

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>
35	3	8/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Brad E. Hainsworth to Harry S. Dent (bcc: H.R. Haldeman). RE: Michigan. This document discusses a list of issues regarding Michigan- the President, Governor, Senate, and the House (and 19 districts). 3 pgs.
35	3	8/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. This document discusses filiming key spokesmen during public speeches. 1 pg.
35	3	8/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Fred Malek to Bob Haldeman. RE: Mexian American Visibility. 2 pgs.
35	3	8/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From H.R. Haldeman to Chuck Colson. RE: Several Odds and Ends. This document covers information and tasks regarding Democrats for Nixon. 1 pg.

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35	3	8/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From H.R. Haldeman to L. Higby. -"We need better intelligence on McGovern's schedule. We don't seem to be getting the information we ought to have." 1 pg.
35	3	8/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Title: Talking Paper- Political Group. (HRH: pm). 1 pg.
35	3	8/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Title: Polical Strategy Memo. 1 pg.
35	3	8/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to the President. RE: Pierre Rinfret. 3 pgs.
35	3	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Marik through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark MacGregor. RE: Sindlinger Poll: "Political Confidence." 2 pgs.

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35	3	7/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Sindlinger's Saturday Report: Political Confidence. "First Choice for President - Among All U.S. Adults." 7 pgs.
35	3	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Marik through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark MacGregor. RE: Farm and Mountain States. 18 pgs.
35	3	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Clark MacGregor to Gordon Strachan. RE: FYI. 1 pg.
35	3	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Clark MacGregor to Jeb Magruder and Fred Malek. This document discusses non-disclosure of information from head to head polls in any state. 1 pg.
35	3	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Clark MacGregor to Fred Malek (cc: Jeb Magruder, Bob Marik, and Pat Hutar). RE: Canvassing. 1 pg.

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35	3	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Clark MacGregor to Fred Marik, Jeb Magruder, Van Shumway, and Al Abrams. This document discusses Clark MacGregor solely taking responsibility for handling of "hostile" reporters. 1 pg.
35	3	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From E.D. Failor through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark MacGregor. RE: McGovern's Credibility as Campaign Issue and Use Thereof. 2 pgs.
35	3	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses and includes a "basic plan for intellectuals for Nixon that Garment worked out." 3 pgs.
35	3	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ed Failor through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark MacGregor. This document discusses a "Letters to the Editor Program" to be set up during the final months of the campaign. 2 pgs.
35	3	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Robert C. Odle through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark Macgregor. RE: Weekly Report. 25 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>
35	3	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Herbert L. Porter through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark MacGregor. RE: Republican Rally - Green Bay, Wisconsin, September 14, 1972. 1 pg.
35	3	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Peter Dailey through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark MacGregor. This document discusses a meeting with the Advertising Advisory Committee and development of ideas for the campaign. 1 pg.
35	3	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Marik to Jeb S. Magruder. RE: The McGovern Campaign. 1 pg.
35	3	8/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Susan A. Davis through Jeb S. Magruder and Robert C. Odle to Clark MacGregor. RE: Grand Opening of the Committee for the Re-election of the President National Storefront Headquarters. 3 pgs.
35	3	8/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Herbert L. Porter through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark Macgregor. RE: Atlantic County Republican Committee Fund-Raiser, Governor Rockefeller, Atlantic City, New Jersey, September 11, 1972, 1 pg.

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35	3	8/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rober C. Odle through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark MacGregor. This document discusses a memo from Steve Bull describing the Presidential gold leaf clover. 1 pg.
35	3	7/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Stepeh Bull to Rob Odle. RE: Gold Four Leaf Clovers. 1 pg.
35	3	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Fred Malek to Dwight Chapin. RE: Proposed Meeting of the President with Women. 1 pg.
35	3	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to David Parker. RE: Surrogate Conference. 1 pg.
35	3	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to David Parker. RE: Presidential Stag Dinners. 7 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>
35	3	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Raymond Caldiero through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark MacGregor. RE: Celebrities. 1 pg.
35	3	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark Magruder. RE: Weekly Report. 10 pgs.
35	3	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Surrogate Services Tour Office Advance School Agenda, July 29-30, Mayflower Hotel-Chinese Room. 4 pgs.
35	3	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Action Memo. This document discusses Clark MacGregor publically praising George Wallace. 1 pg.
35	3	8/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: MacGragors's Alan Emory Luncheon at National Press Club - July 27. 6 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
35	3	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Peter Dailey through Jeb S. Magruder to Clark MacGregor. RE: Democrats for Nixon. 1 pg.
35	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Democrats for Nixon: Advertising Guidelines. 2 pgs.
35	3	8/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Political Action Memorandum. This document discusses the omission of Catholics, ethnics, and "old folks" as targets. 1 pg.
35	3	8/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Al Synder to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses a press conference by John Connally for Democrats for Nixon. 1 pg.
35	3	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Use of "Johnson and Kennedy Administration" in Documents. 1 pg.

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35	3	8/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. - "This history of the Republican Party a 30-40 page booklet to be distributed by the RNC this Fall." 1 pg.
35	3	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From L. Higby to Gordon Strachan. "What is this for?" 1 pg.
35	3	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From John Campbell to Larry Higby. RE: GOP History. 6 pgs.
35	3	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Maurice H. Stans to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Request that the President Speak from California for the Victory '72 Dinner on September 26, 1972. 1 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 316

Folder: Campaign 24 Part II July 29 - Aug. 11, [1972] [1 of 2]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
89	Return Private/Political Memo, Hainsworth to Dent, 8-11-72
90	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Magruder, 8-11-72
91	Return Private/Political Memo, Malek to HRH, 8-11-72
92	Retain Open
93	Retain Open
94	Return Private/Political Memo, HRH to Colson, 8-10-72
95	Return Private/Political Memo, HRH to Higby, 8-10-72
96	Return Private/Political "Talking Paper--Political Group," 8-10-72
97	Return Private/Political "Political Strategy Memo," 8-10-72
98	Retain Open
99	Return Private/Political Memo, Colson to the President, 8-10-72
100	Retain Open
101	Return Private/Political Memo, Marik to MacGregor, 8-9-72
102	Return Private/Political Memo, Marik to MacGregor, 8-9-72
103	Return Private/Political Note, MacGregor to Strachan, 8-7-72
104	Return Private/Political Memo, Failor to MacGregor, 8-7-72
105	Return Private/Political Memo, Higby to HRH, 8-7-72
106	Return Private/Political Memo, Failor to MacGregor, 8-4-72
107	Return Private/Political Memo, Odle to MacGregor, 8-4-72
108	Return Private/Political Memo, Porter to MacGregor, 8-1-71
109	Retain Open
110	Return Private/Political Memo, Dailey to MacGregor, 8-1-72
111	Return Private/Political Memo, Marik to Magruder, 8-3-72
112	Retain Open

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 316

113	Return	Private/Political Memo, Davis to MacGregor, 8-2-72
114	Return	Private/Political Memo, Porter to MacGregor, 8-2-72
115	Return	Private/Political Memo, Odle to MacGregor; 8-2-72
116	Return	Private/Political Memo, Malek to Chapin, 8-4-72
117	Return	Private/Political Memo, Magruder to Parker, 8-1-72
118	Return	Private/Political Memo, Magruder to Parker, 7-28-72
119	Return	Private/Political Memo, Caldiero to MacGregor, 7-28-72
120	Return	Private/Political Memo, Odle to MacGregor, 7-28-72
121	Return	Private/Political Action memo from HRH, 7-26-72
122	Return	Private/Political Memo, Dailey to MacGregor, 7-31-72
123	Return	Private/Political "Political Action Memorandum," 8-7-72
124	Retain	Open
125	Return	Private/Political Memo, Snyder to HRH, 8-11-72
126	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 8-9-72
127	Return	Private/Political Memo, Stans to HRH, 8-8-72

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth
RE: Michigan

- I. The President. The busing issue is of paramount importance and may place the state in the President's camp. State GOP officials are increasingly optimistic.
- II. Governor. No Race.
- III. Senate. Robert Griffin (R) is favored. The Democrat is Attorney General Frank Kelley. This could be a close race and will be affected by the President's showing.
- IV. House.
First District. John Conyers, Jr., (D) should win. The Republican is Howard Johnson, but represents only token opposition.
Second District. Marvin Esch (R) is favored, but this could be a close race. The Democrat is House Floor Leader Marv Stempien.
Third District. Gary Brown (R) should win. The Democrat is Jim Brignoll.
Fourth District. Edward Hutchinson (R) should win. The Democrat is Charles Jameson.

Page Two
Harry S. Dent
August 11, 1972

Fifth District. Gerald Ford (R) should win. The Democrat is Jean McKee.

Sixth District. Charles Chamberlain (R) is favored. The Democrat is Robert Carr.

Seventh District. Donald Riegle (R) should win. The Democrat is Eugene Mattison.

Eighth District. James Harvey (R) should win. The Democrat is Jerome Hart.

Ninth District. Guy Vander Jagt (R) should win. The Democrat is Larry Olsen.

Tenth District. Elford Cederberg (R) should win. The Democrat is Bennie Graves.

Eleventh District. Philip Ruppe (R) should win. The Democrat is James McNamara.

New Twelfth District. James O'Hara (D) is favored. The Republican is David Serotkin.

Thirteenth District. Charles Diggs (D) should win. The Republican is Leonard Edwards.

Fourteenth District. Lucien Nedzi (D) should win. The Republican is Robert McGrath.

Fifteenth District. William Ford (D) should win. The Republican is Earnest Fackler.

Sixteenth District. John Dingell (D) should win. The Republican is William Rostrom.

Page Three
Harry S. Dent
August 11, 1972

Seventeenth District. Martha Griffiths (D) should win.
The Republican is Ralph Judd.

New Eighteenth District. No incumbent. Very close. The
Republican is conservative Robert Huber. The Democrat
is Danny Cooper.

New Nineteenth District. William Broomfield (R) won the
primary over Jack McDonald and should win. The Democrat
is George Montgomery.

V. Issues. Busing is the big issues and could turn the 12th
and 18th Districts Republican. Unemployment is high and
will hurt. Vietnam is not a strong issue.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Pursuant to our conversation, would you set up a mechanism to record all public utterances of any of our key spokesmen, i.e., MacGregor, etc., and that we always are sure we get a film taken by our film crew whenever Connally is doing a public appearance. It is frankly unforgiveable that we failed to get the film coverage of the Connally Democratic announcement.

Bob would like a specific plan in from you on how we are going to be doing this by August 16th.

Also, note Bob's comments on Lesser's August 10 memorandum.

GS/jb

Committee for the Re-election of the President

To
H
8/11

MEMORANDUM

August 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB HALDEMAN

FROM:

FRED MALEK *FM*

SUBJECT:

Mexican American Visibility

In response to your inquiry, Mexican Americans are playing highly visible roles in the campaign organization. As you know, the Spanish Speaking group is one of our most important voter blocs, and it is prominently staffed with highly competent, politically experienced Mexican Americans, including:

- Alex Armendariz, the Director, who has extensive political experience, including acting as a consultant and manager in several Congressional campaigns, notably those of Jack Nevius, Jack Kemp, and Buz Lukens. Alex is originally from Chicago.
- David Florence, the Western Field Director, who came to us highly recommended by Governor Reagan's staff. Dave had worked in the Governor's campaign, and as Assistant Deputy Director of the California Department of Human Resources before he joined the Committee.
- Sylvia Garcia, the Southwestern Field Representative, who was a Manpower Specialist with the Department of Labor in Dallas. She is young, articulate, and comes from an influential Texas Mexican American family. She worked in the Bush campaign, among others.

In addition to the 1701 staff itself, Mexican Americans in the Executive Branch and the White House figure prominently in campaign activities. Henry Ramirez of the Cabinet Committee, Tony Rodriguez of Colson's staff, and Carlos Conde of Klein's staff are all consulted by Armendariz and myself on important political decisions affecting Mexican Americans.

Perhaps the most visible area of Mexican American activity between now and November will be in the Spanish Speaking surrogate program developed by 1701 and the White House. We intend to have all prominent Administration Mexican Americans -- Banuelos, Ramirez, and many others -- out speaking on behalf of the President in key Mexican American communities with particular emphasis on Texas, California, and Illinois.

In addition, Armendariz is in the process of forming a national advisory committee of Spanish Speaking Americans for the Re-Election, which will be predominantly composed of prominent Mexican Americans. Moreover, Mexican American Democrats will be included both within the John Connally structure (Al Ortega, a Los Angeles public official, is a Co-Chairman of Democrats for Nixon) and outside of it, if they choose -- last week a group of Mexican American Democrats led by a respected Texas judge (Hernandez) announced their support for the President in a widely publicized press conference.

* * * * *

In summary, we are aware of the importance of the Mexican American vote, and are giving Mexican Americans highly visible roles in the campaign structure.

August 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : CHUCK COLSON
FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN

Several odds and ends.

1. We need to get a mailer out fast to 100,000 Democrats - labor leaders, mayors, legislators, and so forth, of the Connally statement that he gave in announcing the Democrats for Nixon.
2. The President says he has covered with you, the need to set up for publicity purposes, Democratic Lawyers for Nixon, Democratic Mayors for Nixon, Democratic State Legislators for Nixon, Democratic Women for Nixon, Democratic Youth for Nixon, etc., as a way to make new stories on Democrats from day to day.
3. I assume we are taking some action on the Washington Post headline regarding the Connally announcement.
4. Regarding gun control, you or someone should call in the sportsmen, Hruska, and so forth, covering all the states where it matters, get them to take the strongest possible McGovern statement and hang him on it, the same as we beat Tydings in Maryland. We should not be for outlawing hand-guns, we should be standing up for the right to own guns for self-protection.

HRH:pm

August 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

L. HIGBY

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

We need better intelligence on McGovern's schedule. We don't seem to be getting the information we ought to have.

HRH:pm

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TALKING PAPER - POLITICAL GROUP

What is our answer to McGovern's line that "I pledge a job for every American"?

How do we answer that, or do we ignore it? Or, do we attack him on the basis that whatever he does to handle that is going to raise taxes for everybody else.

HRH:pm

8/10/72

POLITICAL STRATEGY MEMO

The memos analyzing our political strategy don't focus hard enough on the one simple point, or the few simple points that we need to ram home over and over.

On the positive basis, we need to make the point of the new world, the man of peace, and reform at home.

On the negative side, we need to make the point that McGovern is dangerous to peace abroad, he's dangerous to peace at home, and he's dangerous to your pocketbook.

The best issue we've got for conservative Democrats is the court appointments.

We should suggest to surrogates, a good line which is that the principles that have involved the United States in Vietnam under four Presidents are as valid today as when the first U. S. soldiers set foot on Vietnamese soil. This line has been used very successfully by the Vice President.

HRH :pm

8/10/72

August 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Pierre Rinfret

In response to your memo of August 9 regarding Pierre Rinfret, I met with Rinfret yesterday to discuss not only the attitudes of business and financial writers he has encountered, but also his own involvement in our campaign.

Rinfret is very much out of sorts with us at the moment I think, justifiably so. A month ago MacGregor and I met with Rinfret and agreed that he would be a "principal economic spokesman" for the campaign. MacGregor and I had been very much impressed with some of the brilliant and well publicized attacks that Rinfret had made on McGovern. We agreed that he would be something of a one-man truth squad. He in turn asked for involvement in the Platform process and some recognition publicly that he was acting as an adviser to the Administration and the campaign apparatus.

In accord with our agreement, we released a story that Rinfret would be prominent for us in the campaign. Stein, Flanigan, and Shultz immediately raised very strenuous objections. As a result, while Rinfret has been flitting around the country attacking McGovern, MacGregor and I have been unable to keep our part of the agreement. He is not involved in the Platform process. We have not scheduled the photo with you which Rinfret requested and instead of his being a one man truth squad, he has been asked to join a committee of 15 prominent economists.

Rinfret is well aware that our in-house economists have vetoed his role in the campaign. He has discussed it with Connally twice.

Connally is very disturbed at the way in which Stein, Flanigan et al have reacted to Rinfret and believes we are making a very serious error. Connally describes Rinfret as one of the most "gifted and articulate" spokesmen in the country. He believes that Rinfret should be brought in, stroked often and kept out front as the "principal economic spokesman" attacking McGovern. Connally, as you may know, is very high on Rinfret and his ability.

Based on my discussion with Rinfret yesterday, I think we may be able to satisfy him at least for a while by simply bringing him in for a photo with you. We cannot use him in the Platform process because of Stein's objections. I think perhaps if Rinfret has one meeting with you and a photo, he is enough of a self-promoter to carry it from that point by himself. He is perfectly agreeable to going anywhere in the country, talking to editorial boards, speaking to groups, attacking McGovern, going on TV, etc., but at the moment his feelings are badly bruised and, hence Connally and I believe that a meeting with you at this time is quite important. Beyond that, I will simply try to keep our own people calm while Rinfret goes out front for us.

August 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : CHUCK COLSON

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Pierre Rinfret has written me a note expressing his great concern after talking to the business and financial writers group in New York, that the majority of them are strongly pro-McGovern. This is no surprise to me because I have read the wire service reports and the stock market on CPI releases, etc., and it is very clear that the writers lean to McGovern and are trying to do us in on every opportunity.

What can be done to handle this problem, of course, is questionable. In any event, it might be well to get Rinfret to come down and talk with Haldeman, Ehrlichman and you on this matter. He may have some ideas that would be useful. Under no circumstances have Flanigan or Stein sit in on such a meeting. They don't hit it off with Rinfret because he is not one of the establishment economists, and it would only irritate him to have them there.

cc: John Ehrlichman
H.R. Haldeman

4 2 0

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 9, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: BOB MARIK

SUBJECT: Sindlinger Poll: "Political Confidence"

The Sindlinger publication, "Political Confidence" of July 22, contains a piece of data which may have profound significance for the President's campaign. As you may know, Sindlinger operates a continuous daily national poll, by telephone, principally to provide clients with current information on the state of the economy. He adds questions relating to national politics during each Presidential year. In the past three elections, he has been able to demonstrate that his turnout projections (people who indicate an intention of voting) have been within 2.5 percent of the actual vote total.

In his current report, Sindlinger shows that the President now enjoys a 23-point lead among all adults 18 years and older. The actual figures are 50.2% for Nixon, 27.1% for McGovern and 22.7% undecided. If all eligible adults voted, the turnout would be in excess of 136 million votes, which clearly will not happen. Therefore, Sindlinger next asked if each respondent planned to vote in November. He found that 55.7% of the total sample did plan to vote. That translates into a turnout of about 76 million, which is not much higher than 1968, despite the addition of the 18-year old vote.

The interesting point is that, of McGovern's support in the total population, 90.7 percent intend to vote. By contrast, only 58.8 percent of the President's supporters in the total population intend to vote. Thus, among those who say they will vote, the President's lead is only 8.9%--53.0% to 44.1%, with 2.9% undecided.

To put it another way, when the sample is projected to the total population, only 3,470,000 of McGovern's supporters plan to stay home, but 28,164,000 of the President's supporters plan not to vote.

CONFIDENTIAL

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In normal years, the conventional wisdom is that those who do not participate in the electoral process tend not to favor the Republican candidate. This year, it may be different. The data certainly indicates that we are on the right track with a massive effort to canvass the voters door-to-door and by telephone, to register our favorables, and to get out our vote on Election Day. It also indicates that we are tremendously vulnerable to a catastrophe because of over-complacency on the part of our supporters.

cc: Bob Teeter
Arthur Finkelstein

CONFIDENTIAL

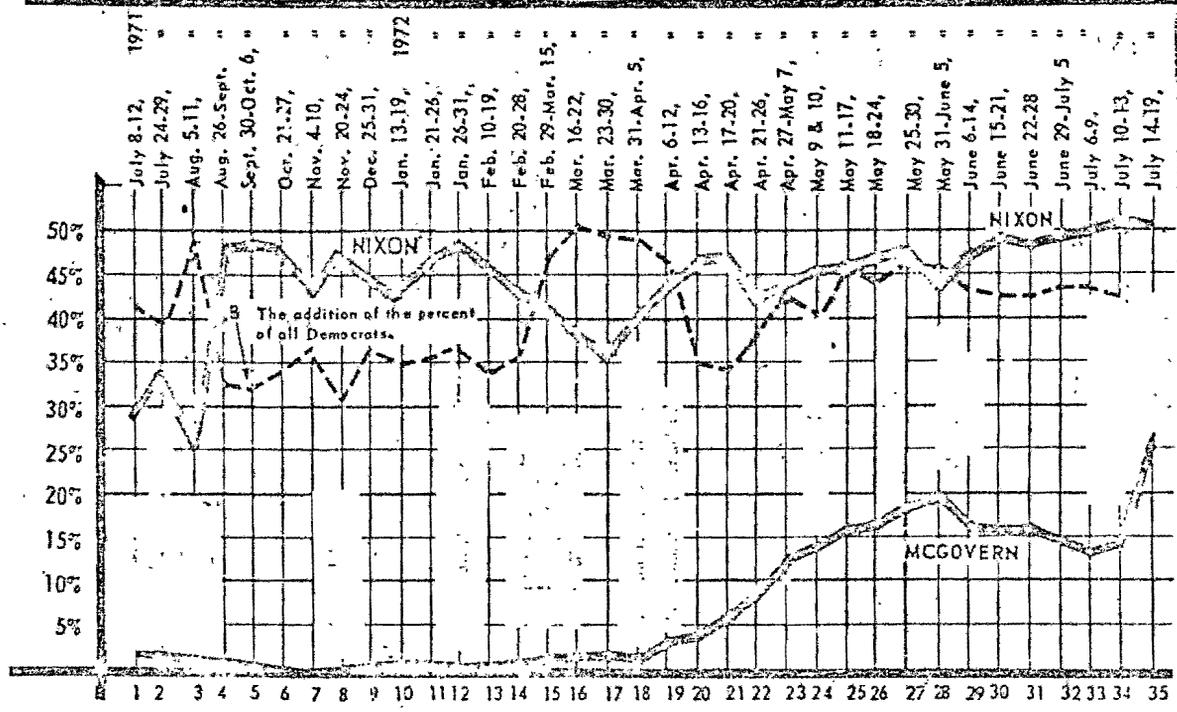


SINDLINGER'S SATURDAY REPORT
 POLITICAL COMMENT
 July 22, 1972
 SPC #14

Harvard & Yale Avenues, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 19081 215/544-8260

Since February 10th of this year, all nationwide interviewing for this series is on a continuous and daily basis. Since July 14th, TALK ABOUT POLITICS data are tabulated on a daily basis---see next week's report.

