

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>
36	3	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to Haldeman RE: Democrats for Nixon advertising. 1 pg.
36	3	9/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Haldeman RE: possible attack advertisements. 1 pg.
36	3	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From G.S. Karalekas to Joanou RE: schedules of Democratic television commercials. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
36	3	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Joanou, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: advertising meetings. Advertisement flow charts for different media attached. 4 pgs.

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36	3	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to Malek and Magruder RE: RN's personal campaign activities. 1 pg.
36	3	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	"Talking Paper" generated by GS relating to campaign advising and attacks. 1 pg.
36	3	9/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Joanou to Strachan RE: attached documents. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
36	3	8/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to MacGregor RE: a previous memo from Colson discussing a news article written by Evans and Novak titled "The Connally Syndrome." Memo and column attached. 3 pgs.
36	3	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson for "9:15 Meeting Group" RE: polling numbers and other information from Sindlinger, as well as an analysis of campaign attack ads. 2 pgs.

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36	3	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to Colson RE: the use of the union bug in campaign material. 2 pgs.
36	3	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Malek RE: the use of the union bug in the Committee for the Re-election of the President letterhead. 1 pg.
36	3	9/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the campaign roles of Pat Hutar and Barbara Franklin. 1 pg.
36	3	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to MacGregor RE: the distribution of American flag lapel pins. Memos drafted by Magruder for MacGregor to his staff on the same subject attached. 10 pgs.
36	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes generated by unknown. 1 pg.

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36	3	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Magruder RE: encouraging individuals in the campaign to wear American flag lapel pins. 1 pg.
36	3	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Higby RE: an American Flag Pin project. Handwritten notes added by multiple unidentified individuals. Copy of original attached. 2 pgs.
36	3	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Kehrli RE: sending American flag lapel pins to staff members. 1 pg.
36	3	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	"Action Memo" written by Haldeman RE: the use of American flag lapel pins by campaign speakers. 1 pg.
36	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: an attached memo. 1 pg.

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36	3	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	"Action Memo" written by Haldeman RE: the use of American flag lapel pins by campaiga speakers. 1 pg.
36	3	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Chapin and Colson RE: the use of American flag lapel pins by all campaign personnel and speakers. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
36	3	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chapin to Haldeman RE: a campaign Celebrity TV Special. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
36	3	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William Carruthers to Chapin RE: the results and recommendations generated on a meeting revolving around the campaign T.V. Special. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 4 pgs.
36	3	9/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Haldeman RE: sending support names from the White House directly to the states. 1 pg.

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36	3	8/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Rob Davison RE: the use of White House approval and support names. 1 pg.
36	3	8/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: using a White House Support list to elicit funds or volunteers for the campaign. Previous information on the use of White House support names attached. 8 pgs.
36	3	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Timmons to Haldeman RE: attendance at a campaign planning group meeting. 1 pg.
36	3	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: budget problems to raise at a meeting. 1 pg.
36	3	8/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Peter H. Dailey, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: the advertising budget for the Committee for the Re-election of the President. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman. 2 pgs.

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36	3	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	"Action Memo" for a political meeting generated by Haldeman RE: names for a key state assignment and lists of states with Senate races in 1972. 1 pg.
36	3	8/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	"Action Memo" generated by Haldeman RE: RN's availability and personal campaigning. 2 pgs.
36	3	8/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Haldeman RE: the visibility of Mexican Americans in the presidential campaign. 2 pgs.
36	3	8/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From RN to Haldeman RE: potential campaign strategies. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 4 pgs.
36	3	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Haldeman RE: attached information on a youth registration drive. Handwritten note added by Haldeman. 1 pg.

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36	3	8/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: a failed youth voter registration drive. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Duplicate attached. 2 pgs.
36	3	8/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Rietz to Haldeman RE: the results of a Young Voters for the President Voter Registration Drive. Literature from the event attached. 20 pgs.
36	3	9/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: an attached document. 1 pg.
36	3	9/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Haldeman RE: a "Washington Post" article authored by Lou Cannon on the surrogate program of the 1972 Republican presidential campaign. News article in question attached with handwritten notes. 3 pgs.
36	3	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	"Action Memo" for a political meeting generated by Haldeman RE: names for a key state assignment and lists of states with Senate races in 1972. 1 pg.

