U.S. News and World Report, is to capture all of the states Humphrey won in 1968 except Texas. Based on our data, the probabilities of that might be as follows:

<u>Leaning McGovern</u>		<u>Uncertain</u>		<u>Leaning Nixon</u>	
Massachusetts	14	New York	41	Maryland	10
Minnesota	10	Pennsylvania	27	Connecticut	<u>8</u>
Washington	9	Michigan	21		18
Rhode Island	4	W. Virginia	6		
Hawaii	4	Maine	<u>4</u>		
D. C.	<u>3</u>		99		
	44				

He would target four other large states, which today stand as follows:

<u>Leaning McGovern</u>		<u>Uncertain</u>		<u>Leaning Nixon</u>	
		California	45	Ohio	25
		New Jersey	<u>17</u>	Illinois	<u>26</u>
			62		51

McGovern's remaining target states would be those below (listed according to current situation):

<u>Leaning McGovern</u>		<u>Uncertain</u>		<u>Leaning Nixon</u>	
Missouri	12	North Dakota	3	Iowa	<u>8</u>
Wisconsin	11	Alaska	<u>3</u>		8
Oregon	6		6		
South Dakota	<u>4</u>				
	33				

By the situation in the above states today, it seems certain that McGovern will have to win some other states in order to reach 270 electoral votes. They would have to be in the Rocky Mountain and Midwest areas. Some likely candidates would be:

Nevada	3
Idaho	4
Montana	4
Wyoming	3
Colorado	7
New Mexico	5
Nebraska	5
Kansas	7
	<hr/>
	38



4677

porting the principles of the Democratic Party."

The appointment of Mr. O'Brien, it was explained, does not mean any major change in the roles of the two men who led the successful primary campaign.

Gary Hart will remain as "campaign manager," directing strategy from Washington, D. C., while Frank Mankiewicz will serve as "political director," traveling with Senator McGovern on the campaign trail.

Mr. McGovern also issued a statement of appreciation when Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago—whose delegation was denied seats at the Convention—announced on July 17 that he will support the entire Democratic ticket.

Mayor Daley, however, did not mention Senator McGovern by name, and there is still speculation that Mr. Daley will concentrate his efforts on electing Democrats to local and State offices.

Mr. McGovern has said that he will soon go to Chicago to see Mayor Daley in what an aide called a further attempt "to smooth some ruffled feathers."

Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia has asserted flatly that he will "do everything in my power to bring about the defeat" of Mr. McGovern.

Yet, expressing confidence that such cracks in party unity can be patched, the Senator's staff is going ahead with carefully detailed election plans.

A special effort will be made to win over women voters. Mr. McGovern is reported impressed by a staff study indicating that, more than ever before, women are exercising significant political influence over their husbands.

Women played a major role in the Democratic National Convention. A woman, Mrs. Jean Westwood, has been named Democratic National Chairman. McGovern forces hope these facts will help gain more feminine support.

"Biggest" registration push. The Democrats soon will launch an intensive and costly voter-registration drive in all 50 States.

"This registration drive is a key part of our campaign," said Chairman Westwood. "We're not just going after the young vote. We're going for minorities, the poor and the generally low-vote age group between 21 and 35.

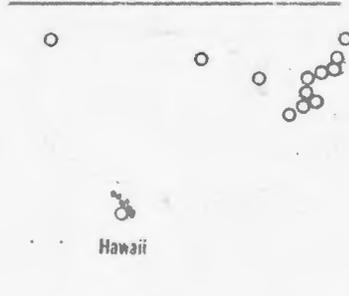
"This is going to benefit not only the Senator but every candidate on the Democratic ticket. It is going to be the biggest voter-registration drive this country has ever seen."

Members of the Senator's staff speculate that the registration movement also will net many older voters who have not gone to the polls in the last two presidential elections—and that many of them will vote Democratic.

(continued on next page)

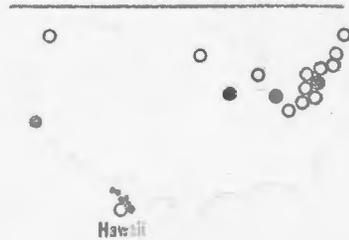
McGOVERN FORMULA FOR '72

COUNT ON ALL THE STATES HUBERT HUMPHREY WON IN 1968 EXCEPT FOR TEXAS—
WITH 161 ELECTORAL VOTES



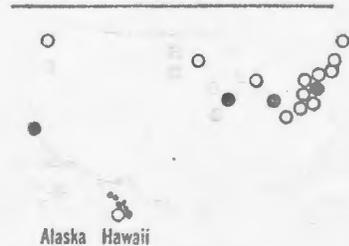
New York	41	Connecticut	8
Pennsylvania	27	West Virginia	6
Michigan	21	Maine	4
Massachusetts	14	Rhode Island	4
Minnesota	10	Hawaii	4
Maryland	10	District of Columbia	3
Washington	9		

GO ALL OUT FOR FOUR OTHER BIG-CITY STATES—
WITH 113 ELECTORAL VOTES



California	45	Ohio	25
Illinois	26	New Jersey	17

WOO AND WIN 7 SMALLER STATES—
WITH 47 ELECTORAL VOTES



Missouri	12	South Dakota	4
Wisconsin	11	North Dakota	3
Iowa	8	Alaska	3
Oregon	6		

TOTAL: 321 votes, 51 more than is needed to win the White House.

As McGovern strategists see it, the Democratic nominee can lose one or two big industrial States and still be elected President—particularly if he can capture some electoral votes in Southern States, none of which is now counted among the potential winners.