First Choice For President — Among All U.S. Adults



For the first 31 surveys, as shown by the above dates, these data are based upon our open-end First Choice For President question.

For the 32 surveys and all surveys from now to election eve, the McGovern data are a 100% dimension in 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.

The concept, purpose, methods, techniques, procedures and questioning techniques utilized by Sindlinger & Company for this Saturday series and for all basic weekly economic reports, differ in many ways from others who are in the business of attitudes and opinion research.

Those differences (one at a time), will be outlined in future issues of this series. This is the fourteenth report in this series for which the questioning procedure is changed.

Therefore, let us now discuss the question sequence which we have developed over the years.

PRE-CONVENTION QUESTIONS

For the first 13 reports in this series, all data were based upon this question approach---

On First Choice for President

During our third presidential year study in 1956, when we were developing our Economic Service (with weekly reporting since July 1957) we conceived this two part question:

1. *If the Presidential election were being held today -- would you, yourself, vote for the re-election of President (name)?*
2. *If the Presidential election were being held today -- who would be your number one first choice -- to be elected as President -- that is, who would you name right now as your first choice to be the next President?*

Prior to the conventions in 1956, Eisenhower was president and our studies showed that Stevenson was the first choice as the contender. The above question was designed to get a yes/no popularity response to the incumbent and to elicit open-end responses for all candidates in the field.

The historical responses to the above yes/no question for select periods in time, are as follows:

		<u>WOULD VOTE FOR INCUMBENT</u>			<u>INCUMBENT</u>
		<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>NO OPINION</u>	<u>WAS</u>
June	1956	52.4%	39.1%	8.5%	Eisenhower
June	1960*	31.7	35.9	32.4	*
June	1964	48.6	36.7	14.7	Johnson
Jan. 24-31	1968**	35.9	44.2	19.9	**
Apr. 23-25	" ***	10.5	52.6	36.9	***
July 8-12	1971	26.7	32.7	40.6	Nixon
Aug. 5-11	"	26.2	42.6	31.2	"
Sep. 30-Oct. 6	"	49.3	18.1	32.6	"
Jan. 26-31	1972	50.6	16.7	32.7	"
Apr. 21-26	"	43.7	37.8	18.5	"
June 29-July 5	"	49.2	32.4	18.4	"
July 10-13	"	54.2	31.0	14.8	"

*In 1956 and 1960, Eisenhower was the incumbent president and was not running for re-election in 1960, but as the above shows, his negative popularity in 1960 was less than for 1956.

In 1960 the question was. . . *If Eisenhower were running. . .*

**In 1968 the January 24-31 study was prior to his "will not run" and he had a record 44.2 percent negative response.

***For April 23-25, 1968, the question was. . . *If Johnson were running. . .*

NIXON MOVES FROM A RECORD LOW TO A RECORD HIGH IN ONE YEAR

As the 1971 yes/no response shows, President Nixon held a record low yes during 1971 prior to the August 15th Wage-Price Freeze, and rebounded by the end of September.

Current, (July 10-13) President Nixon's yes/no ratio is even stronger than the previous Eisenhower high in 1956.

The preceding popularity question sequence is utilized between elections, at least once each quarter or when national or international events dictate.

SECOND PRE-CONVENTION QUESTION SEQUENCE

During presidential election years, prior to the nominating conventions --- we use our Think Will Be Nominated vs. Self Want To Be Nominated question sequence. These data were discussed fully in our last Saturday report in this series.

POST NOMINATION QUESTION SEQUENCE

Prior to the 1956 Stevenson/Eisenhower presidential election, when nationwide interviewing was being utilized to establish our Consumer Economic Service --- we developed, for political studies, what we call our dimension question sequence.

1/2 DIMENSION #1. . . WHO SELF MOST WANT AS PRESIDENT

All adults (18 and older) are first consumers. But all consumers do not vote. Since there is an interrelationship between politics and economics --- the first dimension for political analysis is to determine the self choice for president among all U.S. consumers. Thus, our self choice for president is asked of our total sample and the response is projected to all U.S. adult consumers.

Sindlinger is the only political research company which presents projected numbers for all sample data. The reason for this will be discussed in later reports in this series.

With sample projections, two things are accomplished. First, projections can be checked with known facts. Second, the projections add meaning to the percent figures. Thus, all data (male and female) are projected to the total population 18 years and older as sampled.

2 DIMENSION #2. . . WHO THINK OTHERS WANT

On the basis that some people influence other people on their political decisions --- such as to vote or not to vote. . . and who to vote for or not. . . this dimension is included to reflect the direction of word of mouth or talk about. Since adults (consumers) tend to associate more with their own kind rather than opposites --- this dimension is to determine to what degree the self want parallels or differs from the want of friends or associates.

◆ DIMENSION #3 . . . WHO THINK WILL ACTUALLY BE ELECTED

This dimension is a measurement of overall consensus -- reflecting:

- a) the various political poll standings.
- b) talk about among friends (dimension #2).
- c) and, when compared to dimension #1, whether or not the self choice is in harmony with the consensus opinion.

▶ DIMENSION #4 . . . PLAN TO VOTE AND WHO SELF WANT FOR PRESIDENT

This dimension has these multi-purposes:

- First*, to estimate the size of the vote from week to week.
- Second*, to cross tabulate the first three dimensions with this dimension.
- Third*, such cross tabulations tend to provide insight about the direction of the no opinions.

For example:

Here is how the above cross tabulation looked in previous elections based upon nationwide interviewing the week prior to each election.

Dimension #4	Dimension 1.		Dimension 3.		Actual Vote	
	%	Number (000)	%	Number (000)	%	Number (000)
Plan To Vote in 1960	100.0	70,412	100.0	70,412	100.0	68,838
Kennedy	38.3	27,001	46.3	32,614	49.7	34,227
Nixon	38.9	27,388	45.6	32,101	49.5	34,108
No Opinion*	22.8	16,023	8.1	5,697		
Plan To Vote in 1964	100.0	72,141	100.0	72,141	100.0	70,644
Johnson	47.3	34,104	55.2	39,797	61.1	43,130
Goldwater	38.2	27,577	38.0	27,434	38.5	27,178
No Opinion*	14.5	10,460	6.8	4,910		
Plan To Vote in 1968	100.0	75,096	100.0	75,096	100.0	73,212
Wallace	11.4	8,581	14.0	10,512	13.9	10,152
Nixon	41.7	31,319	42.5	31,914	43.4	31,785
Humphrey	41.9	31,462	41.7	31,292	42.7	31,275
No Opinion*	5.0	3,734	1.8	1,378		

*Includes undecided and refused.

From the preceding table, these observations are made:

- ▷ . . .In 1960, the actual vote was under our estimate by 1,574,000 or under by 2.2 percent.
 - ▷ . . .In 1964, the actual vote was under our estimate by 1,497,000 or under by 2.1 percent.
 - ▷ . . .In 1968, the actual vote was under our estimate by 1,884,000 or under by 2.5 percent.
- Thus, it would appear that actual voting tends to run about 2.3 percent under the plans of our sampling.
- ▷ . . .In 1960, our data was so close that to predict the election was impossible -- on Self Want, Nixon lead by only 387,000. On Who Will Be Elected, Kennedy lead by only 513,000.
 - ▷ . . .In 1964, as we stated in our reports, the day before the election -- anyone, with any kind of poll, would predict Johnson. Why change horses when everyone had it so good. . . was the conclusion of our sampling.
 - ▷ . . .In 1968, the race between Nixon and Humphrey was so close (as in 1960) that to predict the election was folly. As the preceding shows, on Self Want, Humphrey lead Nixon by only 143,000. And on Who Will Be Elected, Nixon lead Humphrey by 622,000.

The key factor in any political survey is to determine which direction the undecided vote is likely to go. With the first four dimensions of our concept cross-tabulated as shown on left page, one can observe the change in direction of the no opinion. Note how close the actual 1968 election was to the projection of "Who Will Win" among those who "Planned to Vote".

* A FIFTH DIMENSION FOR 1968

For our 1968 political interviewing (when we issued daily reports) we added a fifth dimension to our question sequence, to try to determine what the Wallace potential would actually do on election day. . . as our undecided vote was running so high.

This fifth dimension was to ask those who plan to vote -- who they planned to vote for (and why) in addition to their self want (Dimension #1).

To show the trend of these five dimensions just prior to the 1968 election, we reproduce here a page from our November 5th, 1968 daily report.

FLASH! ELECTION EVE FROM 4 P.M. TO MIDNIGHT

REPORTING CURRENT OPINIONS WHILE THE OPINIONS ARE CURRENT



Sindlinger's Daily Survey

FOR TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1968 Report #468-B

Content: See Other Side for Total, Male & Female Tabulations & Projections.

Here we report our nation-wide interviews from 4 P.M. to midnight on election eve. The table shows the summary for the past eight continuous report periods. We have conducted several special studies which will follow. . . . Influence of Polls on Voters and Influence of Broadcast Election News on West Coast. Detail data on all studies will follow.

TREND IN FIVE-DIMENSIONS BASED UPON SINDLINGER'S DAILY INTERVIEWING SINCE OCTOBER 13TH - TOTAL OF 11,137 NATIONWIDE INTERVIEWS

REPORT PERIOD.....	After Bombing Halt				Prior To Bombing Halt			
	ELECTION EVE #468-B NOV. 5-4 TO 4PM	DAY PRIOR #465 NOV. 4-3 TO 4PM	2-DAYS PRIOR #464-A NOV. 3-2	4-DAYS PRIOR #462-A OCT. 29-30-31	7-DAYS PRIOR #458 OCT. 25-28	12-DAYS PRIOR #455 OCT. 22-24	2-WEEKS PRIOR #452 OCT. 17-21	3-WEEKS PRIOR #447 OCT. 13-16
Interviewing Dates.....	NOV. 5-4 TO 4PM	NOV. 4-3 TO 4PM	NOV. 3-2	OCT. 29-30-31	OCT. 25-28	OCT. 22-24	OCT. 17-21	OCT. 13-16
Sample Size.....	812	1,134	1,013	1,041	1,241	1,539	2,414	1,939
Dimension 1. Self-Choice:								
1. Wallace.....	8.5%	11.5%	13.5%	14.1%	13.8%	13.5%	15.6%	16.7%
2. Nixon.....	40.2	35.9	33.7	38.7	39.5	38.8	36.3	33.8
3. Humphrey.....	41.0	36.7	34.1	35.7	34.1	32.5	33.6	31.4
4. None of Three.....	0.9	3.1	5.9	5.9	4.7	4.3	3.5	3.1
5. No Opinion.....	9.4	12.8	12.8	5.8	7.9	10.9	11.0	15.0
Dimension 2. Others Want:								
1. Wallace.....	5.1%	7.8%	7.9%	10.0%	10.5%	9.7%	10.6%	13.9%
2. Nixon.....	41.2	42.0	42.9	43.9	45.9	49.6	47.8	45.5
3. Humphrey.....	38.9	37.0	37.5	35.8	32.4	30.1	27.5	21.3
4. No Opinion.....	14.8	13.2	11.7	10.3	11.5	10.5	14.1	19.3
Dimension 3. Will Be Elected:								
1. Wallace.....	1.8%	3.2%	2.9%	4.3%	4.3%	3.5%	4.0%	5.7%
2. Nixon.....	48.8	49.2	48.0	48.4	45.5	52.6	53.3	48.4
3. Humphrey.....	40.8	38.8	38.7	36.2	34.7	32.7	30.2	23.7
4. No Opinion.....	10.8	8.8	10.4	11.1	12.5	11.0	12.5	22.2
Dimension 4. Plan to Vote & Self-Choice:								
1. Wallace.....	11.4%	13.7%	13.9%	13.5%	12.8%	12.5%	13.4%	17.7%
2. Nixon.....	41.7	38.8	37.8	40.4	42.2	41.8	40.9	38.6
3. Humphrey.....	41.9	41.1	38.9	35.7	34.9	33.2	31.2	27.7
4. None of Three.....	1.5	1.7	4.3	4.8	2.0	1.4	2.0	4.6
5. Undecided.....	.4	4.7	5.1	5.6	8.1	11.1	12.8	13.4
Dimension 5. Plan to Vote & Who Plan to Vote For:								
1. Wallace.....	11.8%	13.8%	14.1%	11.8%	12.3%	11.1%	10.4%	11.2%
2. Nixon.....	37.1	34.1	33.8	36.4	36.8	36.8	38.1	40.1
3. Humphrey.....	40.2	35.6	37.4	33.8	33.5	32.9	31.0	29.6
4. Other Than.....	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.9
5. Refused To State.....	7.1	6.9	8.6	6.3	3.2	1.2	0.5	--
6. Undecided.....	2.9	8.6	9.9	10.7	12.9	14.9	19.4	19.2

The above is a reprint of our daily report for election day 1968, based upon election eve nationwide interviewing. Data for the five 1968 dimensions for eight periods of time are identified above.

1968 ELECTION EVE STUDY

In 1968, from 4 P.M. to Midnight EDT --- with the last 3 hours devoted to the West Coast --- we conducted a nationwide study among a sample of 812 respondents on election eve, November 4th, with the five dimension question sequence.

The computer print-out for the election eve study is shown on the following page.

Note the following from the page at left:

...On Dimension #1 --- Self Want Among all adults, Humphrey was a 0.8 point favorite on election eve.

On Self Want or Self Choice, Nixon had a 3 point lead over Humphrey 4 days prior to the election. . .12 days prior the lead was 6.3 points on election eve, the no opinion and none of these was still over 10 percent.

...On Dimension #2 --- Who Others Want among all adults, Nixon was a 2.3 point favorite on election eve.

On Who Others Want, 3 weeks prior to the 1968 election, Nixon had a 24.2 point lead over Humphrey --- by election eve this lead was cut to 2.3 points. Note the high level of no opinion for all periods in time.

...On Dimension #3 --- Who Think Will Be Elected among all adults, Nixon was an overwhelming 6 point leader on election eve.

On Who Will Be Elected, Wallace never made a strong showing. 3 weeks prior, Nixon's lead over Humphrey was 24.7 points.

Throughout the entire 1968 election campaign almost half of the total adult population of voting age (116.6-million) thought Nixon would be elected. Humphrey moved up from 23.7 percent on this dimension 3 weeks prior to 40.8 percent on election eve.

During this period the no opinion dropped from 22.2 percent to 10.8 percent. . .over fifty percent.

...On Dimension #4 --- among adults who planned to vote (over 75-million) Nixon and Humphrey were tied on election eve.

Among adults who planned to vote their Self Choice, 3 weeks prior to the election Nixon held a 8.9 point lead over Humphrey. 7 days prior, this lead was cut to 7.3 points.

4 days prior, Nixon's lead over Humphrey was 4.7 points. . .with Wallace at 13.5 percent and the undecided were over 10 percent, on the 1st and 2nd of November, Wallace had about the same share --- there was little change in the no opinion --- but Humphrey had a 1.1 point lead over Nixon.

* ...On Dimension #5, our refused was over 7 percent and the undecided was about 3 percent on election eve (total about 10%) yet on Dimension #4, the undecided and refused was under 5 percent on election eve.

On this dimension the signal was alerted that the election turn out would be lower than the 75,096,000 that was being projected. We will discuss this point more fully in a later report.

APPENDIX A Sindlinger's Daily Survey Report #468-B

SUMMARY OF FIVE DIMENSIONS - BY SEX... 1968 PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE - WALLACE vs. NIXON vs. HUMPHREY
SINDLINGER & COMPANY POLITICAL CONCERNS #468-B FOR TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5TH
MONDAY FROM 4 P.M. TO MIDNIGHT-NOVEMBER 4, 1968 NATION-WIDE INTERVIEWING

TABLE I REPORT #468-B - NOV. 5TH	MALE			FEMALE					
	SAMPLE	TOTAL %	PROJ-000	SAMPLE	MALE %	PROJ-000	SAMPLE	FEMALE %	PROJ-000
MALE - ADULTS OF VOTING AGE	812	100.0	116607	395	100.0	56308	417	100.0	60299
1. WHO SELF MOST WANT TO SEE ELECTED PRESIDENT IF ELECTION WERE HELD TODAY									
1. WALLACE	89	8.5	9897	39	9.9	5554	30	7.2	4336
2. NIXON	326	40.2	46826	152	38.5	21668	174	41.7	25160
3. HUMPHREY	333	41.0	47836	154	39.0	21853	179	42.9	25883
4. NONE OF THREE	7	0.9	1004	4	1.0	570	3	0.7	436
5. NO OPINION	77	9.5	11040	46	11.6	6557	31	7.4	4483
2. WHO THINK MOST OTHER PEOPLE WANT AS THEIR NEXT PRESIDENT									
1. WALLACE	41	5.1	5689	19	4.8	2708	22	5.3	3181
2. NIXON	335	41.2	48100	166	42.0	23663	169	40.5	24437
3. HUMPHREY	316	38.9	45388	152	38.5	21668	164	39.3	23714
4. NO OPINION	120	14.8	17233	58	14.7	8268	62	14.9	8965
3. WHO THINK WILL ACTUALLY BE ELECTED IN NOVEMBER									
1. WALLACE	13	1.6	1863	8	2.0	1140	5	1.2	723
2. NIXON	380	46.8	54549	195	49.4	27798	185	44.4	26791
3. HUMPHREY	331	40.8	47538	158	40.3	22666	172	41.2	24872
4. NO OPINION	88	10.9	12697	33	8.4	4704	55	13.2	7953
PLAN TO VOTE IN NOVEMBER	523	100.0	75096	259	100.0	38921	264	100.0	38175
4. WHO SELF MOST WANT TO SEE ELECTED PRESIDENT IF ELECTION WERE HELD TODAY AMONG ADULTS WHO ARE REGISTERED PLAN TO VOTE IN NOVEMBER									
1. WALLACE	60	11.4	8581	46	17.8	6957	14	5.3	2024
2. NIXON	218	41.7	31319	99	38.2	14112	119	45.1	17207
3. HUMPHREY	219	41.9	31462	100	38.6	14255	119	45.1	17207
4. NONE OF THREE	8	1.5	1188	4	1.5	570	4	1.5	578
5. UNDECIDED	18	3.4	2583	10	3.9	1426	8	3.0	1177
5. WHO SELF PLAN TO VOTE FOR PRESIDENT AMONG ADULTS WHO ARE REGISTERED PLAN TO VOTE IN NOVEMBER									
1. WALLACE	61	11.6	8730	44	17.0	6272	17	6.4	2458
2. NIXON	194	37.1	27862	93	35.9	13257	101	38.3	14605
3. HUMPHREY	210	40.2	30178	92	35.5	13115	118	44.7	17063
4. OTHER THAN	6	1.1	862	3	1.2	428	3	1.1	434
5. REFUSED TO STATE	37	7.1	5311	19	7.3	2708	18	6.8	2603
6. UNDECIDED	15	2.9	2152	8	3.1	1140	7	2.7	1012

This is the computer print-out that was released to the press at 2 a.m. on Tuesday, November 5 on election day 1968.

Note this identification \triangleright from dimension #4... the absolute tie among females, and the one person male sample difference. Here is how this dimension checked with the actual election.

	1968 Election Eve National Interviewing	Actual Vote	Difference
Total Plan to Vote Self Choice was	100.0% = 75,096,000	73,212,000	- 1,884,000
Wallace	11.4 8,581,000	10,152,000*	+1,571,000
Nixon	41.7 31,319,000	31,785,000	+ 466,000
Humphrey	41.9 31,462,000	31,275,000	- 187,000
Undecided	5.0 3,734,000	*and other.	