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36	3	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Colson RE: campaign strategies to use against McGovern, particularly in the foreign policy arena. 2 pgs.
36	3	9/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Strachan to Higby RE: the decision not to use billboards in the campaign. 1 pg.
36	3	9/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor, through Strachan, to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.
36	3	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Malek to MacGregor RE: carrying the military vote. 1 pg.
36	3	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: debates between campaign spokesmen. 1 pg.

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36	3	8/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to MacGregor RE: the use of speakers at major events, with the possibility of debating prominent Democrats. 2 pgs.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

✓ OR

MEMORANDUM

September 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

CLARK MacGREGOR *CM*

SUBJECT:

Revisions in Democrats for Nixon Advertising Plan

Should it be John Connally's wish, and should you agree, I would concur in a deferral from the week beginning September 18th to the week beginning September 25th of all but the two Connally five-minute TV presentations.

I continue to feel strongly that no later than the week beginning Monday, September 25th we should go with the remainder of the "credibility" Democrats for Nixon advertising program which was originally agreed to be used during the week beginning September 18th.

Obviously, I would prefer that we go ahead as originally planned, agreed upon in my office Wednesday afternoon at a Budget Meeting attended by Maurice Stans, Jeb Magruder, Pete Dailey, Phil Joanou, and others, and presented to the President at Camp David Wednesday evening.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1972

2:30 p.m.



MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

At John Ehrlichman's request, I showed him the three Democratic attack ads and the two Connally 5-minute spots. These are the three attack ads shown to the Nixon State Chairmen and Republican National Committee last Tuesday and, along with the Connally spots, to the Colson 9:15 attack meeting this morning.

John thought the attack ads were very good. Regarding the Connally take, he felt strongly the press conference was far better than the other.



NOVEMBER  
GROUP  
INC.

Date: 9/18/72

TO: P. Joanou

FROM: G. S. Karalekas

SUBJECT: "Competitive Info"  
Local Democratic Candidates

cc: P. Dailey  
B. Novelli  
E. Fitzpatrick  
P. Levins  
O. Kobziar  
K. Dean

M. Lesser  
S. Willis  
B. Taylor  
S. Woodson  
M. Giagrande  
S. O'Leary  
J. Sommers

RUSH - BY TELECOPIER - 9 A.M.

According to two major Rep firms, local Democratic Candidates in selected markets are requesting that stations schedule their commercials either adjacent to or back-to-back with the President's commercials as soon as we begin making our buys.

They don't want to be "associated" with McGovern and feel that it would be "helpful" for them to be "near" the President's messages.

This "intelligence" was prompted by my 9/5/72 "Policy/ Procedures Letter" to each station noting that we did not want McGovern or local Democratic candidate commercials scheduled adjacent to the President's announcements.

Gordon

Interesting, but not too meaningful until we find out who and where -

*JAK*  
*Let*

9 THIRD AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022  
(2) 752-3500

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM TO: THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR  
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: PHIL JOANOU  
SUBJECT: Advertising Decision Meetings