216 The above suggests that about half of the undecided went to Wallace, and the other did not vote.

POLITICAL CONFIDENCE
SINDLINGER & COMPANY, INC.
1972 ELECTION SURVEY #35
NATION-WIDE INTERVIEWING

THE FIRST 6 DAYS FOLLOWING THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

FRIDAY, JULY 14 THROUGH WEDNESDAY, JULY 19 --- FIRST SIX DAYS FOLLOWING DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

TABLE I WEEK #895	TOTAL			MALE			FEMALE		
	Sample	%	Proj.	Sample	%	Proj.	Sample	%	Proj.
BASE -- TOTAL SAMPLE ALL ADULTS 18 YEARS & OLDER	1890	100.0	136,329	881	100.0	65,721	1009	100.0	70,608
SELECT RESPONSE									
Question 7 Speaking for yourself---do you want McGovern or Nixon to be elected in November?									
				Dimension #1.					
1. McGovern	512	27.1	36,965	235	26.7	17,548	277	27.5	19,417
2. Nixon	947	50.2	68,437	468	53.1	34,898	479	47.5	33,539
3. Undecided	296	15.5	21,166	105	11.9	7,821	191	18.9	13,345
4. Refused/No Opinion	135	7.2	9,761	73	8.3	5,454	62	6.1	4,307
Question 10 Do you, yourself, now plan to vote in November?									
				Dimension #5.					
1. Yes	1053	55.7	75,991	493	56.0	36,804	560	55.5	39,187
2. No	539	28.4	38,718	225	25.5	16,759	314	31.1	21,959
3. Don't Know/Undecided	159	8.4	11,515	88	10.0	6,572	71	7.0	4,943
4. Refused/No Opinion	139	7.5	10,105	75	8.5	5,586	64	6.4	4,519
Base -- Plan to Vote In November	1053	100.0	75,991	493	100.0	36,804	560	100.0	39,187
Question 10A Plan To Vote For									
1. McGovern	464	44.1	33,495	221	44.8	16,488	243	43.4	17,007
2. Nixon	558	53.0	40,273	262	53.1	19,543	296	52.9	20,730
3. Undecided	25	2.3	1,774	6	1.2	442	19	3.4	1,332
4. Refused/No Opinion	6	0.6	449	4	0.9	331	2	0.3	118

THE 1972 POST CONVENTION CONTINUOUS STUDY

Starting with all nationwide interviewing on Friday, July 14, following the Democratic convention -- the five dimension sequences previously outlined was added to all nationwide interviewing for 1972 Study #35 and a sixth and seventh dimension were added, which will be explained later.

For this report, the above computer print-out (by sex) shows Dimension #1 on Self Choice among all adults. Since this question is very comparable to our First Choice for President data, Survey #35 responses are added to the chart on the first page.

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIMENSION #1

Aside from the fact that Nixon has such an overwhelming lead of 23.1 points over McGovern on Self Choice, the most significant fact is the low level of undecided and no opinion (total 22.7%) at such an early stage of the campaign. In previous years at this stage, this figure is usually over one third.

PLAN TO VOTE BY WHO WANT ELECTED

FRIDAY, JULY 14 THROUGH
WEDNESDAY, JULY 19 ---
FIRST SIX DAYS FOLLOWING
DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

TABLE 2 WEEK #895	TOTAL			MALE			FEMALE		
	Sample	%	Proj.	Sample	%	Proj.	Sample	%	Proj.
BASE -- WANT MCGOVERN ELECTED.....	512	100.0	36,914	235	100.0	17,530	277	100.0	19,384
A. Plan to Vote for McGovern.....	464	90.7	33,477	221	94.0	16,478	243	87.7	16,999
B. Do not plan to vote.....	20	3.9	1,445	6	2.6	456	14	5.1	989
C. Undecided on Plan to vote..	28	5.4	1,992	8	3.4	596	20	7.2	1,396
Base -- Want Nixon Elected....	947	100.0	68,432	468	100.0	34,912	479	100.0	33,520
A. Plan to Vote for Nixon.....	558	58.8	40,266	262	56.0	19,551	296	61.8	20,715
B. Do not plan to Vote.....	279	29.6	20,244	157	33.5	11,696	122	25.5	8,548
C. Undecided on plan to Vote.	110	11.6	7,922	49	10.5	3,665	61	12.7	4,257

Add 000 To All Projections.

SIGNIFICANCE OF LOW PLAN TO VOTE

For this report, the above computer print-out suggests that about 76-million now plan to vote in November — this is about the same figure for election eve of 1968. Considering the growth of population of the past four years and the fact that 18 years is now the voting age — the voter potential is very much greater now than years ago. These data will be reported next Saturday in this series.

MCGOVERN VS. NIXON AMONG PLAN TO VOTE

Based upon the first six days following the Democratic Convention, with about 76-million planning to vote — their voter preference is:

44.1% or 33,495,000 for McGovern
53.0% or 40,273,000 for Nixon
only 2.9% or 2,223,000 are undecided

This is the lowest undecided level for this question since 1956. In 1948, the undecided was 10.0% on election eve.

WANT ELECTED AND PLAN TO VOTE

The Computer print-out above presents a most significant fact.

Among the 36.9-million Who Want McGovern elected
90.7% or 33.5-million say they plan to vote for McGovern

Among the 68.4-million Who Want Nixon elected
only 58.8% or 40.3-million say they plan to vote for Nixon.

29.6% or 20.3-million say they do not now plan to vote.

FEE SCHEDULE FOR SINDLINGER'S SATURDAY POLITICAL CONFIDENCE SERIES

FOR CONSUMER ECONOMIC CLIENTS

For the more than 200 clients who receive Sindlinger's weekly Monday/Tuesday economic reports and the Wednesday News & Issues Reports — the fee for the Saturday series (through election week) is only \$25.00 for each individual addressee. . .to cover cost of mailing and handling.

FOR NON-ECONOMIC CLIENTS

* For non-economic clients who are interested in Sindlinger's daily and continuous interviewing with the weekly Saturday Report only --- from now to election day (with all back reports), the fee for this service is as follows:
* (Type of service)
* A B C D E
*
* For students, educators, politicians and librarians who are interested only in the historical value of these data--- (E)
* reports are mailed 3 weeks late, for only \$25.00
*
* For interested parties who do not have to make decisions but want to be informed --- reports are mailed 2 weeks late (D)
* for only \$50.00
*
* For those who desire more current data --- the reports are (C)
* mailed 1 week late \$100.00
*
* For those who desire the reports to be air mailed each (B)
* Saturday as published \$200.00
*
* For advance data by telephone prior to weekly (A)
* publication \$5,000.00
*
* For client consultation with semi-weekly data --- fee upon request

All data for this Saturday POLITICAL CONFIDENCE series are based upon nationwide, continuous and daily interviewing. This is the 7th presidential series, since 1948.

All political questions are added to basic client economic interviewing and utilize the Sindlinger national random sample of U.S. telephone households, with its call-back/feed-back technique that guarantees better than 90 percent completion of calls from the original drawn sample. No other research organization accomplishes this and this is one of the reasons why Sindlinger data are the most accurate available.

For example: since last October, Sindlinger's Monday report each week, forecasts the S & P's 425 Stock Index for eight weeks in advance — the error of these eight week forecasts average less than three tenths of one percent. Sindlinger has been forecasting the stock market weekly for the past 17 years — with a weekly accuracy record of 88 to 12 — eight weeks in advance.

About Sindlinger's 1972 Political Confidence Reports

This report is the 14th of a weekly series, published every Saturday with the title--**POLITICAL CONFIDENCE**.

Since Sindlinger & Company was incorporated in 1948 during each Presidential election year — special political studies have been conducted by adding special questions to basic economic nationwide interviewing.

While measuring and reporting the various aspects of Consumer Confidence which is the principle business of Sindlinger & Company, Political Confidence has a direct relationship to Consumer Confidence, especially in a Presidential election year.

A POLICY STATEMENT

All of Sindlinger & Company's economic research since 1957 is made available to clients on a syndicated basis. That is, all subscribing clients receive the same basic data.

The Company maintains complete control of all methods and procedures and all question sequences in order to achieve the highest accuracy and the ultimate of objectivity.

The Company will not conduct sponsored studies in which the clients set the specifications, including the questions.

This same policy exists for all political studies. Sindlinger & Company will not conduct any sponsored or private study for any political organization or for any candidates.

All political data (like this and future reports in this series) are gathered and reported by the Company at its own expense, and these data are made available to its clients on a syndicated basis.

The data reported here are based upon questions added to daily nationwide continuous daily interviewing for Sindlinger's Consumer Economic report. The interviewing dates for each report are specified and the major events associated with the interviewing dates are noted.



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Harvard & Yale Avenues, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania 19081

Strachan ✓ 0

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 9, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: BOB MARIK *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: Farm and Mountain States

At a recent strategy group meeting, we discussed the necessity for McGovern to carry some of the midwestern farm states and Rocky Mountain states in order to reach 270 electoral votes. As a result, ten states in those regions were identified for moderately increased priority, to offset a possibly strong McGovern effort. In addition, the Eagleton affair has raised our prospects in Missouri, and Washington State has been cited as one where the President could do well against McGovern. The full list is shown in Tab A. In total, the twelve states under consideration represent 69 electoral votes.

In Tab B, election results over the past decade are shown for each state: Presidential and statewide totals for Congressional races. These charts give some insight into the degree of support for Republican candidates which has existed in each state.

Grassroots Campaign. The campaign in these states will be fought in the precincts. The side which conducts the most effective program of volunteer recruitment, voter identification and get-out-the-vote will probably win. Therefore, the first priority should be to beef up the number of storefronts in the states. These will serve as the operational headquarters for voter canvassing and other volunteer activities for the surrounding areas. Fred Malek's Political Division has prepared state budget allocations to accomplish that objective.

Surrogates. The schedule for speakers' appearances in smaller states between the two conventions is shown in Tab C. If you approve the higher priority of these twelve states, other speakers can be scheduled into them after the convention.

Direct Mail. A program has been developed for mailing to farmers on the Farm Journal mailing list in small priority states. Letters and envelopes will be prepared and sent to the states, along with a list of the farm families to receive them. The envelopes will be addressed and stamped in the state, with the money for postage coming from state or local funds. The states included in this program, along with the quantity to be mailed, are listed in Tab D. Two separate mailings to each farmer are now contemplated.

Advertising. These smaller states will generally not receive a heavy schedule of media advertising, beyond that on nationwide network TV. However, it will be possible for the November Group to intensify coverage in the priority small states without substantial additional expense because of the modest size of the markets.

Polling. Up until now, we have not verified the strength of the President by polling in most of these states. Bob Teeter has arranged to participate in polls in Missouri, Wyoming, New Mexico, Iowa, Nevada and Colorado. Those results should be available within the next few weeks.

Recommendations

That you approve the elevation of the twelve states discussed in this memo to a priority status above the other smaller states (but far below the ten larger states which have been designated Priority I and II).

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

That, for those twelve states, you concur with the implementation of the programmatic changes described above, many of which have been presented to you separately before:

- 1. Increase storefront headquarters allotments.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Comment _____

- 2. Schedule more surrogate appearances.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Comment _____

3. Mailing to farm families.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Comment _____

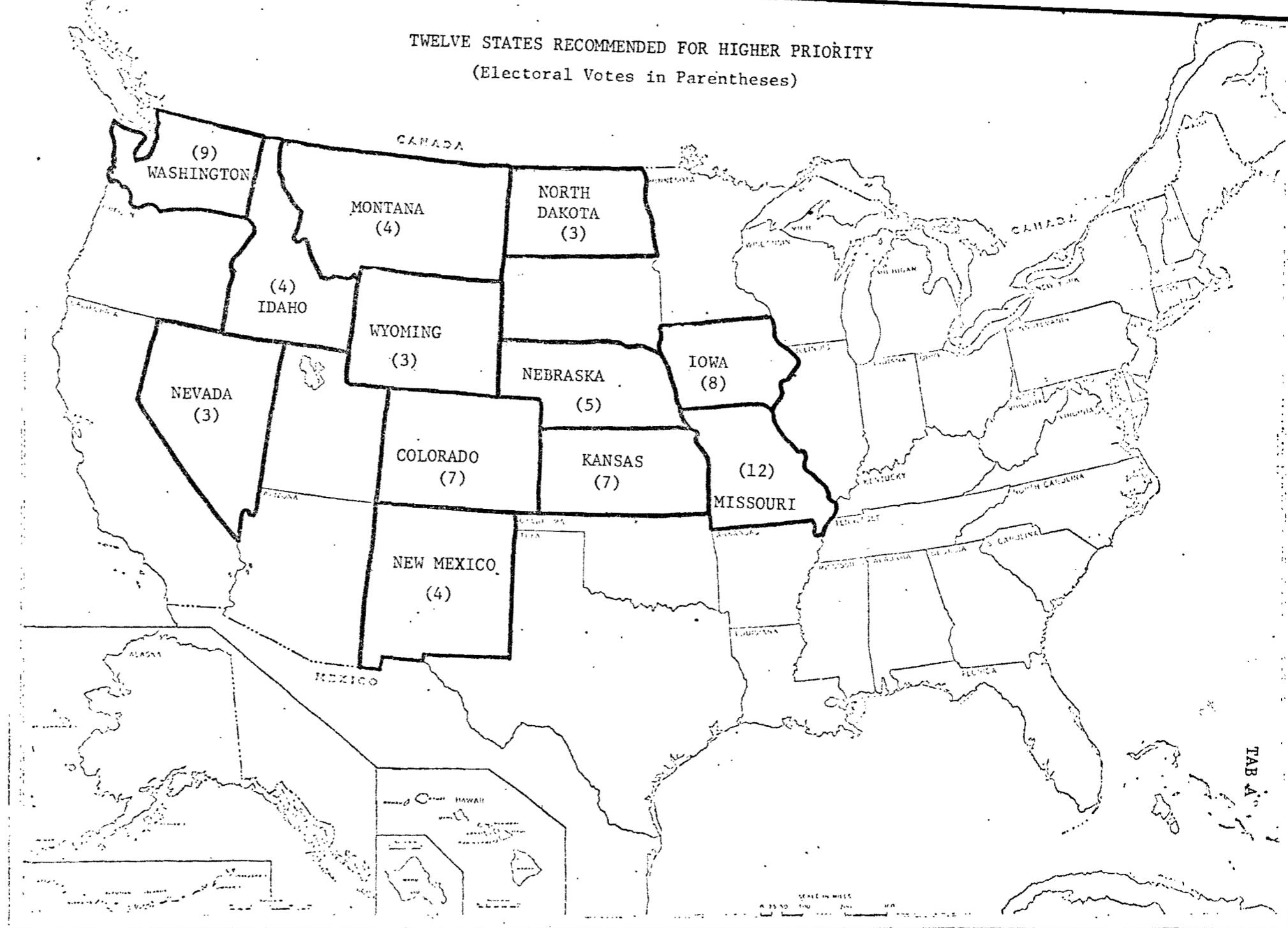
4. Increase local media advertising.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Comment _____

5. Continue to monitor the President's strength by participating
in selected public opinion polls.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Comment _____

TWELVE STATES RECOMMENDED FOR HIGHER PRIORITY
(Electoral Votes in Parentheses)

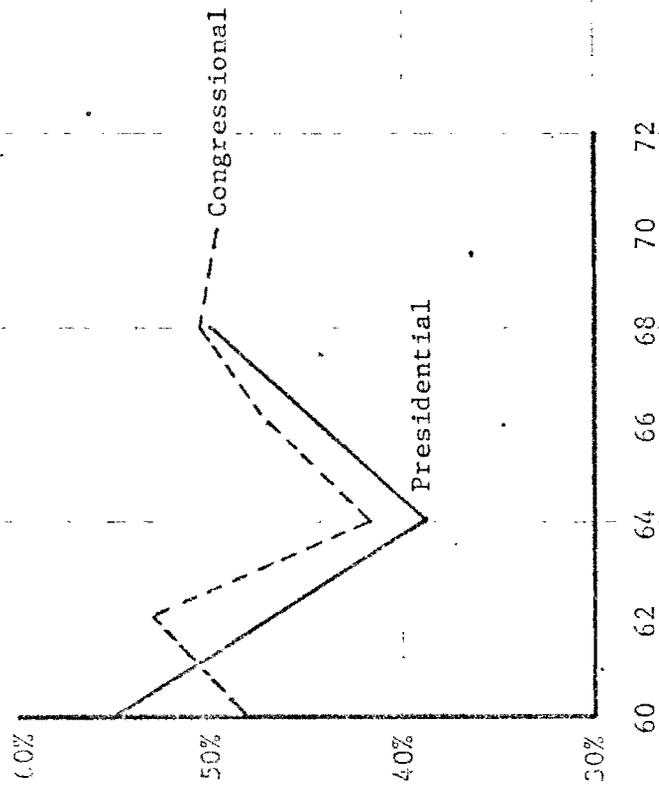


TAB A

A

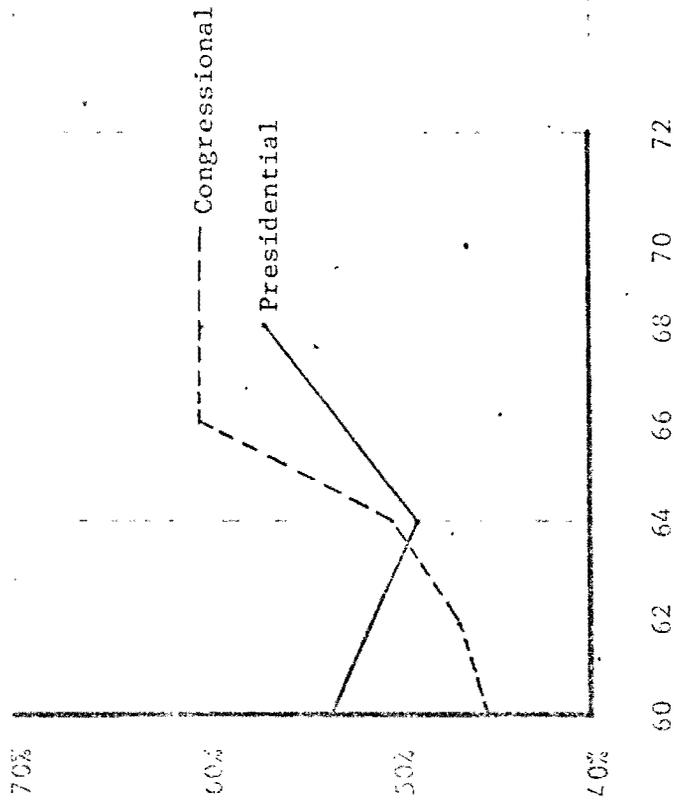
COLORADO

Republican Share of the Vote 1960-1970



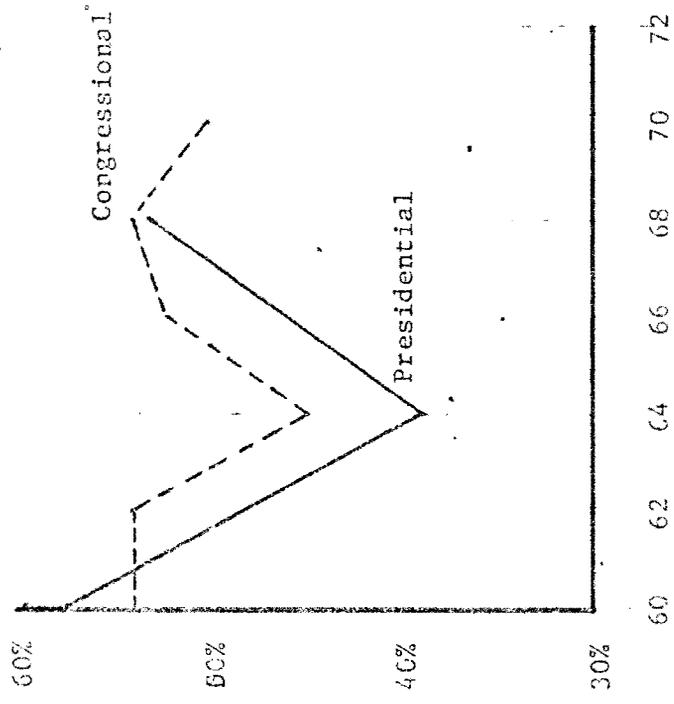
IDAHO

Republican Share of the Vote 1960-1970



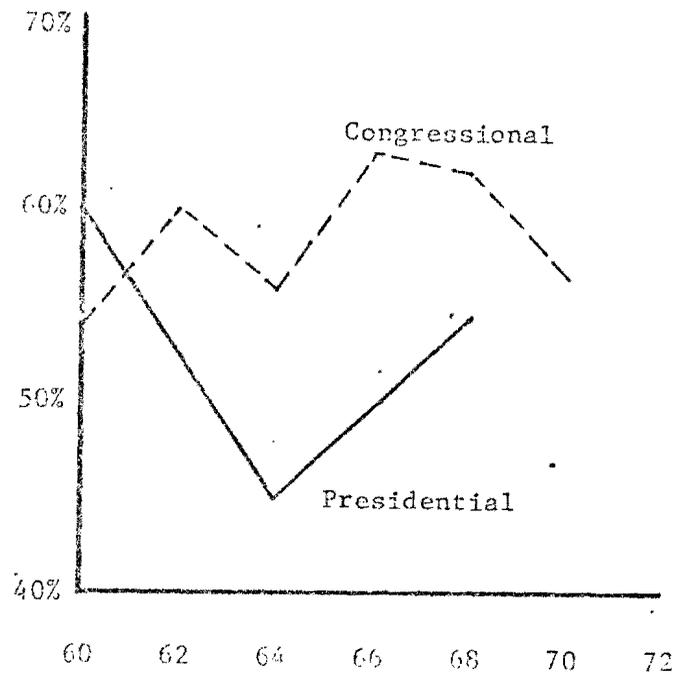
IOWA

Republican Share of the Vote 1960-1970



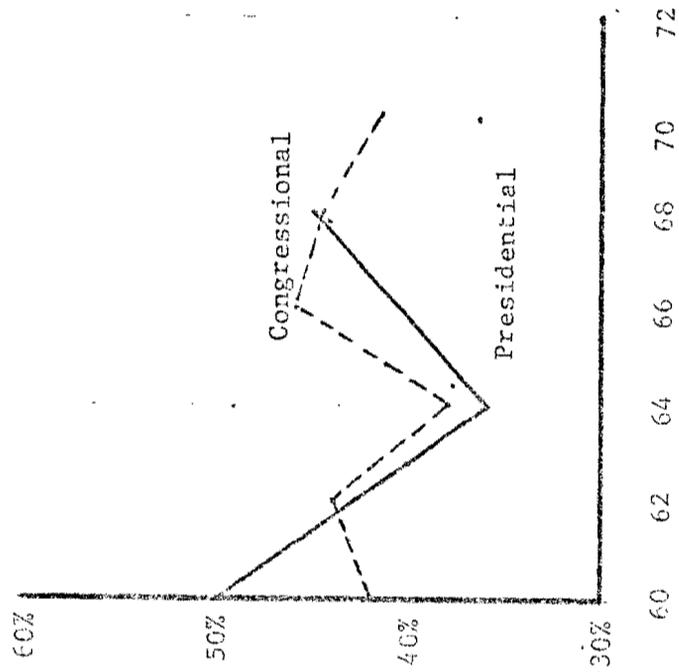
KANSAS

Republican Share of the Vote 1960-1970



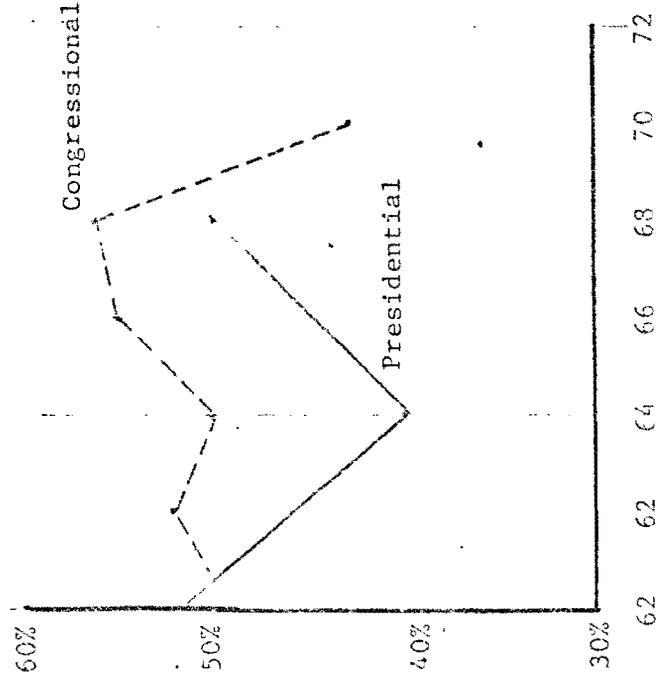
MISSOURI

Republican Share of the Vote 1960-1970



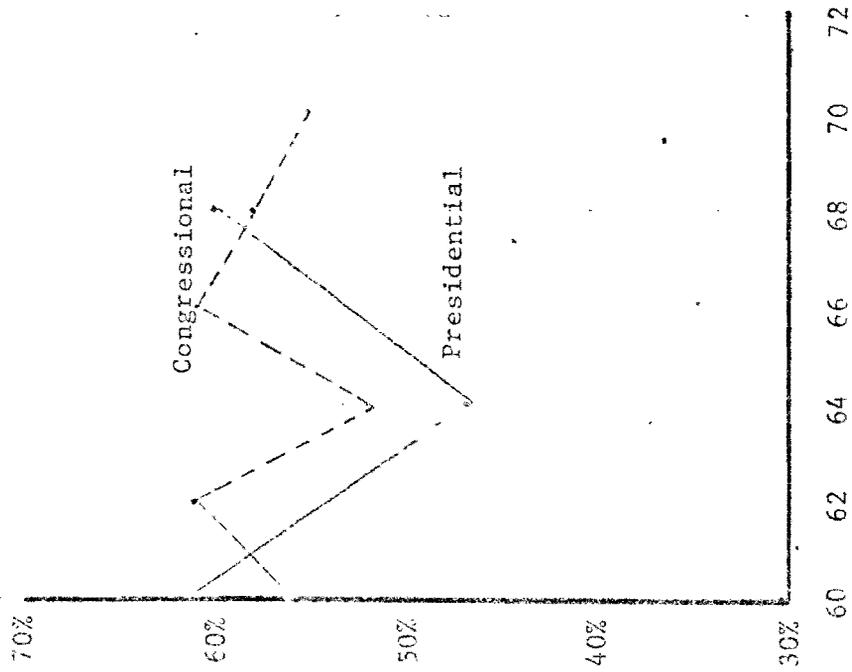
MONTANA

Republican Share of the Vote 1960-1970



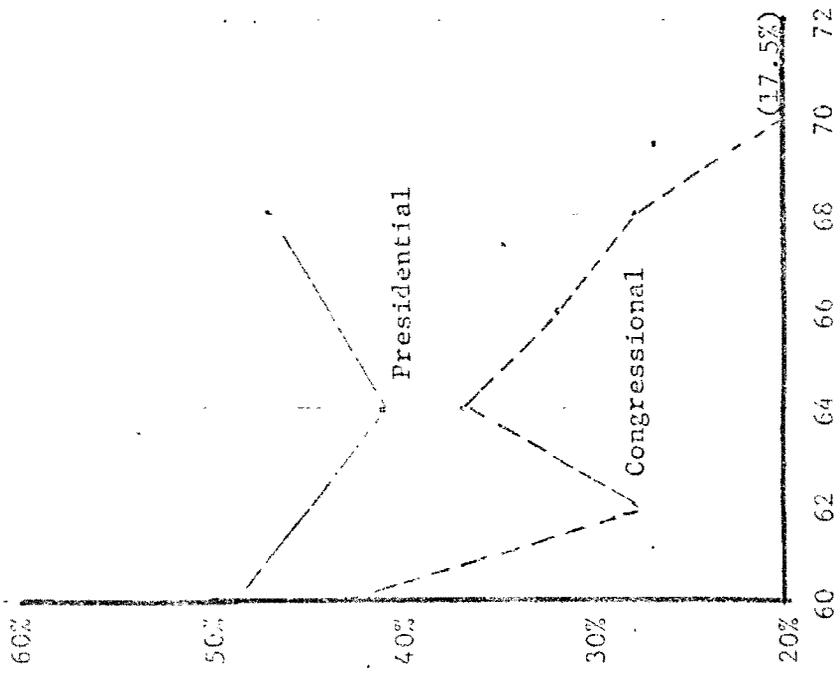
NEBRASKA

Republican Share of the Vote



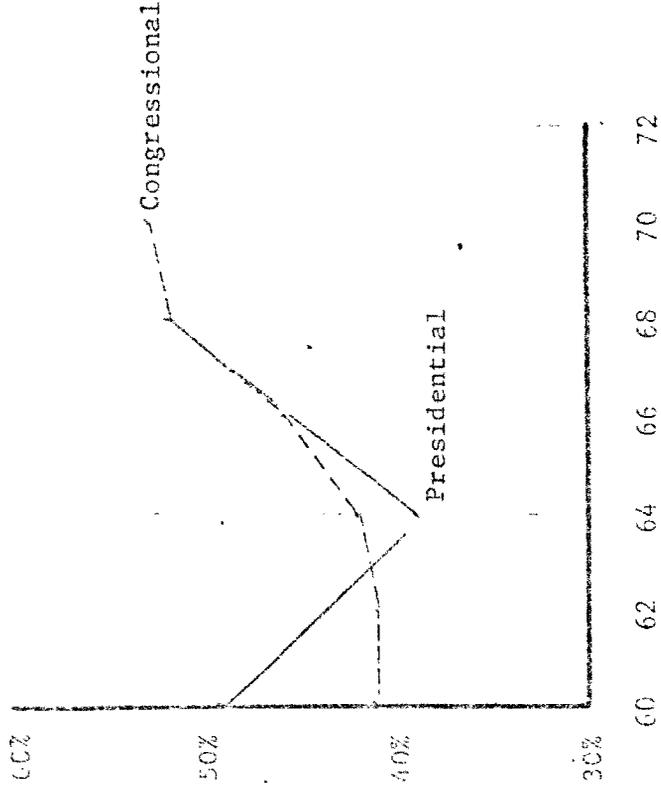
NEVADA

Republican Share of the Vote 1960-1970



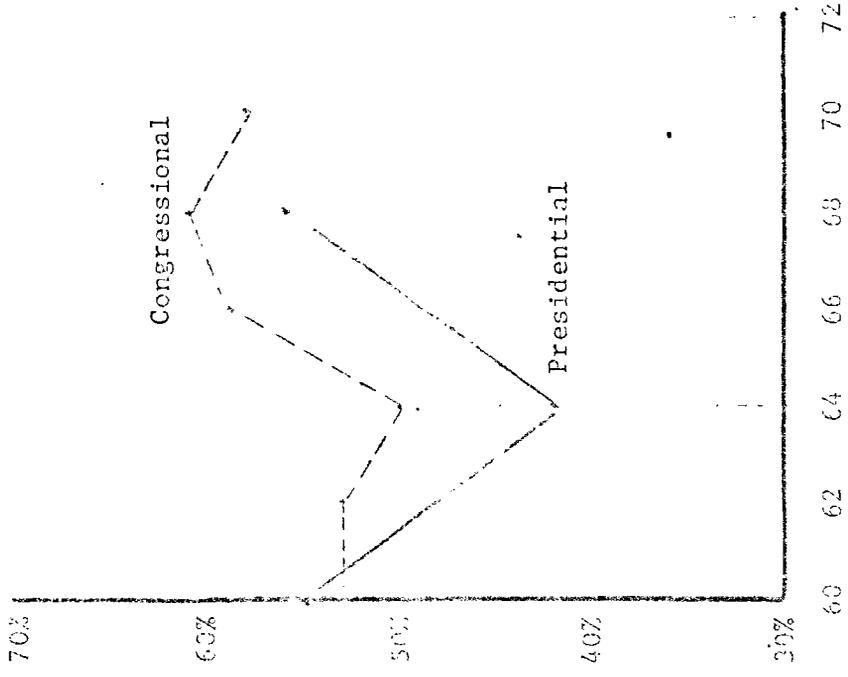
NEW MEXICO

Republican Share of the Vote 1960-1970



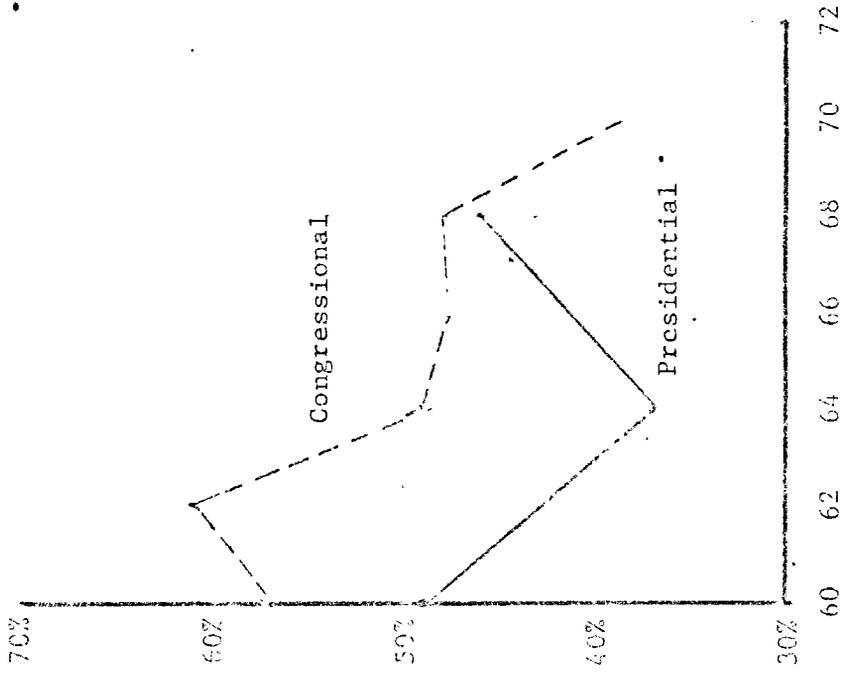
NORTH DAKOTA

Republican Share of the Vote 1960-1970



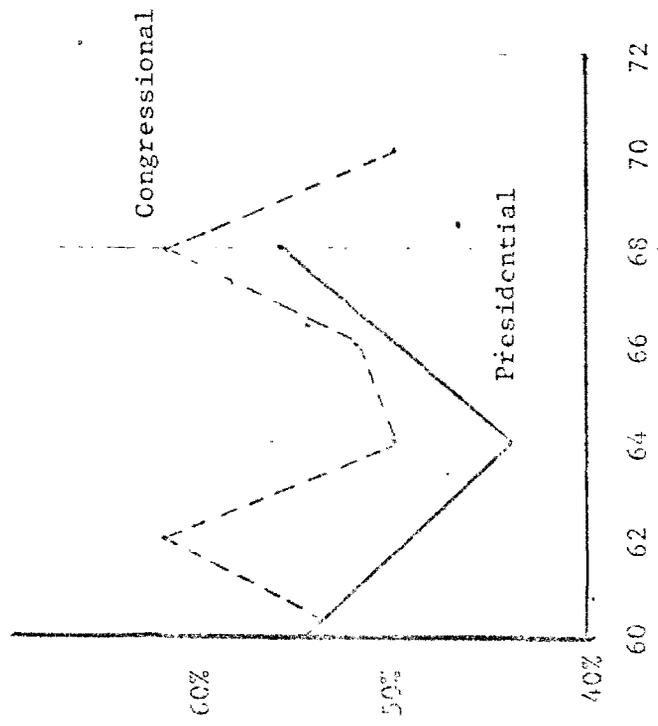
WASHINGTON

Republican Share of the Vote 1960-1970



WYOMING

Republican Share of the Vote 1960-1970



MEMORANDUM

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HERBERT L. PORTER
 FROM: J. CURTIS HERGE *CH*
 SUBJECT: Small State Strategy

We will focus on invitations for appearances in the small states, particularly the Southern and Mountain States, prior to the Convention.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Speaker</u>	<u>Location</u>
July 17	Sec. Butz	*Ft. Collins, Colorado
July 17	Mr. Ruckelshaus	Anchorage, Alaska
July 18	Mr. Ruckelshaus	Fairbanks, Alaska
July 18	Mr. Dent	Orangeburg, South Carolina
July 19	Mr. Ruckelshaus	Anchorage, Alaska
July 19	Mr. Gray	*Las Vegas, Nevada
July 19	Mr. Dent	Ruston, Louisiana
July 21	Sen. Scott	*Colorado Springs, Colorado
July 21	Sec. Morton	*Omaha, Nebraska
July 22	Mr. Ruckelshaus	*Bismarck, North Dakota
July 22	Under Sec. Campbell	Presque, Maine
July 24	Mr. Klein	*Aurora, Colorado
July 27	Sec. Hodgson	Honolulu, Hawaii
July 27	Mr. E. Nixon	*Cedar Rapids, Iowa
July 28	Sen. Goldwater	*Scottsbluff, Nebraska
July 28	Sec. Butz	Raleigh, North Carolina
July 29	Under Sec. Campbell	*Albuquerque, New Mexico
July 31	Sec. Butz	*Ames, Iowa
Aug. 2	Sec. Butz	Blacksburg, Virginia
Aug. 9	Sec. Hodgson	*Denver, Colorado
Aug. 11	Under Sec. Campbell	Columbia, South Carolina
Aug. 13	Vice President	Newport, Rhode Island
Aug. 14	Sec. Richardson	Portland, Maine
Aug. 15	Sec. Butz	Enid, Oklahoma
Aug. 16	Sec. Butz	Logan, Utah
Aug. 18	Mrs. Banuelos	New Orleans, Louisiana
Aug. 19	Sec. Volpe	Miami, Florida

* Higher priority small states.

PROPOSED STATES TO RECEIVE MAIL FOR FARM FAMILIES

<u>STATE</u>	<u>QUANTITY</u>
Colorado	2,954
Iowa	16,901
Kansas	15,096
Montana	6,227
Nebraska	13,757
North Dakota	11,965
Washington	12,382
Missouri	<u>38,374</u>
Total:	117,656

D

⑤
Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

Date 8/7/72

TO: GORDON STRACHEN

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

Please Handle FYI

File Hold

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008
(202) 333-0920

August 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK
JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

CLARK MacGREGOR

Starting immediately and until further notice, no one at 1701 is to disclose to any representative of the press, or to anyone else unless we have a contractual obligation, any information whatever obtained from head-to-head polls in any state.

cc: Al Abrams
Pete Dailey
Ed Failor
Arthur Finkelstein
Fred LaRue
Bob Marik
Bob Teeter

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008
(202) 333-0920

August 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR
SUBJECT: Canvassing

On the plane returning from Louisiana yesterday Senator Bob Griffin expressed to the President Griffin's view that our canvassers were making a mistake in identifying only pro-Nixon voters. Griffin told the President that our canvassers should also identify pro-Wallace voters. (Griffin's view, which I tend to share, is that many Wallace supporters do not realize or accept that Wallace is definitely out of the race in the general election.)

The President asked Griffin if this should apply only to Michigan. Griffin said NO, and added that public opinion surveys show the Wallace voters generally throughout the Country break down into 2/3 for Nixon and 1/3 for McGovern, and that therefore we should develop an accurate list of pro-Wallace people everywhere.

The President has directed that our canvassers do as Griffin recommended.

cc: Jeb Magruder
Bob Marik
Pat Hutar

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

August 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK
JEB MAGRUDER
VAN SHUMWAY
AL ABRAMS

FROM: •

CLARK MacGREGOR

From now on, no one but I will talk to any hostile reporter or any reporter from a historically hostile newspaper or magazine. This means no backgrounders by anyone at 1701 (except me) to anyone in the above "hostile" categories.

Each of you should do all that is reasonably possible to give background information to friendly reporters or representatives from historically friendly publications.

My own personal contacts with both friendly and hostile representatives of the Fourth Estate will be frequent, forthcoming, candid, and "on the record."

Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: E. D. FAILOR

SUBJECT: McGovern's Credibility as Campaign Issue and Use Thereof

Concept

McGovern's credibility has come into question by the public and press since the start of the Democratic National Convention: The following events have contributed to McGovern's credibility problems:

1. At the Convention - The McGovern camp's handling of the South Carolina challenge, the Minority Reports on Abortion and Homosexuals and his talk to P.O.W. wives and the S.D.S. on whether he would maintain U. S. forces in Thailand.
2. Post Convention - The Eagleton Affair, the 100% backing statement, the August 5, 1972, "White Paper" which was inaccurate, and cheating on the networks on August 5, 1972, by making a brief announcement on the V.P. candidate and using the balance of the time to make a political campaign speech.
3. General - Waffling on support of Israel, on \$1000 to everyone, on \$6500 to family of four, and on going to Hanoi to "beg."

There is no doubt in recent weeks that the public and press believe McGovern has had a credibility problem. It is believed and believable. We should exploit this weakness immediately for maximum effect.

Our attack should be on the following points:

1. McGovern's lack of credibility based on the above examples;
2. McGovern's lack of candor, credibility and judgment in handling these events bring into serious question his ability to govern.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

3. McGovern's extreme policies have placed him in a position where his credibility has come under attack.

Implementation

This attack should start as soon as possible and it should be kept away from the President. The Vice President should not join in this attack.

The following vehicles should be used:

1. Surrogates and Mr. MacGregor
2. Senator Robert Dole
3. Letters to the Editor operation
4. Democrats for Nixon
5. Republican Congressmen
6. Republican Governors
7. Republican candidates for Governor
8. Union leaders
9. Friendly editorial writers
10. Mailing to the Business and Industry list

Recommendation

Recommend that the above line be adopted from the date of approval through the Republican National Convention.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: L. HIGBY L

Attached is the basic plan for intellectuals for Nixon that Garment has worked out. He indicates it was developed by Paul Weaver of Harvard, has been concurred in by Pat Buchanan, Len Garment, and Fred Malek.

He asked for your comments and suggestions regarding this.

Attachment

1. The Plan: to assemble a small group (25-50) of eminent academics and intellectuals, most of them Democrats and old-line liberals, who make a public "Declaration of Concern" attacking McGovern positions (especially isolationism, quota democracy, and lack of restraint and professionalism), stating positively their own views, and declaring their intention to vote for president on the basis of which candidate is closest to their position. The general idea is to establish a "middle position" -- focused on issues rather than candidates, formally independent of the Committee to Reelect the President, and only by implication supporting Nixon -- which is persuasive by virtue of the eminence of the people, their traditional independence of the GOP (in the case of some, their nonalignment with either party) and their concern with issues rather than men.

2. The Objectives: (1) to articulate and encourage opposition to McGovern in the academic and intellectual community and in the public at large, (2) to deny McGovern what has been an important symbol of his candidacy so far -- the myth of monolithic academic and intellectual support, (3) to encourage, at least indirectly, a movement of academically-oriented opinion toward Nixon, and (4) to stimulate independent local efforts and declarations of the same sort.

There are three operations planned for the period of August 1 - September 15. (Plans for the campaign period will be developed later.)

(1) By August 20, publication in the New York Times and Washington Post of a full-page advertisement carrying the group's declaration.