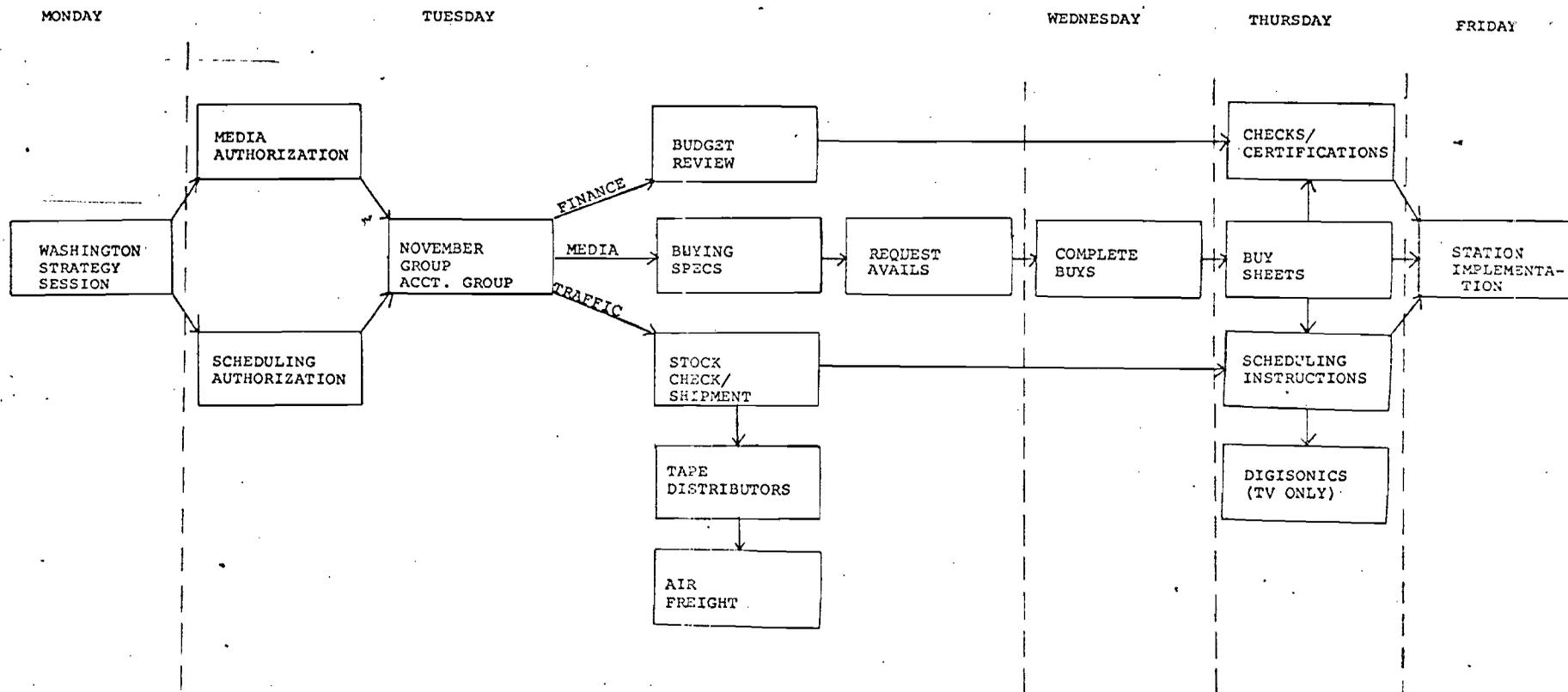
Budget meetings will be held each Monday afternoon to decide on markets, weights, and dollars for the following Monday.

Bob Teeter will supply research information prior to the budget meeting. In attendance at the meeting will be you, Maurice Stans, Jeb Magruder, Fred Malek, Pete Dailey, and Phil Joanou. We will, of course, keep appropriate White House staff informed of any decisions reached in these meetings.

Decisions should be finalized on Monday afternoon and the information transmitted to the November Group Media Department. The attached flow charts indicate the steps necessary for them to execute the plan from that point.