(2) Sending a small number of observers (two to five) to the Miami convention, for possible media attention. (3) Distribution by direct mail of copies of the declaration, together with other materials for use in similar independent local efforts, to people who respond to the declaration and to selected mailing lists.

For the period August 1 - September 15, this operation has three sorts of needs. Money: From private individual donors, preferably Democrats, no more than \$25,000 (\$20,000 for the ads, the balance for Miami observers, direct mail and office expenses). Paul Weaver would run the operation on a volunteer basis out of Cambridge. Technical assistance:

From August 7 to August 15, assistance in preparing, laying out, and placing the advertising copy; from August 15 to August 25, assistance in obtaining mailing lists and preparing, printing, and sending the direct mail effort; and during the Miami convention, escort or liaison services for the observers (who will know nobody at the Convention and have nothing in particular to do -- except "be available"). Cooperation and Coordination:

Agreement by similar or related campaign operations not to approach, enlist, or use the people assembled in this group without prior consultation.

Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

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

The Letters to the Editor Program is one effective medium through which to present our message to the people. Letters have wide exposure and good credibility. The Letters Program is being organized to function during the final intensive months of this campaign within each of the major media areas within approximately half the states.

Organization

It has been proposed that the Letters Program function through various groups already organized within the campaign. Basically, the program would operate through various independent campaign groups within each state, groups generally exclusive of each other and directed at different voter groups. The Letters Program would operate through:

1. The State Press Directors (Van Shunway): their people can reach both the daily press and the voter blocs press;
2. The Professional Citizens Committees (Chuck Shearer): these people can provide particularly effective letters within their specialized areas, and often will be of such weight in their community or organization as to receive automatic publication;
3. The Federation of Republican Women (Connie Armitage): these women are well organized, informed, anxious to participate in the campaign; they have a proven national organization;
4. Urban Citizens Committees (John Wirth): these groups, though limited to seven states, will provide immediate access to the major ethnic concentrations in the vital urban states.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

Handbooks

To facilitate rapid, effective development of the Letters Program within each group and each state, it is proposed that an instruction handbook be distributed to each State Letters Coordinator and to each Letter Writer. The handbook provides step-by-step instructions for organizing, implementing/writing, and following-up the program.

It is estimated 100 Letters Coordinators and 800 Letters Writers Handbooks will be needed. The Republican National Committee Print Shop estimates cost for this quantity handbooks would be between \$90-\$100. The handbook would be printed on two-color stock, with split pages, as in the attached sample. The cover would be medium-weight cardboard, professional-lettered, and the handbook tri-stapled. Printing time would be approximately one week from date of delivery of the copy to the Republican Committee.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments: *

Strickland C

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 4, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

~~L~~cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

ADVANCE

On Wednesday, July 26, Mr. Clark MacGregor held a press conference and attended a reception in connection with the "grand opening" of the New Jersey Committee for the Re-election of the President Headquarters in Newark. The press conference was well covered by the media and front page stories resulted in both of the Newark daily newspapers. The reception was attended by approximately 300 volunteers and Republican leaders. Governor Cahill also attended the event. This event was advanced by the Tour Office.

Julie Nixon Eisenhower was scheduled to be the principal speaker at the Tenth Anniversary Dinner of the Monmouth County, New Jersey, Girl Scout Council on July 26 but due to illness was forced to cancel her appearance. Our scheduling office arranged for Mrs. Connie Stuart to substitute for Mrs. Eisenhower. The trip was advanced by a Tour Office advancement man. All reports received were that the appearance went very well. Mrs. Stuart's speech to a group of approximately 500 Girl Scouts and adults was well received and was covered by at least 10 members of the local print media. Mrs. Stuart received a gift of a painting on behalf of Mrs. Eisenhower.

On Thursday, July 27, Mr. Edward C. Nixon was the principal speaker at a luncheon rally held in Cedar Rapids, Iowa by congressional candidate Ted Ellsworth. Mr. Ellsworth is trying to unseat Democrat John Culver. Mr. Nixon spoke to an audience of 150 people and was quite well received. The only paper in the town, The Cedar Rapids Gazette, gave Mr. Nixon a favorable story. This event was advanced by the Tour Office.

On July 28, the Tour Office advanced Mr. Edward C. Nixon's visit to Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The first event of the day, a breakfast with the Oklahoma City Republican Men's Club, was attended by 100 persons and covered by a local radio station. The breakfast was followed by a taped interview with television station WKY (NBC affiliate). A five minute portion of this interview was aired as part of the station's half-hour noon news report. A Coffee sponsored by the Oklahoma City Republican Women's Club was attended by 120 persons and covered by television station KOCO (ABC affiliate). The primary event, a luncheon address to the Concerned Geologists of Oklahoma, was attended by a capacity audience of 260 persons. Approximately 100 additional persons were turned away at the door because the room's capacity was already overextended. The address, which was well received by the audience, was covered by three television stations (NBC, CBS, and ABC affiliates) and three radio stations as well as reporters from the print media. After the luncheon address, Mr. Nixon met with the press for a question and answer period.

On July 28, Secretary Morton dedicated the Mercer Island Slugh in Seattle, Washington. A Tour Office advancement man was assigned to assist the Interior Department advance team for this event, which was rated a success by the Tour Office Advancement man.

Governor Meskill, Congressman McKinney, and Doug Kirshaw, a celebrity for the President from Nashville, Tennessee, appeared at a Chicken Bar B-Q co-sponsored by the Maine Committee for the Re-election of the President and the Young Voters for the President division on July 29 in Brunswick, Maine. The Tour Office advanced this event. The weather hampered the attendance at the outdoor event which totalled approximately 250. The event was covered by one local TV station and the local papers. There was some pre-event press coverage.

In addition to the foregoing activities which were advanced by the Tour Office, 14 other events involved telephone advances and schedule building.

As part of a continuing program to visit administrative assistants and/or advancement of surrogates at least two times prior to the Convention, the Tour Office met with the staffs of Senators Brooke and Gurney and Secretary Schultz and Secretary Richardson last week.

The Tour Office held an intensive one and one-half day Advance School for 26 volunteer advancement in Washington on July 29-30. All but three of these men performed quite well. Quite a number of attendees were outstanding in the classroom atmosphere and can be expected to perform at this level in the field. The Tour Office is bringing an additional 25 volunteer advancement to Washington for a similar Advance School on August 5-6.

AGRICULTURE

The Senate Agriculture Committee has been holding hearings on the issue of export quotas on hides. The Congress will probably slap the wrists of the Commerce Department (and thereby the Administration as well) over this issue. How hard that slap will be is still undetermined.

Export quotas, coming on the heels of a loosening of import controls, has caused a great deal of consternation in cattle country. Two of our district Farm Families for the President chairmen resigned in protest of this series of actions.

The 1973 wheat program was announced, and is expected to be very popular with wheat farmers. This is politically significant since wheat is one of our soft spots in the agricultural spectrum. Farmers will be particularly appreciative of the early announcement; for a change, it precedes the planting of winter wheat. They will also like the expanded set aside, which is designed to remove from production five million acres more than were removed in 1972.

The feed grain sale to Russia and the 1973 wheat program have already resulted in a 10¢ per bushel increase in Kansas wheat prices.

Yeutter worked with the editor of the Farm Journal in lining up a pair of articles on the agricultural platforms of the two parties. The critique of the Democratic platform will be written by Congressman Kyl, and that of the Republican platform by Congressman Smith, both of Iowa. We'll be working with Claude Gifford of USDA on the Kyl article. This will be good exposure for him in his Congressional race, and should also help the President if the article is well done.

Roy Battles, veteran information specialist with the Farm Bureau, joined us as a fieldman. Roy knows thousands of farm people in the Northeast and East, and will help us in this area, as well as handling certain special projects here in Washington, D. C.

CITIZENS

The CPA, Real Estate, Automobile Dealers and Insurance Committees are still in the process of filling their state committee chairmanships. Of the four groups, the Real Estate Committee for the Re-election of the President is the most nearly completed with 43 of 50 state chairmanships filled. This group will undoubtedly be completed by the deadline date.

In order to encourage greater efforts on the part of the other groups, we have been using the Real Estate group's performance to engender a sense of competition which appears to be working as the other groups are more quickly filling their vacant positions. There is no reason to doubt that these four groups will be well established by the deadline date, and will be among the more influential in the citizen's efforts.

Mr. Robert P. Gerholz, National Chairman of the Real Estate Committee has suggested the formation of a new citizen's group which will include some 30 to 40,000 women real estate brokers. The organization of this group will be aided by Mr. Gerholz and we should be receiving input on this by next week.

A meeting has been scheduled for Thursday, August 3, at 11:00 a.m. in the Old Executive Office Building. The purpose of this meeting will be to organize the Clergy and Laymen Committee. Attending will be Mr. Fred Rhodes and Dr. McLaughlin of the White House in addition to Messrs. Andre LeTendre, Donley Brady and Forest Meade of the Citizens Committee. This meeting is being held in lieu of the report on this group which had been mentioned in previous week's report.

We have found great enthusiasm on the part of our national committee and great determination on their part to facilitate the Re-election of President Nixon.

Meetings of our national committees of 13 were held during the week with the pharmacists, optometrists, life underwriters, and the hot rodders. All of these groups are extremely enthusiastic and will have all state chairmen within the week.

Meetings for the following week are lined up with the motorcyclists, veterinarians and savings and loan organizations. Mutual savings banks are now scheduled for the next week.

Bob Baldwin of Morgan Stanley is putting together the top group for the securities industry, and we anticipate a meeting of this group within the week. Commercial Banks are being put together by Bill Spencer of First National City Bank of New York.

Negotiations continue with the aviation industry, and we expect to resolve our situation this week.

I spent the end of the week in California putting on a Republican Industry Workshop Program meeting with Bob Finch, Senator Dominick, and Cliff White in San Francisco and Los Angeles (the following week).

Arrangements were made to turn all volunteers located over to the California Committee for the Re-election of the President. Both cities are badly fractured by petty party jealousies and a major effort is going to be required to get them all to stop fighting each other and to work for the President.

Architects: The national committee of Architects met on July 24 to select regional chairmen. Mr. McDonald Becket was selected as national chairman for the group.

Hairdressers: Mr. Joseph Wier agreed to assist in the selection of a national committee of hairdressers, which is scheduled for 1:00 p.m. on August 2.

Indians: Mrs. Sue Lallmang joined the staff of the Indian committee for the Re-election of the President. National vice-chairman Martin Seneca and Neal McCaleb are scheduled to attend the National Indian conference to be held in Eugene, Oregon from August 6 through the 11th. Further organization of the Indian committee will be accomplished at that time.

Mayors: Twelve of thirteen mayors have tentatively agreed to attend a national committee meeting at 10:00 a.m. on August 7. Those scheduled to attend and their cities are the following: Pete Wilson, San Diego; Steve May, Rochester; Harry Haskell, Wilmington; David Montague, Hampton, Virginia; Ralph Perk, Cleveland; John Driggs, Phoenix; J. R. Allen, Columbus, Georgia; Kyle Testerman, Knoxville, Tennessee; E. J. Garn of Salt Lake City; Ben Boo, Duluth, Minnesota; and James Taft of Cranston, Rhode Island.

County Officials: Several county officials have agreed to attend a national committee meeting of county officials. The scheduled date is 1:00 p.m. on August 7.

State Legislators: The Vice President's office is assisting in the selection of a national committee of state legislators.

Travel Agents: A national key man meeting met and selected Thomas Kiesling, President of the American Society of Travel Agents, as its chairman. Mr. Kiesling, Andy Spielman, of Waters Travel Service, and Phillip Schweidel have contacted ten others for a national committee meeting scheduled for August 2 at 10:00 a.m.

Petroleum Marketers: Nationally known petroleum marketers have suggested that such a group has potential to reach a large number of citizens who would not otherwise be included in the list of presently formed citizens committees. A group of 13 petroleum marketers will meet August 1 at 11:00 a.m.

The list of the members making up these groups is attached to this report. As can be noted, these people are the cream of the crop or the "who's who" of their businesses and professions. They also represent the top firms in their areas.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

We met with John Wirth to discuss the Surrogate Attack Plan and to better prepare this office to place surrogate candidates into ethnic events during the general campaign. We will continue to work very closely with the Ethnic Division in this regard.

We met with Senator Bellmon, Mr. Dent, and Congressman Kemp to discuss the Surrogate Attack Plan and their proposed post Labor Day schedules. We have now met with all surrogates and discussed their proposed schedules. We are now implementing the Plan.

We worked on Alternate Programming, News Briefing, and caucus team responsibilities at the Miami convention, and, in addition, attending a meeting of the Convention Program Committee.

We spent two days at the New York Football Giants and New York Jets training camps, recruiting members of those teams to actively support the President. In addition, we attended the Hall of Fame induction ceremonies in Canton, Ohio, and recruited three of this year's four inductees, Ollie Matson, Lamar Hunt, and Ace Parker, to actively work on behalf of the President.

We met with Dwight Chapin, Bill Carruthers, Mark Goode, Phil Joanou, Cliff Miller and Jack Philbin, producer of the Jackie Gleason Show, to discuss the possibility of a major television event on behalf of the President.

POLLING AND STRATEGY

Attached are recent updates of a Gallup poll showing Nixon-McGovern-Wallace and Nixon-McGovern-Undecided.

Telephone Campaign

The telephone campaign is now underway, albeit in varying degrees, in every key state. Paid telephone coordinators have been hired in each state, and the tasks of locating sites and recruiting phone center chairmen have begun in every case. Maryland is leading with locations and leaders for all four of the planned; California has about 30 of their 45 sites established; Illinois has 12 out of 26; Ohio, 5 out of 18; Pennsylvania, 5 out of 30. The remainder are still in the early stages of progress, but moving.

Data Base Development

Tapes for counties are generally on schedule, and as problems arise they are being dealt with quickly through close coordination with various vendors.

Canvass/Telephone Operations

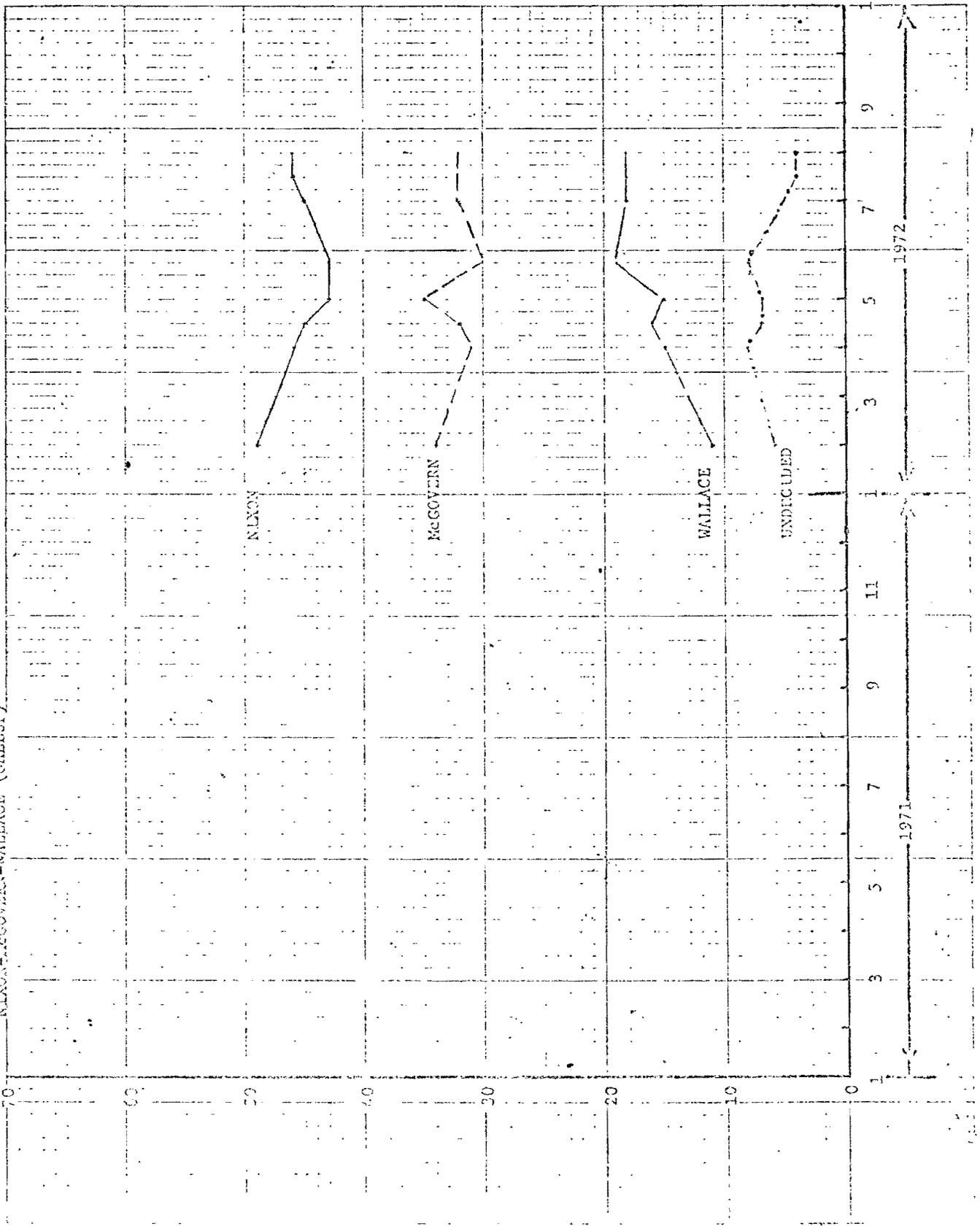
Canvass/telephone lists are on schedule. A meeting was held with these groups to discuss timing. Interested parties also received schedules, by state, for the completion of these lists.

We have sent letters to the Executive Directors in the key states requesting names and addresses of individuals responsible for the collection and shipment of the completed sheets.

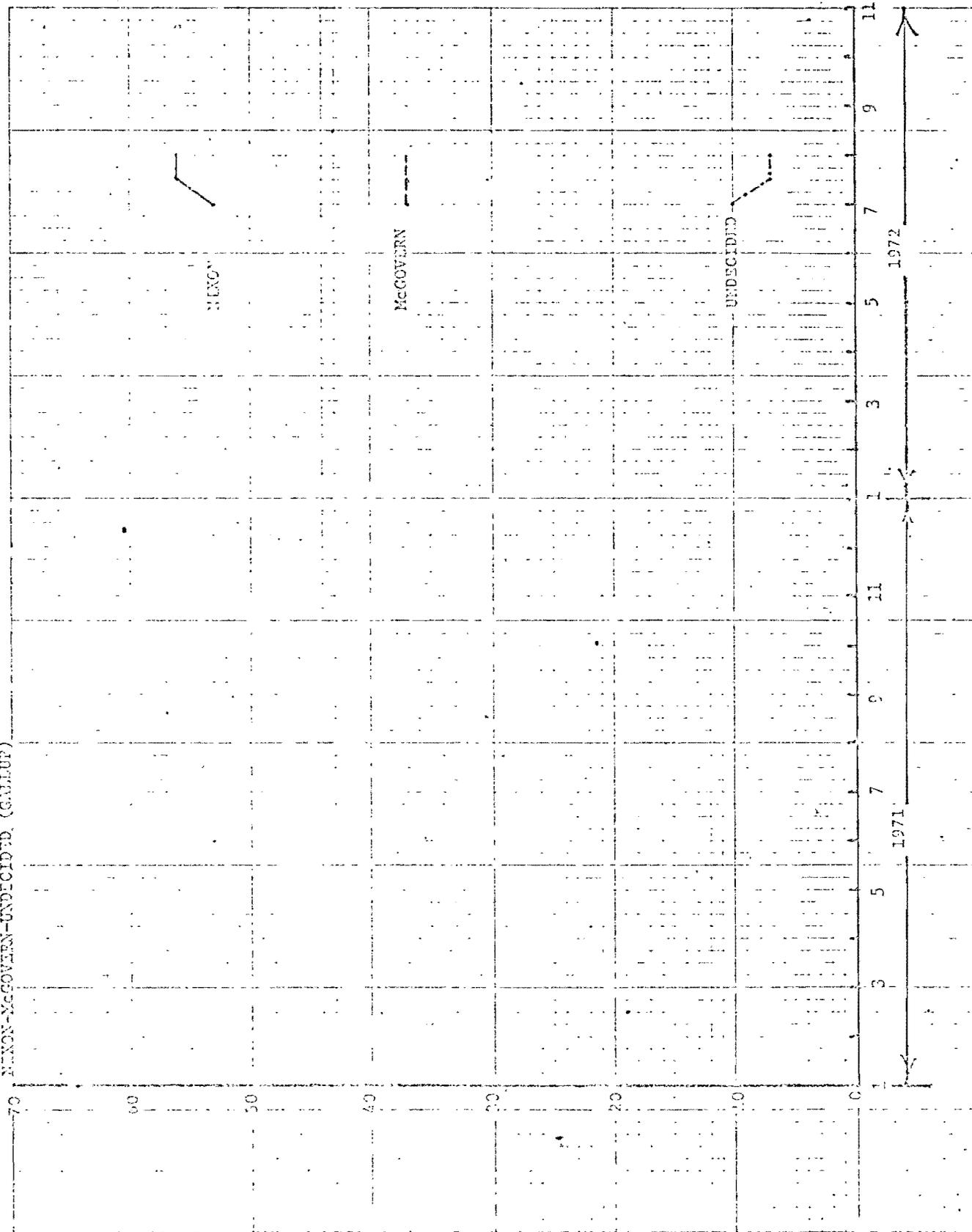
Youth Mailing

Working closely with the November group, a draft letter, brochure and volunteer card are being developed.

NIXON-McGOVERN-WALLACE (CALLUP)



NIXON-McGOVERN-UNDECIDED. (GALLUP)



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New Jersey, Washington, D. C.)

Strachan
O

August 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLAYTON M. CASPER

THROUGH: JIM S. MAGRUDER
FROM: FREDERICK L. FORNER
SUBJECT: Republican Rally
Green Bay, Wisconsin
September 14, 1972

Congressman John W. Byrnes has reported that Wisconsin's Eighth District is planning a district-wide rally in Green Bay, Wisconsin, on Thursday, September 14, 1972, to focus attention on the Republican nominee who will be selected on the September 12th primary to run for Cong. Byrnes' seat. Five Republicans are now competing for the nomination. The event will be a fund-raiser, with tickets being sold prior to the primary election with the proceeds going to the campaign effort of the winner. Tickets will be priced at \$25. Cong. Byrnes will attend the rally.

We reviewed this proposal with John Mac Iver and Don Mosiman and they recommend that you consider attending the rally as the keynote speaker. They point out that the need is for you to talk about the need for voter canvassing, voter identification, voter turnout and party unity.

We would appreciate it if you would advise us whether you will accept this invitation.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

MMH

Strachan
①

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER *JSM*

FROM: PETER H. DAILEY

On Wednesday, September 7, the Advertising Advisory Committee will meet here in Washington. It consists of the chief executives of eight of the most prominent advertising agencies in the United States. They have been most helpful to us both in recruiting personnel and in advising us on the development of campaign procedures.

It would be most helpful and appreciated if you could spend 30 minutes with the group and give them your ideas on the campaign. Since it will include a lunch, if it is possible for you to be involved in that, it will be most appreciated. The time will be between 9:30 and 2:00. Please let me know what would be most convenient for you.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 3, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUD
FROM: BOB MARIK 
SUBJECT: The McGovern Campaign

I received a call on Wednesday from Brian Seaman of National Telephone Advertising Company. They are the firm which conducted McGovern's telephone campaign in the California primary. They claim that 1,900,000 calls were completed during that campaign.

The McGovern people told them that, after the primary, they would discuss plans for the general campaign. No discussions have taken place, however, and several meetings have been cancelled. The vendor feels that McGovern is suffering from both uncertainties in fund raising and delayed planning for their fall programs. The situation is so bleak that the company decided to market their services to the opposition. Needless to say, we do not have plans to use National Telephone Advertising Company in our campaign.

CONFIDENTIAL

*Strachan
CBE*

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER *J.S.M.*
ROBERT C. ODLE *R.C.O.*

FROM: SUSAN A. DAVIS *S.A.D.*

SUBJECT: Grand Opening of the Committee for the Re-election of
The President National Storefront Headquarters

Our National Storefront Campaign Headquarters at 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue is already operative. It is recommended that Mr. MacGregor introduce the Headquarters to the media and to the general public with a noon-hour ribbon-cutting ceremony and speakers program on Friday, August 11. Our scheduling office confirms that Tricia Nixon Cox will consider participating (probably to formally cut the ribbon) and the Vice President will also consider a drop-by, although his office will not approve using advance publicity of his appearance. It is also recommended that, as a gesture of courtesy, Francis Dale and Edward Nixon be invited to participate.

On checking the appropriate schedules, Friday, August 11, proves to be the most suitable date. Additionally, our press office feels Friday is a good news day and, by waiting until the 11th, the McGovern Vice Presidential controversy will no longer be dominating the news. However, Edward Nixon probably will not be able to attend due to a speaking commitment.

Special plans for the event would include a brass or pop band performing before the program from a small speaker's platform (approximately 8' x 12') built directly under the campaign headquarters sign. The band would lend atmosphere and enthusiasm to the event and would also attract a crowd. Nixonettes in uniform would circulate through the crowd passing out bumper stickers, buttons, and campaign literature. We have been assured by the November Group that adequate campaign materials will be available.

It is expected that a crowd can be drawn from a number of sources including staff of CREP, the White House, and the RNC, as well as the general public. Additionally, we can count on a concerted effort by the Young Voters to turn out their members in large numbers.

A proposed program schedule is as follows:

12:00 pm	Pre-program begins. Band plays.
12:20 pm	Principals meet at Youth Headquarters, 1730 Penn. Ave., arriving at back entrance on G Street.
12:29 pm	Principals depart to platform.
12:30 pm	Program begins. Emcee Francis Dale welcomes the guests. Brief remarks by Dale, including recognition of VIP's in audience.
12:35 pm	Dale introduces Mr. MacGregor. MacGregor remarks.
12:45 pm	Mr. MacGregor introduces Tricia Nixon Cox. Presents Mrs. Cox with a bouquet of roses.
12:47 pm	Mrs. Cox and Mr. MacGregor depart platform to cut ribbon at door of headquarters.
12:50 pm	Program ends. Principals depart 1730 by back entrance.

- **NOTE:
1. The press office would like the option of having a press availability following the program with the principals, depending on the current political situation.
 2. If the Vice President drops-by, he would speak after Mr. MacGregor. (We will not know the status of the Vice President's appearance until the last minute).

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

Strachan
8

August 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER
SUBJECT: Atlantic County Republican Committee
Fund-Raiser, Governor Rockefeller
Atlantic City, New Jersey
September 11, 1972

We have received an invitation for Governor Rockefeller to be the Special Guest at a fund-raising dinner, which is being sponsored by the Atlantic County Republican Committee in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on September 11, 1972.

They are anticipating an approximate attendance of 2,000 at \$50 a plate, of which 17% of the gross will go to the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President. This has Mr. Stans' approval. In addition, the event has the political approval of Mr. Don Mesiman and our New Jersey Committee for the Re-election of the President.

Do you approve of extending an invitation to Governor Rockefeller to appear at the Atlantic County Republican Committee's fund-raising dinner on September 11?

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

cc: JSM Chron
JSM Subject
JSM Working ✓
JSM -
HLP Chron
HLP Subject
S Gram

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 2, 1972.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

In the attached memo, Steve Bull describes the Presidential gold leaf clover which Bebe Rebozo has purchased for use by 1701.

It is proposed that the 1500 English language and 500 Spanish language gifts be distributed as follows:

500 English to Nixon state chairmen, co-chairmen, executive directors, GOP state chairmen, co-chairmen, and national committee members, with a cover letter from Clark MacGregor;

500 Spanish language to Alex Armendaris for his use in the Spanish speaking community and in the field;

1000 English to be divided up among 1701's division directors for their use between now and November. These would be used in much the same way as White House staff members use Presidential pens, cufflinks, etc.: to give to visitors to their offices, in the field, as a reward for special favors, etc.

Approve  Disapprove _____ Comment _____

bcc: Mr. ~~Frederic~~ V. Malek
Mr. Gordon C. Strachan
Mr. Bruce A. Kehrl
Mr. Mike Scott
Mr. Stephen Bull
Mr. Harry S. Flemming

WASHINGTON

July 19, 1972

FOR: ROB ODLE
FROM: STEPHEN BULL *SB*
RE: Gold Four Leaf Clovers

Accompanying this memorandum is a mailing box containing a gold four leaf clover inscribed with the words "Good Luck" and bearing the President's signature. The original intent was to send these items to State Nixon Chairmen and Co-Chairmen, the total being approximately 120. The details of this were worked out with Mike Scott, Harry Flemming and Jeb Magruder.

As I explained to you on the telephone today, I have discovered that the source of these gold four leaf clovers is Bebe Rebozo, and he has told the President that these items are being sent by the Committee to all State, County, and local Nixon Chairmen. He has purchased approximately 2000 of these items, 500 of which are in Spanish. Apparently the President is quite enthusiastic about sending these items out.

As I explained to Mr. Rebozo last week in California, it is my opinion that these items are good devices for Clark MacGregor to establish contact with all of the Chairmen with whom he will be working between now and November. It is my thought that the paperweights should go out along with an accompanying letter from Clark MacGregor with wording along the lines of "The President has asked me to send to you. . . ." Signed Clark MacGregor. Mr. Rebozo offered the thought that they should go out from the President, but I think there is a general agreement that we should adhere to the original plan when we were talking about 120 of having them go out from the campaign chairman. (Originally we were talking about having the letter signed by John Mitchell.)

You indicated on the telephone today that you were in agreement with this idea and that you would work out the details. If you will give me the quantities that you require, I will insure that the appropriate number is sent to you.

Thank you.

cc: B. Kehrli
G. Strachan

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

August 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

FRED MALEK *FJM*

SUBJECT:

Proposed Meeting of the President
with Women

As we discussed last night, I think it would be quite beneficial and a real morale boost for the President to meet with the top women involved in the campaign. Those whom I would recommend be included in this group are:

Pat Hutar	Director of Volunteers
Nancy Brataas	Director of Telephone Operation
Ann Dore	Manager of Communications
Barbara Franklin	White House Staff

This might be a good opportunity for Ann Armstrong to see the President, and I would recommend she be included. I would suggest that Jeb Magruder and I accompany these women on their visit with the President.

Please let me know your thoughts as to whether this can be done and the time.

Thank you.

*Inadequate
He should not meet w/
them until you have a
real women's org -
you should have started yet*

Strachan

5- DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By EP NAK, Date 8-6-72

August 1, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. DAVID PARKER
FROM: JEB S. MACGRUDER
SUBJECT: Surrogate Conference

It is recommended that, after September 6, 1972, the President meet with the surrogate candidates for the purpose of discussing their role during the general campaign.

To our knowledge, with the exception of the Cabinet, the surrogates have not met with the President to discuss the surrogate program. If the meeting were scheduled on a weekend in early September, it would be the last time, before Election Day, when all the participants will be available. (The meeting should not be held on September 9, 1972, as nationwide voter registration activities will take place on that date.)

The meeting would provide the surrogates with the psychological motivation and desire to implement the Plan to the President's satisfaction. In addition, it would provide the President with the knowledge that the personal campaigning is in good hands.

We recommend that the meeting be attended by the President, senior White House staff members, senior 1701 staff members, the 36 surrogate candidates and Sen. Dole. The surrogates' staff members should not be invited.

The alternative locations for the meeting are:

- Option 1. The Sequoia.
- Option 2. The White House.

We would appreciate it if you would advise us whether this meeting can be scheduled.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

MOM

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. DAVID PARKER
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUD 
SUBJECT: Presidential Stag Dinners

We think it would be appropriate for the President to host two stag dinners at the White House prior to the Convention. The purpose of these dinners would be to give the President an opportunity to meet with the top political leaders from each of our key target states.

We would propose that the following persons be invited to the two separate dinners:

DINNER NUMBER I

California

Ronald Reagan
Governor and Chairman, California Committee for the Re-election

Leonard Firestone
State Finance Chairman

Gordon Luce
Vice Chairman, California Committee for the Re-election of
the President

William Banowsky
Chairman, California Region I

Al McCandless
Chairman, California Region II

David Packard
Chairman, California Region III

Bob Monagan
Chairman, California Region IV

Lyn Nofziger
Executive Director, California Committee for the Re-election
of the President

Illinois

Thomas J. Houser
Chairman, Illinois Committee for the Re-election of the President

William DuVall
Executive Director, Illinois Committee for the Re-election
of the President

Robert D. Stuart, Jr.
Finance Chairman, Illinois Committee for the Re-election of the
President

Victor L. Smith
Chairman, Republican State Central Committee

John Altorfer
Downstate Chairman, Illinois Committee for the Re-election of
the President

Ferdinand J. Zeni, Jr.
City Campaign Chairman, Illinois Committee for the Re-election
of the President

Dean J. Sodaro
Suburban Campaign Chairman, Illinois Committee for the Re-election
of the President

William McConkey
Director of Field Operations, Illinois Committee for the Re-election
of the President

William Simpson
Citizens' Group Coordinator, Illinois Committee for the Re-election
of the President

Maryland

Spiro T. Agnew
Vice President of the United States

Edward P. Thomas
Chairman, Maryland Committee for the Re-election of the
President

Alexander M. Lankler
Chairman, Republican State Central Committee

Walter Jones
Finance Chairman, Maryland Committee for the Re-election of
the President

David Neideffer
Executive Director, Maryland Committee for the Re-election of
the President

Pennsylvania

Arlen Specter
Chairman, Pennsylvania Committee for the Re-election of the
President

Al Gaudiosi
Field Director, Pennsylvania Committee for the Re-election of
the President

Clifford Jones
Chairman, Republican State Central Committee

Richard Wright
Chairman, Allegheny County Nixon Headquarters

Frank C. P. McGlinn
Finance Chairman, Pennsylvania Committee for the Re-election of
the President

Hugh Scott
U. S. Senator

Richard S. Schweiker
U. S. Senator

Michigan

John Gibbs
Chairman, Michigan Committee for the Re-election of the President

Montgomery Shepard
Finance Chairman, Michigan Committee for the Re-election of
the President

Doyle Dodge
Executive Director, Michigan Committee for the Re-election of the
President

Robert T. Griffin
U. S. Senator

William F. McLaughlin
Chairman, Republican State Central Committee

Peter Fletcher

DINNER NUMBER II

New York

Nelson Rockefeller
Governor and Chairman, New York Committee for the Re-election
of the President

George Hinman
National Committeeman for New York

Charles Lanigan
Chairman, Republican State Central Committee

Burdell Bixby
Campaign Director, New York Committee for the Re-election of
the President

Harold Helm
Finance Chairman, New York Committee for the Re-election of the
President

Fiorvante (Fred) Perrotta
New York City Nixon Campaign Director

Craig Thorne
Upstate Director, New York Committee for the Re-election of the
President

Stephen Blum
Deputy Director, New York Committee for the Re-election of the
President

Page 5

Jacob Javits
U. S. Senator

James Buckley
U. S. Senator

Ohio

Charles Ross
Chairman, Ohio Committee for the Re-election of the President

John S. Andrews
Chairman, Republican State Central Committee

Ralph J. Perk
Mayor of Cleveland

Logan T. Johnston
Finance Chairman, Ohio Committee for the Re-election of the
President

Ray Bliss, Former Chairman, Republican National Committee

Connecticut

Nathan G. Agostinelli
Chairman, Connecticut Committee for the Re-election of the
President

J. Brian Gaffney
Chairman, Republican State Central Committee

Thomas J. Meskill
Governor

Charles Coe
Executive Director, Connecticut Committee for the Re-election
of the President

Lewis D. (Chip) Andrews
Executive Director, Republican State Central Committee

William (Bucky) Bush
Finance Chairman, Connecticut Committee for the Re-election of
the President

Lowell P. Weicker
U. S. Senator

Frederick Bibel
Past Executive Director, Republican State Central Committee

New Jersey

Harry L. Sears
Campaign Director, New Jersey Committee for the Re-election of
the President

John E. Dimon
Chairman, Republican State Central Committee

William T. Cahill
Governor and Chairman, New Jersey Committee for the Re-election
of the President

Harry Richardson, Jr.
Finance Chairman, New Jersey Committee for the Re-election
of the President

Texas

Erik Jonsson
Co-Chairman, Committee for the Re-election of the President

Bob Allen
Finance Chairman, Texas Committee for the Re-election of the
President

Bill Liedtke
National Committee Finance Chairman for Texas

Peter O'Donnell
Ex-Chairman, Texas State Central Committee

Jim Baker
Regional Director for Harris County

Fred Agnich
National Committeeman for Texas

In addition, the following persons from the Committee for
the Re-election of the President should attend each dinner:

Clark MacGregor
Campaign Director

Fred Malek
Deputy Director

Jeb S. Magruder
Deputy Director

Maurice Stans
Chairman, Finance Committee to Re-elect the President

Fred LaRue
Special Assistant to the Campaign Director

John N. Mitchell

Regional Directors for the Key States

Richard Richards
Marvin Collins (Possible)
Thomas Reed
Clayton Yeutter
Raymond Brown
Peter Sawyer's
Allan G. Kaupinen
Donald Mosiman
Richard Murray
Gordon Gooch

The Vice President is shown in Dinner Number I under Maryland.
He should attend both dinners.

Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: RAYMOND CALDIERO *RC*

SUBJECT: Celebrities

For your information the following names represent a listing of Celebrities that are for the President but precluded from taking a public stand for various personal and business reasons.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Jonathan Winters | David Hartman |
| Robert Young | Lucille Ball |
| James Brolin | Luci Arnaz Vandervort |
| Efrem Zimbalist Jr. | Randolf Scott |
| Mary Tyler Moore | Jane Withers |
| Dick Cavett | Barry Farber |
| Chuck Connors | Joan Crawford |
| Merv Griffin | Johnny Mann |
| Johnny Carson | Lawrence Welk |
| Mike Ansara | Dick Clark |
| Barbara Eden | Jack Benny |
| Glenn Campbell | George Burns |
| Dan Rowan | Jackie Gleason |
| Burt Reynolds | Rory Calhoun |
| Don Galloway | |

Every effort is being made to move these celebrities into a public posture in support of the President.

~~Magruder~~
Strachan

“
Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

CONFIDENTIAL

ADVANCE

On Saturday July 22 Chad Everett of the "Medical Center" TV series appeared at a "youth involvement" rally in Nashville, Tennessee co-sponsored by the Young Voters for the President and the Baker for Senate Committee. The total attendance was approximately 1,200 people. Had the Tour Office not had an advance team present, the crowd probably would have been about 200 people. Senator Baker was to have appeared on the program with Senator Brock, Chad Everett, and Country and Western entertainers Roy Acuff and Mickey Newberry but did not appear because of some complications with another meeting he attended. Chad Everett was interviewed on WSM-TV and WLAC radio. He was a guest on the Johnny Logan Show on WLAC radio. The pre-event coverage was not extensive because local press releases were sent to the papers from numerous sources. Our advance team did not issue the releases. WSM-TV, WLAC-TV and WSIX carried the event on their evening news programs. Chad Everett did a successful "drop-by" at a local VA hospital where he was well-received by numerous patients.

On Saturday July 22, Congressman Kemp was the principal banquet speaker at the Indiana Young Republican Convention in Clarksville, Indiana. The Tour Office sent an advanceman and expanded the event to include a press conference. Nothing else could be scheduled due to the lack of time. Congressman Kemp spoke to an audience of 300 Young Republicans and received a standing ovation prior to and after the speech. Extra chairs had to be placed in the room to accommodate the overflow crowd. Press coverage was excellent. The Louisville Courier-Journal printed a favorable story in which the Congressman mentioned the President several times.

The Tour Office schedule built and telephone advanced 20 events last week.

As part of a continuing program to visit administrative assistants and/or advancemen of surrogates at least two times prior to the Convention, the Tour Office met with one such staff last week. By the end of the coming week the Tour Office will have met with all but six of the surrogate staffs domiciled in Washington, D. C.

The Tour Office is bringing 25 volunteer advancemen to Washington on July 29-30 for an intensive Advance School. A similar number of men will come for an Advance School the following weekend. These 50 men will be the nucleus of the surrogate advancemen. A copy of the agenda for the first school is attached.

AGRICULTURE

USDA announced the 1973 wheat program, and it is expected to be well received. For farmers it is a welcome change to have the program announced before their winter wheat is in the ground. The provisions, which call for idling five million acres more land than in 1972, should be a price strengthening factor. This is important since wheat is one of our soft spots among the agricultural commodities.

Yeutter spoke this week to the following meetings:

1. The National Association of Farmer Committeemen (farmers who help to administer the farm program).
2. The Agricultural Relations Council (a group of agricultural public relations people).
3. The Illinois Farm Families for the President chairman and his area chairmen.

Yeutter and Bill McMillan, Executive Secretary of the American National Cattlemen's Association, met with John Whitaker and Henry Cashen regarding some of the Administration's recent actions which affect cattlemen. The industry is irate -- more disturbed politically than it has been for a long time. The first action -- to temporarily remove import quotas -- was reasonably well received. The second action -- Secretary Shultz encouraging exporting countries to increase their beef shipments to the U.S. -- was considered as rubbing salt in the cattleman's wounds, and was greeted by much distress. The third action -- to impose export quotas on hides -- is not well understood, but it turned out to be the last straw for many cattlemen. It simply made them a little angrier than they were before.

Laura Walker, Foltz and Yeutter met with Claude Gifford, Director of Information at USDA to discuss plans for placing articles in farm magazines in the coming months. We've already begun to receive an affirmative feedback from some of the magazines which were contacted by Laura.

Foltz and Yeutter spent considerable time working on drafts of the agricultural platform.

Yeutter worked with Buck Byers in Finance to get an agribusiness fund raising effort underway.

BLACKS

Field operations were initiated with Ed Sexton of RNC, who this week began (part-time) functioning from the Black Voter Bloc offices. For purposes of coordination, we recommend by memo office procedures and operations, field staff contact reporting system and state contact schedule.

We conferred with White House and RNC counterparts to discuss specifically field operations and convention planning and surrogate program. In this connection, we also met with Stan Anderson and Frank Herringer to discuss convention plans.

We were contacted by members of the Young Republicans Platform Group for information on the Administration impact on Blacks. Major issues oriented to the Black community were analyzed relative to the overall concerns of the Young Republicans.

We met with the General Counsel, Department of Treasury and Re-election Committee's Director of Lawyers interests group and developed a plan to enlist additional Black lawyers to serve on overall Black Lawyers Committee for Nixon. Plans are to have a reception honoring Pierce at the National Bar Association Meeting in Miami and invite select cross-section of attorneys across the Nation with a view towards soliciting their support.