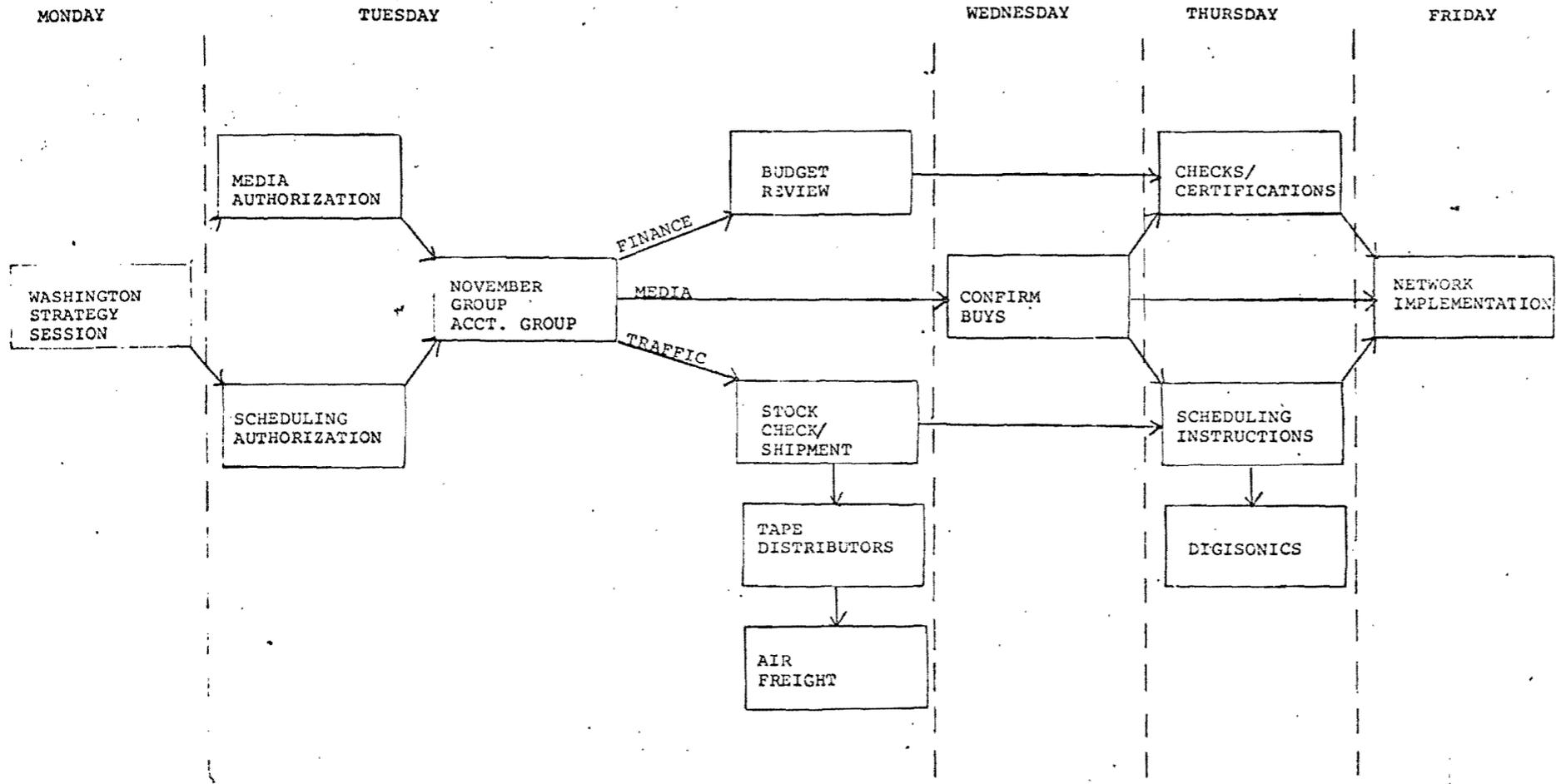
cc: Pete Dailey

OPERATIONAL FLOW CHART  
SPOT TV/SPOT RADIO



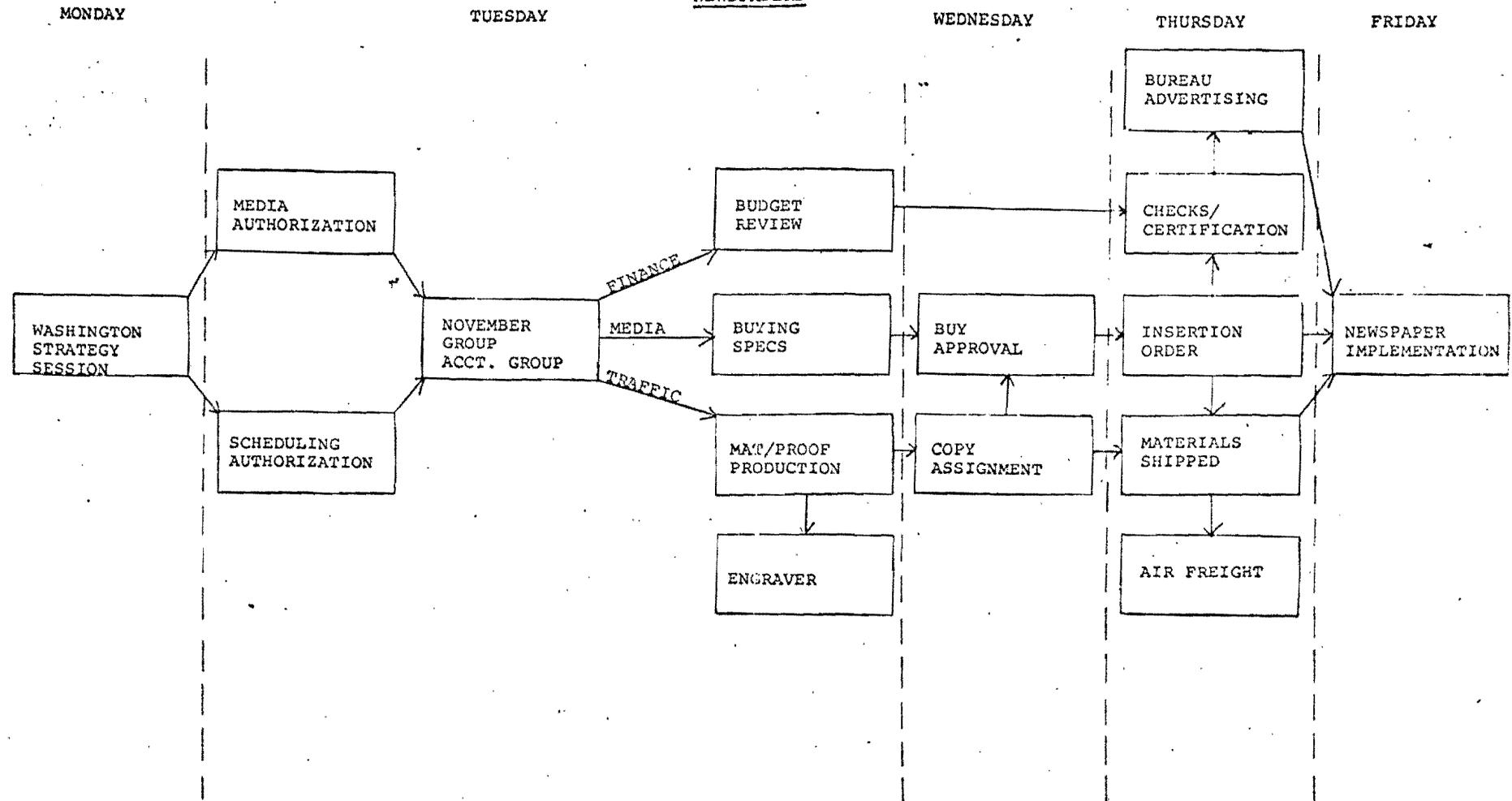
OPERATIONAL FLOW CHART

NETWORK TV



OPERATIONAL FLOW CHART

NEWSPAPERS



LA

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK  
JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

CLARK MacGREGOR

SUBJECT:

The President's Campaign Schedule

There will be no statements made by anyone at 1701 and 1730 about the President's schedule for his own personal campaigning. All such announcements will be made through Ron Ziegler at the White House.

At the Camp David dinner September 13th a very productive and lengthy discussion was held about the President's personal plans in the campaign. No final decisions were made beyond September 27th. The President remains flexible and very positive about his participation. We should avoid all speculation about where the President will go and when.

cc: Al Abrahams

TALKING PAPER FOR POLITICAL MEETING

RE: State Advisers; VP Advertising; General Attack

- 1) Senior Advisers Have the Senior Advisers for the Key States prepared the necessary reports?
- 2) VP Advertising What type of advertising, if any, should be used for the Vice President?
- 3) General Attack For the next seven weeks, should there be just one major issue per week that all surrogates are using or should the Colson 9:15 meeting continue to program day-to-day responses to what McGovern is saying?