We followed through to insure maximum publicity for Administration's publicity for Minority Bank Deposit Program accomplishments for release by U.S. Treasury -- Black newspapers, radio stations were informed.

We received Herchel Cannon, Black State Chairman for Arizona, to discuss budget and organizational plans for his state.

We have finalized plans for recruiting Black volunteers to be used by field staff in connection with city/state organization. We are awaiting review with field staff for further input.

We represented the Re-election Committee on station WHUR's "Peoples Platform" on Monday, July 17 to present a balanced point of view against the Democrat representative.

We arranged with Tony McDonald the transfer of the responsibility to prepare and distribute the Black Advance newsletter on a monthly schedule up to September and bi-weekly through November.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

During the past week, three regional meetings were held in Boston, Los Angeles, and Seattle. The attendance at all was good and a great deal of enthusiasm was evidenced. Many seemed concerned, however, regarding the possibility of overconfidence and, in some cases, lack of precinct organization. Everyone felt the necessity for planning for a difficult campaign and for the need for the various spokesmen to dissipate at every opportunity the feeling of complacency.

Work is continuing on the appointment of Business Advisory Councils with an objective date of September 1. After that date, all City Chairmen must be ready to implement the program which has been outlined for them.

CITIZENS

The national committees of the CPA's, realtors, insurance agents and automobile dealers are well underway toward forming their state structures. Many state chairmen have been approved and are now in the process of forming their individual state committees.

There have been some problems in this process and perhaps the most pressing is the fact that many of the state chairmen, having once begun to form their organizations, find themselves confused as to the exact nature of their roles. To offset this, we have recommended that the State Nixon Chairmen contact them in order to incorporate them into the campaign efforts of the states in question. In this manner, we avoid a delay which could cause dissatisfaction and the states are able to incorporate additional volunteers. Other problems such as duplication of efforts between 1701 and the state organizations are being corrected. The only question which remains to be answered is the status of the Citizens' efforts in Wyoming.

Mr. Fred Rhodes, a prominent religious leader, is currently helping to develop a viable plan for the clergy and laymen committee. A memo of its conclusions and recommendations will be received by this office no later than Friday, July 28. Dr. John McLaughlin of the White House staff, will be providing a list of names from which we will be enlisting the support of the Catholic groups.

Volunteer firemen are still proving to be a difficult group to organize. Contact has been made with several leaders who are unanimous in their opinions that the benefits of such an organization would be minimal due to the fact there exist no national organizations of volunteer firemen. There are state organizations, but even these generally have enrollments of less than 50% of the firemen.

Meetings with key men in the areas of Financial Institutions and the Securities Industries were held July 19 and 20, respectively.

The Bankers will split into three separate committees, centering on Commercial Banks, Mutual Savings Banks and Savings and Loan Institutions. The National Committees will be selected this week. Similarly, the Securities Industry will submit nominations for its leadership during the coming week.

National Committees have been selected for Pharmacists, Optometrists, Life Underwriters, the High Performance Industry, and Veterinarians. These groups will meet this week and next.

The National Committee of Motorcyclists has not yet been nominated, however, the group's meeting is tentatively scheduled for August 1.

A number of difficulties and opportunities have arisen with pilots. They are enthusiastic, but are reluctant to organize in accordance with our pyramid scheme. Their strongest voice (and Pilot Co-Chairman in the 1968 Nixon campaign) has suggested that they can organize, influence 1,500,000 voters and raise a good deal of money if we appoint one of their people as a full time coordinator and provide him with an office, secretary and access to a WATS line. The Finance Committee has expressed interest in tapping pilots for donations and we have submitted to them a memo with pertinent information. Our recommendation is that the pyramid plan for aviation be dropped and that we assist the Finance Committee in assembling a "Name" Committee for use in a mass mailing and have commitment cards included in that mailing.

Lack of availability of volunteer kits is now definitely hurting our progress, as we are unable to put our State Chairmen to work until we have them. It is requested that the November Group expedite a first batch for us so that we can get going.

With the exception of the period when the State Chairmen were in and we had the briefing at the Mayflower, almost no information is reaching Field Directors about campaign plans, issues, strategy, tactics, etc. We will need more information as time goes on if we are to use citizens' structures to motivate people to vote for the President in ways that fit in with the goals of the campaign.

Asian-Americans: Mr. Tad Ikemoto, national Co-Chairman, agreed to coordinate his efforts with those of the California Asian-American committee. Prospective regional chairmen have been selected by Messrs. Woo and Ikemoto.

Community Leaders: The national committee met July 20, selecting Robert Cronk as National Chairman and Judge William Walk as national Vice Chairman. Past executive officers of nine national unit groups

are represented: Jaycees, Rotary International, Rotarian, Lion, Sertoma, Civitan, Kiwanis, Young President's Organization and Optimists. The national committee plans a similar representation of civic groups in each of the 50 states based on the national model.

Indians: National key men met July 19 to consider names for a national committee of Indians as well as define goals and a workable national organization. Martin Seneca and Neal McCaleb will serve as national Vice-Chairmen. The group proposed establishing a plan to enlist support for the President at the National Council of Indians assembly in Eugene, Oregon, August 6-11.

Travel Agents: National key men are scheduled to meet July 26.

SPANISH-SPEAKING

This week we met with the November Group to review copy strategy for media and graphic campaign materials. Attending the meeting was Spanish-speaking media consultant, Ernesto Cervera and Committee's Spanish-speaking Coordinator, Diana Lozano.

We met with Bill Rhatican to review White House and Campaign Committee publicity coordination with Carlos Conde and Bill Marumoto.

Met with Pete Villa, President of the LULAC, and Joe O'Campo, Executive Director of SER, to develop a program for publicizing SER accomplishments under this Administration.

We met with Tony Rodriguez and William Marumoto to organize plans for the upcoming public release of endorsements of the President by six Spanish-speaking Democrats.

Met with Dan Piliero to organize Spanish-speaking Lawyers Committee for Nixon; 7 will serve as Co-Chairmen and 25-50 will serve on committees. The Spanish-Speaking Task Force was asked to assist in the selection of the Spanish-speaking lawyers for the committee.

We met with Ollie Olivas, Director of the Southwest Council of La Raza, to review their forthcoming conference and to develop the speakers' agenda.

Frank Almaguer testified before the Human Concerns Sub-Committee of the Young Republican Federation Platform Committee and discussed the President's record of accomplishments toward Spanish-speaking citizens.

We have briefed the following state chairmen (Spanish-speaking): California, Illinois, Missouri, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Maryland.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

We have met with Senator Brock, Senator Buckley, Senator Cook, Mr. Finch, Senator Goldwater, Senator Gurney, Senator Javits, Mr. Klein, Mrs. Knauer, Secretary Morton, Mr. Ruckelshaus and Mr. Rumsfeld, and/or members of their staffs, to discuss the theory of the Attack Plan, and to present their proposed schedules for September and October. In addition, we are further revising the Attack Plan to reflect the suggestions made by these individuals.

We have met with Bill Carruthers, Dwight Chapin, Bill Timmons and members of the Republican National Committee and White House staff to discuss the proposed program of events at the Republican National Convention.

We staged an event in Nashville, at the home of Pat Wilson, in honor of our committed celebrities in the American Music for the President program. Senator Brock and Mr. Rumsfeld were in attendance.

We attended the Bob Hope/Red Cross Rapid City Telethon at the Morris Mechanic Theatre in Baltimore, Maryland, Saturday evening, to assist committed celebrities for the President, and to recruit new celebrities for the re-election campaign.

TRANSIENT

The overseas organizational effort was completed this week with the formation of Re-election Committees in Hong Kong, Japan, the Philippines and Australia. Identification of favorable resident citizens and fund raising activities are now underway in twenty foreign countries.

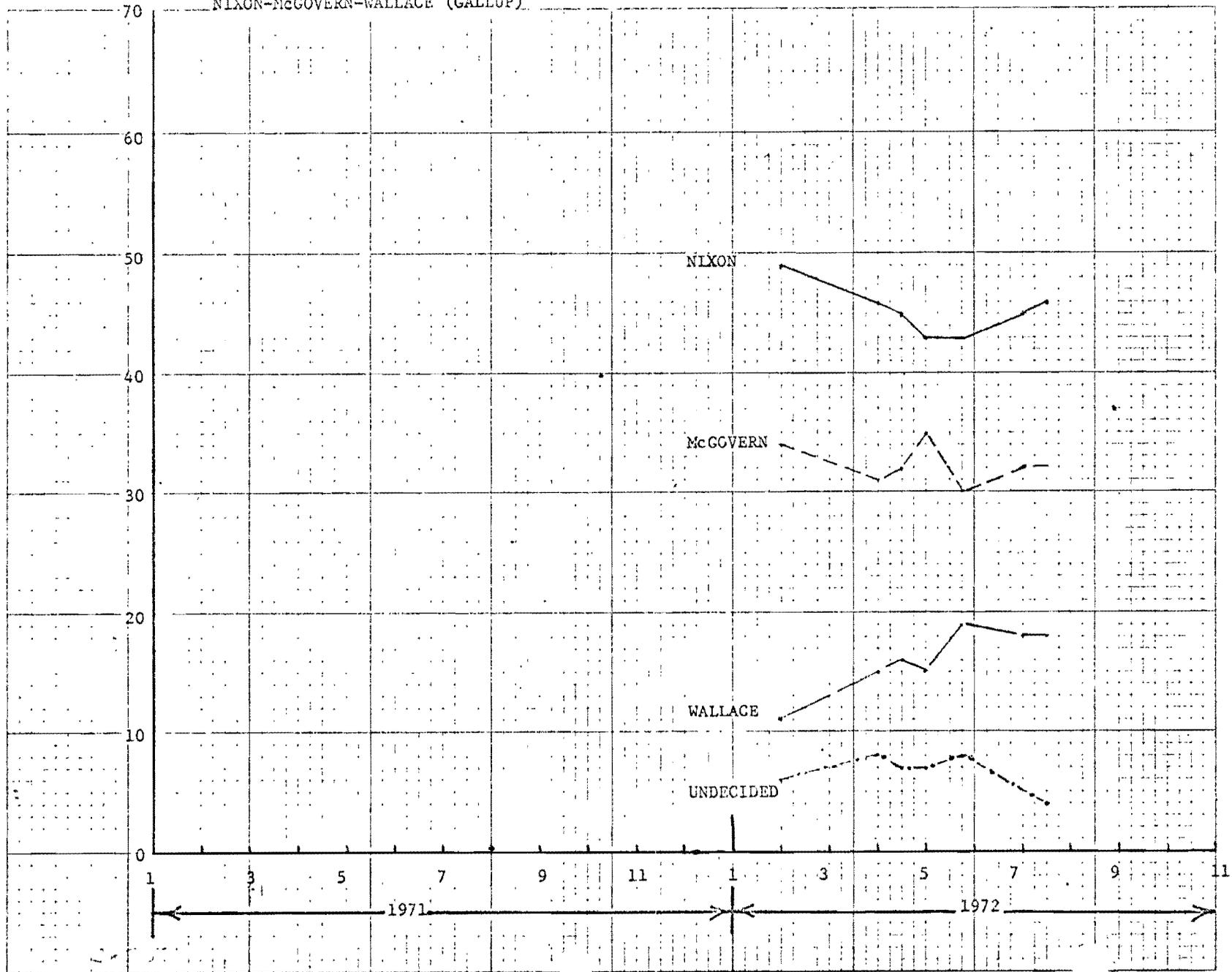
Planning for the special ballot element of the voter identification-voter turnout canvasses is proceeding apace with twenty state special ballot chairmen now in place and functioning. Preparation of special materials and training guides is on schedule and will be ready for the state training sessions being conducted during August.

A detailed plan implementing the career military voter program has been developed including an advertising program and a direct mail plan. The 168 largest military installations in the country have been identified and volunteers are now being recruited for events at these bases in September and October.

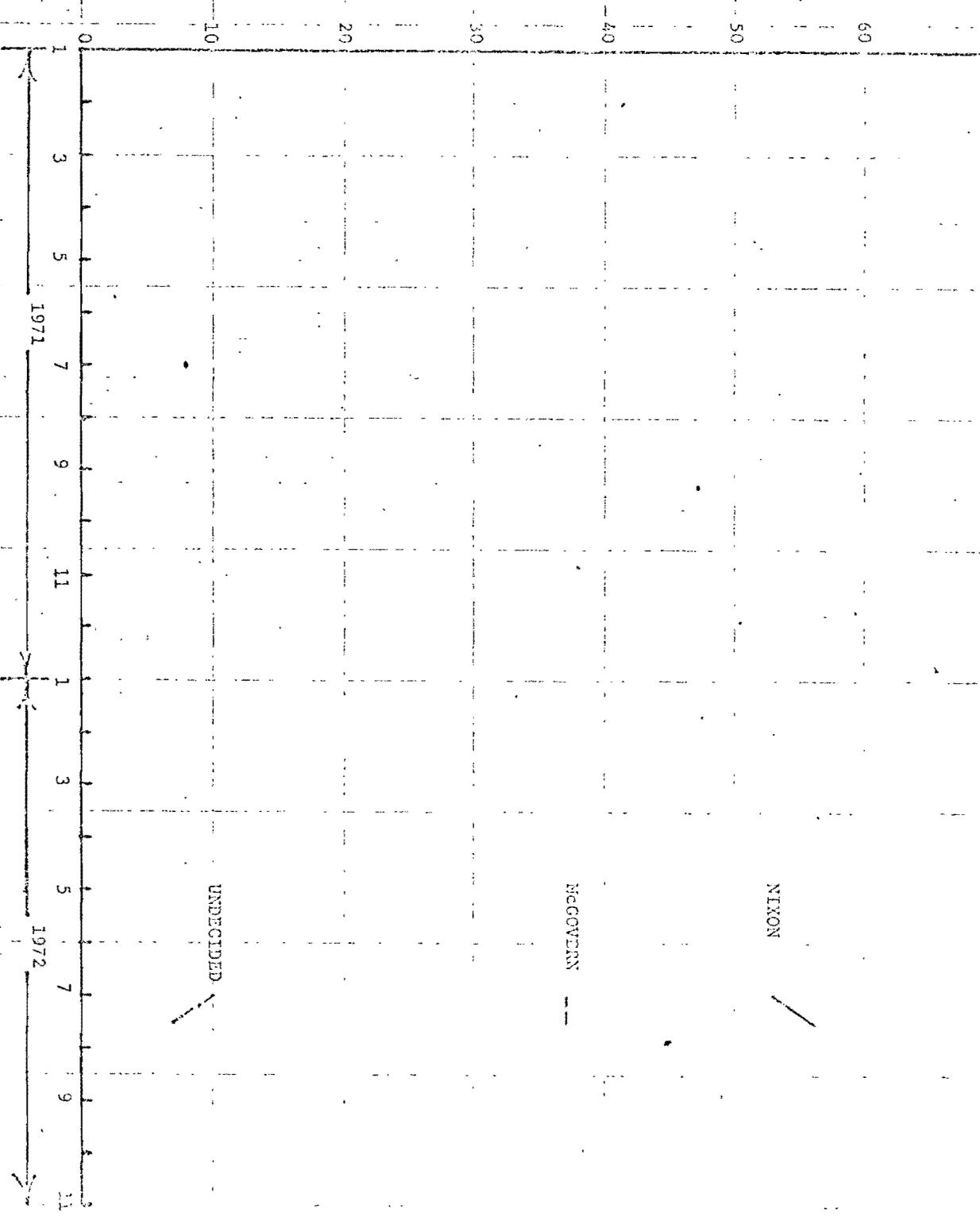
POLLING AND STRATEGY

Attached are recent updates of The Gallup published polls (Nixon-McGovern-Wallace and Nixon-McGovern-Undecided).

NIXON-McGOVERN-WALLACE (GALLUP)



NIXON-MCGOVERN-UNDECIDED (GALLUP)



SURROGATE SERVICES TOUR OFFICE
ADVANCE SCHOOL AGENDA
JULY 29-30, 1972

MAYFLOWER HOTEL-CHINESE ROOM

SATURDAY

8:00 am Coffee and Danish available

8:15 am Welcome: Jon Foust
a) purpose of school
b) discussion of agenda

8:30 am Remarks: Jeb Magruder
a) Welcome
b) Thank you for volunteering
c) Importance of surrogate program
d) Campaign organization
e) Campaign review
f) Role of advancement in campaign

9:00 am Voter Blocks: Frank Herringer

CAMPAIGN REGULATIONS

9:15 am Telephones: Bob Marik

9:30 am Election Law: Bob Odell

9:45 am Media: Phil Joanou

10:00 am Coffee Break

10:15 am Finance and GAO Reporting: Paul Barrick

10:30 am Scheduling Division: Bart Porter

10:45 am Press Operations and Communications: Ann Dore

11:00 am Youth Program: Ken Rietz

ADVANCE TECHNIQUES

- 11:15 am Press Techniques: Tim Elbourne
- 11:45 am Lighting and Sound for TV: Mark Goode
- Noon Lunch Break
- 12:45 pm Essential ingredients for success for surrogate advance: Bill Moeller
- a) control of events by CREP
 - b) political sensitivity and diplomacy
 - c) communication with Tour Desk at least two times per day
 - d) event itself is secondary to good media coverage
 - e) low profile
 - f) utilizing SCREP's expertise
 - g) common sense
- 1:00 pm Tour Desk Function: Ed Cowling
"when in doubt call . . ."
- 1:20 pm Initial Contact with and structuring of Local Personnel: Jon Foust
- 1:35 pm Design and Distribution of Handbills and Posters: Bill Moeller
(handout good and bad examples)
- 1:50 pm Printing-handbills, posters, tickets etc: Bill Moeller
- a) avoid overtime
 - b) trustworthy printer
 - c) get proof and proofread
- 1:55 pm Across the Street Banners and Marquees: Jon Foust
- 2:00 pm Telephone Campaign: Jon Foust
- a) structuring
 - b) use of CREP phone banks
 - c) ordering centrally through the Tour Desk (include cut-off time)
 - d) imputed corporate contributions
- 2:15 pm Radio and Newspaper Ads: Bill Moeller
- a) compliance procedures
 - b) ordering centrally through Tour Desk and November Group
 - c) use of prime drive time
 - d) PSA's
- 2:25 pm Press Conferences and Press Availability, Including Credentialing:
Jon Foust
- a) AP/UPI releases
 - b) working with SCREP press offices

- 2:35 pm Hand Signs and Banners: Jon Foust
 a) weird sizes, shapes and colors
 b) slogans
 c) placement
 d) parties
- 2:45 pm Airport Arrivals and Motorcades: Jon Foust
 a) open/closed
 b) crowd access and parking
 c) crowd controls and placement
 d) press considerations
- 3:00 pm Out-of-Town Coordinator (using busses etc.): Bill Moeller
- 3:05 pm Hotels and Motor Pools: Jon Foust
- 3:15 pm Public Crowd Building Events: Jon Foust/Bill Moeller
 a) tickets
 b) physical facilities
 c) ushers
 d) decorations
 e) program
 f) entertainment
 g) platform
 h) VIP's
 i) parking
- 4:00 pm Secondary Events: Bill Moeller
 a) drop-bys in general
 b) voter registration
 i) symbolic door knocking
 ii) local headquarters
 c) VA hospitals
 d) homes for elderly
 e) rely on SCREP for suggestions which will get media coverage
- 4:15 pm Nature of Most Surrogate Events: Bill Moeller
 a) pre-set speech with built-in crowd
 b) secondary events with crowd building and/or "drop-bys"
 with good press coverage will be of utmost importance
- 4:25 pm Security: Jon Foust
 a) when and how much
 b) when to pull out

 ADVANCE MECHANICS

- 4:35 pm Field Advance Office: Jon Foust
 a) dex ordering
 b) Xerox ordering
- 4:45 pm Advanceman Personal Expenses: Bill Moeller
 (Manual Supplement Number Two)

5:00 pm Who Pays for an Event? Bill Moeller
 5:05 pm Post-Event Follow-up's: Jon Foust
 (Manual Supplement Number One)
 5:30 pm Break
 6:00 pm Reception at Mayflower
 7:15 pm Reception Concludes
 NOTE: remainder of evening is unscheduled

SUNDAY

8:00 am Coffee and Danish Available
 8:15 am Lead's Responsibilities: Bill Moeller
 (Manual Supplement Number Three)
 8:25 am What to Expect from Molly O'Gara: Jon Foust
 (handout 7/13/72 memorandum)
 8:30 am What to expect initially from your Deskman: Ed Cowling
 (handout Trip Folder Check List)
 8:40 am Use of "Goodies": Jon Foust
 8:45 am Hypothetical Advance: Jon Foust/ Bill Moeller
 10:15 am Coffee Break
 10:30 am Question and Answer Session: Jon Foust/Bill Moeller
 12:40 pm Wrap-up: Jon Foust
 12:55 pm Miscellaneous Announcements: Bill Moeller
 1:00 pm School Concludes

TO: 7/24/72

10-50
F
Not Adequate

ACTION MEMO

Somebody, probably Clark MacGregor, must make a strong public statement praising George Wallace as a great patriot, and for his strong stand on defense in contrast to those who are trying to hamstring the President in this area. He should be congratulated for putting the country above party and for the concrete contribution that he's made to the debate, and that while his voice was not heard at the Democratic Convention, it will receive a full hearing at the Republican Convention.

The basic thing is to get across to him the fact that he has been heard.

HRH

7/26/72

Done - 7/27/72
To 20 newsmen at
Press Club lunch.

CM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

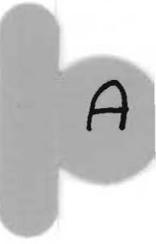
GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

MacGregor's Alan Emory Luncheon
at National Press Club - July 27

A review of the newspapers represented at the Alan Emory luncheon produced only two articles which refer to MacGregor's remarks on George Wallace. The articles by Dick Ryan of The Detroit News and by Don Irwin of the Los Angeles Times are attached at Tab A.

The Los Angeles Times article does not mention MacGregor's statements regarding Wallace. However, The Detroit News article quotes MacGregor: "I know the President feels and feels strongly that Governor Wallace's position on maintaining a strong military defense is absolutely the right position". This seems to correspond with your July 13 Action Memorandum (attached at Tab B) suggesting MacGregor make a strong public statement praising George Wallace as a great patriot, and for his strong stand on defense.



The attached clipping from Don Irwin of the L.A. Times and the piece by Richard Ryan which appeared in the Detroit News are the only news stories that Mort Allin has been able to find.

It would appear that they are the only stories that came out of the Alan Emory luncheon group appearance by Clarke MacGregor.

Nixon Team May Spend \$30 Million, Aide Says

MacGregor Envisions Barrooming Tour; Strategy Calls for Less Media Spending

BY DON IRVIN
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — President Nixon's campaign manager said Thursday the GOP plans to spend more than \$30 million in a reelection campaign that will stress grass-roots organization and less reliance on mass media spending than in 1968.

Clark MacGregor, director of Mr. Nixon's reelection campaign, also told reporters he hoped the President would confine his active campaigning to three weeks of barnstorming, beginning in mid-October. He said he would learn the President's views when they discuss the matter later this week.

MacGregor denied any knowledge of Mr. Nixon's attitude about retaining Vice President Agnew as his running mate. But he said he believed that Mr. Nixon would announce in about two weeks that he wants Agnew again.

Shift Gears

"I'll be surprised if the President doesn't say, 'He's my man,' MacGregor said. "But if he doesn't, I'll just shift gears."

MacGregor said published surveys convinced him that Agnew will be "far the strongest candidate" for Vice President, and indicated he expected Agnew to deal with domestic issues in the campaign.

Asked about speculation that the President may tap former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally for the vice presidential nomination, MacGregor replied: "I really haven't contemplated that (Connally) for it."



Clark MacGregor
of Nixon

It will be channeled through 1,500 storefront headquarters. Plans call for 1,000 more such headquarters in the other 40 states.

About \$13 million has been earmarked for the precinct-level campaign, MacGregor said. In addition, about \$6 million has been allocated for the telephone banks and highly computerized direct-mail campaigns the GOP is using to identify potential supporters and make sure they are registered.

Sets Volunteer Quota

MacGregor said he had set a quota of 1 million volunteers to be in action by Labor Day, working the precincts. He said 2,000 volunteers already had been signed up, with 125,000 of them in the 18-to-29 age bracket.

To assure backing for the volunteer effort, MacGregor said, media spending plans have been cut to

Direct spending for the President's reelection drive will total \$20 million to \$30 million, MacGregor said. Additional funds will be used in Republican gubernatorial and congressional campaigns, except to the extent that campaign efforts are combined, as they are in some states. The total figure for all GOP campaign spending has been estimated at close to \$100 million.

Mr. Govern Weakest

As yet there have been no official spending figures from Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.), the Democrat's nominee. His aides are talking, however, of a \$25 million campaign. As with the Republicans, this would be a fraction of total political spending.

In outlining the GOP fight against McGovern, MacGregor said he planned a "10-state campaign." But he added that major efforts would be directed at winning 10 populous states that together will get 200 of the 270 electoral votes required for victory in November.

They are California, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Texas, Maryland and Missouri. Asked why populous Massachusetts was not among the top 10, MacGregor cited polls that suggested the President faces harder sledding there than in the other big states.

The focus of the campaign in the big states, MacGregor said, will be a centralized volunteer ef-

about half the level of the 1968 campaign, in which reputed television and radio spending by the Nixon-Agnew forces totaled \$12.6 million.

Under the new MacGregor outlined, much of the campaign spending for TV and radio will be held to about \$6 million, with \$1 million more for advertising in publications. The new campaign spending law imposes a ceiling of about \$112 million on total spending on behalf of any presidential candidate.

Confines Washington

At one point, MacGregor termed the overwhalingly Democratic District of Columbia "the only voting entity we don't think we have a chance to carry." But he avoided any hard assessment of the election campaign at this stage.

Even then, it is probably that Mr. Nixon will officially open his campaign in mid-September somewhere near the Western White House at San Clemente, MacGregor said he still thought the President should shun active campaigning until after the Democratic-controlled Congress adjourns, probably in October.

He suggested, however, that Mr. Nixon might leave Washington for weekend speeches while Congress is still in session.

Weather

Beautiful

Det. on Page 6A

5th YEAR No. 212

Detroit

AMERICA'S LARGEST EVENING CIRCULATION

FRIDAY, JULY 28, 1972

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500
THE WHITE HOUSE
PURCHASE ORDER #247
RM. 125 EOB
MR. NORTH
ALITH

Michigan 'critical' in GOP plans

Vixon team trying to get Wallace into its lineup

By RICHARD A. RYAN

News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, who won several Democratic primaries including Michigan's, is being wooed by a non-campaign team to aid the Republican ticket in November.

B. Connally, Nixon troubleshooter and former leading Democrat for Nixon, visited Detroit this week in an attempt to persuade Wallace to join the team.

Nixon's campaign director, Clark MacGregor, also told newsmen yesterday that Michigan is one of the 10 states the President regards as "critical" to the Republican hopes. Michigan has been marked for extraordinary attention.

MacGregor said the Republicans are looking at Wallace's platform proposals to see what might be incorporated into the GOP platform which will be written in mid-August in Beach, N.C.

Wallace's platform is the same one he presented to the Democratic convention earlier this year, which quickly was shouted down by the Democratic delegates.

"Now the President feels and feels that Gov. Wallace's position on maintaining a strong military defense is absolutely correct," MacGregor said in an interview with a small group of newsmen.

MacGregor, former Minnesota congressman and Nixon's chief congressional liaison, said he has requested a copy of the platform in order to study the government proposals, including his plank on school

constitutional amendment to prohibit such bussing.

Mr. Nixon, in his suggested equal educational opportunities act, would prohibit bussing for all students in the sixth grade and below and make it the last alternative for all students above the sixth grade.

The President has stated repeatedly he would prefer a legislative end to bussing rather than resorting to a constitutional amendment.

Michigan has been targeted as one of the top 10 states which Mr. Nixon terms critical and in which he will concentrate much of his resources, including time and money, MacGregor said. Others in the top 10 are California, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Texas, Missouri and Maryland.

Asked why Michigan, which has voted for the Democratic presidential candidate in the last three elections, would be selected as a key state, MacGregor said the decision was based in part on favorable readings taken by Gov. Milliken, Senator Robert P. Griffin and Rep. Gerald R. Ford, of Grand Rapids.

But in addition, he acknowledged, the Nixon campaign staff is "looking at the Wallace people." The Alabama governor received 31 percent of the Michigan primary vote, a higher percentage than he received in any other contested state.

MacGregor said that a recent statement made by Democratic presidential nominee George S. McGovern to the effect that if he had been president he would not have instructed the Justice Department to intervene in the Detroit school bussing case "harshly" hurt him seriously.

But the appeal to the Wallace supporters in Michigan is more broad-based than such bussing, MacGregor said. He claimed that "almost a revolution among workingmen" to elect McGovern \$1,000 as suggested earlier by the Nixon campaign to "demonstrate the national

MacGregor recalled that, while in Detroit recently, he was stopped by a man "wearing work clothes," who said "If you do one thing Mr. MacGregor get these high taxes off our backs."

It is clear why the Nixon campaign operatives would like to see Wallace on their side. If Wallace should choose to run again as a third party candidate — which does not now appear likely — he would draw votes away from Mr. Nixon and perhaps cost the President valuable electoral votes throughout the South and border states.

Solid support of the President by Wallace, perhaps as a key member of the Democrats for Nixon group, could mean tens of thousands of additional votes for the President.

Well aware of the Wallace potential, MacGregor did not rule out the possibility that the Alabama governor might be invited to address the Republican National Convention, which begins Aug. 21.

MacGregor stressed that the 1972 campaign would be conducted on the issues and not on personalities. The campaign director said that even Vice-President Agnew, who in 1970 called former New York GOP Senator Charles E. Goodell the "Christine Jorgenson of the Republican Party," would conduct an issue-oriented campaign.

"I don't expect to have any difficulty in working out a positive approach with Ted Agnew," MacGregor asserted.

Seemingly as proof of the nonpersonality approach, MacGregor refused comment on the difficulties of the Democratic party involving Thomas F. Eagleton, the vice-presidential nominee.

"We simply are not going to be discussing it," he said. He also stressed that no poll has been taken or will be taken to register the impact on the Democratic ticket of Senator McGovern's disclosure he was hospitalized for three operations in the 1960's for psychiatric

B

Committee for the Re-election of the President

[Handwritten initials]
*66-
etal*

MEMORANDUM

July 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: PETER DAILEY
SUBJECT: Democrats for Nixon

Attached is a recommendation on how Democrats for Nixon advertising should be handled. I believe this is one of the most important decisions regarding advertising that will be made during the campaign.

The greatest opportunities for mistakes and bad judgement affecting the President lie in advertising directed against George McGovern. Advertising for Democrats for Nixon must rely almost completely on negative advertising. The Committee and the approval process with the Administration which has already been established, cannot afford to delegate this most crucial judgement area to others.

I strongly request your endorsement of this document.

Peter Dailey

DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON
ADVERTISING GUIDELINES

This is to recommend advertising guidelines for the now-forming Democrats for Nixon Committee:

1. The advertising objective should be to persuade traditional hardline Democrats to vote for Richard Nixon in November. Care should be taken that this objective is not diluted by other less vital goals. For example, no attempt should be made to gain converts to the Republican party -- this is too big a jump to ask most people to take and it would take years to accomplish.
- No attempt should be made to persuade Democrats to vote the Republican line. Its too tough a sale. It will happen in many cases, anyhow.

No attempt should be made to broaden the Committee to include traditional ticket splitters and/or independents. The Committee to Re-elect will be concentrating most of its energies on this group. The Democrats for Nixon should concentrate on Democrats.

2. The basic thrust of the advertising message should be:

Senator McGovern does not reflect the philosophy of most Democrats or of most Americans. He is leading the party in the wrong direction and would the country as well.

It is necessary that you (the Democrat) put country ahead of of party in 1972.

Richard Nixon more adequately represents the philosophy of the American people. He has been a good President and deserves support.

Advertising copy must be restrained both in condemnation of McGovern and praise of the President. There is no need to resort to excess emotionalism, distortion, or innuendo to point out the dangers of a McGovern administration. His positions on defense, welfare, taxes, and peace terms are in conflict with the thinking of most Democrats and should simply be exposed as such.

On the other hand, overly lavish praise of the President will probably turn the target audience off faster than you can say Democrats for Nixon. Remember, these are Democrats. Many of them can be persuaded to vote for the President because they honestly believe he is the better candidate. But we can't expect them to be happy about the situation that has forced this choice.

3. Advertising should be concentrated in the ten top priority states as defined elsewhere.
4. Advertising should be prepared by the November Group. This group is:

fully operational and equipped to handle this project without major staff additions.

Thoroughly familiar with McGovern, his positions on major issues, the points on which he and the President differ, and the accomplishments of the Nixon administration as they relate to McGovern's proposals and charges.

Thoroughly familiar with the numerous requirements of the Federal Elections Campaign Spending Act and completely staffed and systemized to handle same,

and most importantly -

in a position to be able to control all paid communications on behalf of the re-election campaign and therefore decide which organization is better suited to advance a line of attack on McGovern, what form this attack should take, when it should be done and how.

5. Advertising should be approved through the existing channels, i.e., the Campaign Director, and the White House, with the addition of a key member of Democrats for Nixon.

851

POLITICAL ACTION MEMORANDUM

On the target list presented at the staff meeting the other day, we omitted Catholic, ethnics, and old folks. Both of these are much more important than Jewish or Black, which are listed as targets.

We should forget about a massive effort with the Blacks. It's okay to talk about it and cover it on a general public basis, but it is not something that we should put any effort against, because it is counter-productive.

HRH :kb
August 7, 1972

J. Strachan

August 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: AL SNYDER

Jeb Magruder and I have screened the video tape of John Connally's press conference where the formation of the Democrats for the President was announced.

The film of Connally's statement can be edited into a 5 minute package and ABC News is willing to make the film available to the Committee for this purpose. There is some question as to whether a network would make a 5 minute prime time segment available but an unofficial sounding with network officials indicates that there is a chance that one of the major networks would buy it. The cost for a 5 minute commercial would be between \$15 and \$25,000 with a possible editing charge of another \$3 to \$5,000 so that the 5 minute spot could be made available. Estimated prime time audience during the summer would be in the range of 8 million households.

The networks would need at least four days advance notice in order to make room for this tape in its regular program schedule. Therefore, a time slot beginning Wednesday of next week would be the earliest, feasible time we could shoot for.

Jeb feels that the Connally statement by itself would not make an effective TV presentation and questions whether the project should be undertaken. On Wednesday of next week a full page ad will appear in over 60 newspapers in 14 major states announcing Democrats for Nixon. Both Jeb and the November Group feel that this is a more effective way of continuing the momentum of Democrats for Nixon.

The Connally press conference could be put into a 5 minute radio spot which could be provided next week. The cost and audience would depend on the placement.

DECISION

The film statement should be purchased from ABC News. YES ___ NO ___

COMMENT

The November Group should undertake production of the spot and attempt to place it at once on a network on prime time. YES ___ NO ___

COMMENT

We should go ahead with the radio spot. YES ___ NO ___

COMMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *S*

SUBJECT:

Use of "Johnson and Kennedy Administration" in Documents

The Domestic Council (Ken Cole and John Campbell) is confused as to whether the terms "Johnson Administration, Kennedy Administration, or previous Administrations" can be used in any political publications.

Ed Harper has excluded these terms from the Republican Platform at John Ehrlichman's direction. The question now is whether these terms may be used in the Nixon section of a history of the Republican Party, which the RNC will release during the campaign.

Recommendation:

*G → Campbell
8/11*
✓
Do not use "Johnson Administration, Kennedy Administration, ~~previous Administrations~~" in any political publications.

✓
OK to use "Johnson Administration, Kennedy Administration, previous Administrations".

Other.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MS

Date: 8/2

TO: LARRY HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This history of the Republican Party is for a 30 - 40 page booklet to be distributed by the RNC this Fall.

*ask
H
directly in the
of his history*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

J-
Give me
this \$13
to check
at John
Campbell

TO:

MS

FROM:

L. HIGBY

*What is this
for?*

100-100

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: JOHN CAMPBELL
SUBJECT: GOP History



It has been our understanding that we're not to criticize directly the Johnson or Kennedy Administrations. In light of this, would you or the appropriate person review the attached draft of the GOP history and see if the guidelines that I have mentioned apply to this piece and, if so, what changes might be made.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR KEN COLE

FROM: RAY WALDMANN *Ray W*

SUBJECT: GOP History

The attached reworked version of the Nixon section of a history of the Republican Party has been reviewed by Dent, Engman, Evans, Krogh, Morgan and Whitaker. Note that only two changes were made.

If you will give your okay, we will return it with these changes.

RJW:11
Attachment

cc: Ed Harper

*over words
not cutting direct
John F. Kennedy*

DRAFT FOR
ELH'S SIG.

MEMORANDUM FOR JACKIE O'CONNOR

FROM: ED HARPER

SUBJECT: GOP History

On page 2, the document references a "new beginning" of relations. This is Muskie's phrase and should be deleted.

On page 3, it is more accurate to delete "unanimously" after "economists" in line 12.

We have no other changes.

ELH:RJW:11

Attachment

The 1968 campaign was waged in the classic partisan tradition of American politics. The Democrat Party had controlled the government for eight years. The Republican Party had sat in opposition and was ready for a strong challenge.

The Johnson administration -- though in control of the executive and legislative branches -- had promised to end virtually all ills and had failed miserably. It had not dealt with mounting racial and sectional dissent. It had drastically escalated an unpopular war and alienated a majority of the country. When the Democrats ^{met to choose} finally chose their nominees -- after a tumultuous primary season and a tragic assassination of one candidate -- they met riots in Chicago.

In contrast, the Republican primaries were vigorous but peaceful. The party left its convention in Miami Beach united behind former Vice President Richard Nixon and Maryland Gov. Spiro Agnew.

Another element was added to the '68 story with the third party candidacy of Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

When election day results were tallied, the 37th President received the electoral votes of 32 states to Humphrey's 14, and Wallace's five. But for the first time since 1848, a new President had not won either house of Congress.

President Nixon began his first term with a call to the nation "to join in a high adventure.... We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Let us gather the light."

One of the overriding issues of the Sixties was Vietnam. The President ^{over} four years moved on two fronts to bring peace. First, he reversed the Johnson policy of American dominance in the war and instituted the Vietnamization program to turn over fighting responsibility to the South Vietnamese. By

mid-1972, more than 90 percent of American troops had been withdrawn from Vietnam; casualties were at less than 5 percent of the 300 per week rate in 1968; spending was down two-thirds and only volunteers were being sent to the war zone.

The President also worked at the negotiating table. He offered several alternate plans to the enemy ⁱⁿ at the Paris Peace Talks. He enlisted the assistance of other governments in the search for possible solutions. But he refused to hand the North Vietnamese what they could not win on the battlefield -- control of the government and people of the South.

Although throughout his first Administration, President Nixon was concerned with Vietnam, it did not dominate his foreign policy. In his inaugural address, the President spoke of a new "era of negotiation" which was to become the thrust of a whole new approach to foreign policy.

In carrying forward his Nixon Doctrine, he broke new ground toward cooling off the "cold war" between the free world and the communist bloc. He was the first President to visit communist countries in Eastern Europe -- notably Poland, Yugoslavia and Romania -- and he sealed historic arms control agreements with the Soviet Union during a fast-paced summit conference in Moscow.

A most significant move by President Nixon was his reopening of communications with communist China after a 20-year silence on both sides. His week-long "journey for peace" to the People's Republic of China heralded a new beginning of ~~new~~ relations between the two, historically friendly peoples.

Despite an opposition Congress that defeated or dawdled over Republican legislation, President Nixon made ~~new~~ inroads in domestic affairs. The climax of his "New American Revolution" was the State of the Union Address in 1971, in which he outlined the "six great goals" for the 92nd Congress: Welfare reform, health care expansion, environmental protection, peacetime prosperity, revenue sharing and government reorganization.

All approaches to these and other problems were new. They emphasized the long-held belief of Republicans that the federal government should point the way but enlist the support of states, localities and citizens in a common effort to solve the nation's problems. To improve health care, for example, the President proposed a new system that would depend on the resources of existing institutions, not set up new bureaucracies in the capital. To reduce federal control from Washington, he proposed a system of revenue sharing to give greater flexibility to the states and cities in meeting unique, local problems.

Preparing the way for a peacetime economy, the President acted boldly in August 1971 to ^{slow} ~~halt~~ inflation, stimulate investment and more jobs and expand trade overseas. By the half-way point in 1972, economists ~~unanimously~~ heralded the beginnings of a new boom, not dependent on a war-dominated economy.

President Nixon's first term in office called on America's best in meeting old problems -- such as foreign relations and government spending -- and new problems -- such as improving the environment and stemming the flow of illicit drugs. His Administration had more minorities, women and young people in top staff positions than ever before. The negative, pessimistic "night of the American spirit" was giving way to "the first rays of dawn."

The Republican Party, too, shared in the reawakening of the American spirit, and expanded its efforts to include all who wished for an imaginative, innovative government. President Nixon summed up the GOP's approach in the '70s when he dedicated the party's new home in the Eisenhower Republican Center:

"Ours should be a party of the open door -- open to all people, all parties, all faiths, all races. That is the kind of party that we are and that we shall be in the years ahead."

to turn the fighting responsibility to the South Vietnamese.

FINANCE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

C/D.

MEMORANDUM

August 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: HONORABLE MAURICE H. STANS
SUBJECT: Request that the President
Speak from California for
the Victory '72 Dinner on
September 26, 1972

The President will be urged by our California people to speak on our nationwide closed-circuit television broadcast from Los Angeles on the evening of September 26 and to speak to approximately 1,000 persons at a luncheon in San Francisco the same day. In this manner, David Packard feels that we can earn between \$500,000 and \$600,000 from San Francisco; and Ed Carter, our Los Angeles Dinner Chairman, feels he could raise \$1,500,000 from Los Angeles. The total take resulting from this exercise should be in excess of \$2,000,000, or nearly double what a New York appearance would bring.

The President agreed some months ago to participate in the event. In the past, he has spoken several times at such affairs from New York; but in view of the political situation in California, and particularly Northern California, we strongly endorse this request and urge a decision before Friday, August 11, so that adequate planning for both events may be implemented.

While this will be a disappointment to Lasker and his associates in New York, we will ask the Vice President to appear there and that should suffice.

*P. will do this — Murray
But maybe would be better
to do SF cocktails & LA dinner*