GS

9/18/72

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

September 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM

TO: ~~GORDON STRACHAN~~ #  
FROM: PHIL JOANOU  
SUBJECT: Youth Poster

S → Phil  
9/11

Attached for your approval is a brochure/poster for use by Ken Reitz in the Youth Division.

cc: Pete Dailey

*Joanou*

*OK for format  
have not reviewed copy*

*Strachan*

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

August 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR  
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
SUBJECT: Evans<sup>t</sup> and Novak Column  
"The Connally Syndrome"

In Chuck Colson's memo of August 25 (copy attached), he indicated that the Connally people felt that 1701 was responsible for the information in the recent Evans and Novak article, "The Connally Syndrome." Upon checking both with George Christian, DFN and the people here in the political and press areas, I am confident that no one at 1701 discussed this subject with Evans and Novak.

George Christian feels that much of the article came from Senator Tower. He feels that the New York matter dealing with Procaccino resulted from a meeting Connally had with Bixby. As far as the Tennessee situation, Christian feels that this was picked up by Evans and Novak at the Convention. As you know, both you and I have discussed the Virginia situation with Dortch Warriner and Gerry Beemis and at Colson's suggestion, Jack Marsh worked with the Virginia people to reach an amicable solution. This was accomplished and we anticipate no further problem in Virginia.

As far as Charles Snider is concerned, we were not aware that he was approached by the Democrats for Nixon. It is my understanding that he was actually approached by Chuck Colson and his dealings with DFN were through Chuck's office.

*cc: Chuck Colson*

August 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON  
SUBJECT: Attached Evans and Novak Column

I don't know whether you've noticed the Evans and Novak column attached, but it really very viciously and unfairly sings Connally -- unfairly because I was the man responsible for Procaccino, not Connally. It is also vicious because it makes Connally appear inept and unwanted.

Some of Connally's people have the very strong suspicion that this could have only come from 1701. It couldn't have come from Rockefeller's people alone because it refers to the Tennessee and Virginia situations which were known only to Connally and to people at 1701. It also would not have come from the Rockefeller people since Rockefeller and Connally met in New York and came off with a very satisfactory resolution of their differences on the Procaccino situation. Simply by process of elimination, one would have to suspect at least that someone at 1701 was involved in this story.

This is the kind of thing that as you know goes on in a campaign. There is probably no way to stop it, but we damn well ought to try because it is very counter-productive and creates animosities that can be damaging as hell in the campaign. I think it is well worth having someone look into.



Rowland Evans and Robert Novak



# The Connally Syndrome

MIAMI BEACH—The bizarre choice of the politically discredited Mario Procaccino, to head John B. Connally's Democrats for Nixon in New York explains why party leaders attending the Republican national convention are so much less enthusiastic than President Nixon over the burgeoning Connally operation.

Connally's campaign to mobilize anti-McGovern Democrats behind Mr. Nixon's re-election campaign has run into so much Republican opposition that Clark MacGregor, the President's campaign manager, has issued confidential orders barring the Connally operation from states where Republican leaders do not want him.

Thus, in endless political discussions filling time here, there is disenchantment especially strong in the South—about conservative Democrat Connally. With Mr. Nixon holding a staggering lead, these party leaders say, Connally is damaging the Republican Party in their states.

The Procaccino case is symbolic. With Texan Connally lacking even rudimentary knowledge of New York

politics, he knew nothing about Procaccino, who ran an inept campaign for mayor of New York in 1969. So Connally accepted without question a recommendation to make Procaccino vice chairman of his New York operation (with Connally himself as chairman). When they learned this, Mr. Nixon's New York political operatives bluntly informed Connally that Procaccino was a "laughing stock" without influence or organization. The solution: Connally quickly named half a dozen other "vice chairmen," diminishing Procaccino's visibility.

CONNALLY'S worst problems are in the South, where some Republican leaders bitterly complain his Democrats for Nixon undermine their party-building efforts.

With Connally remaining a Democrat, and backing the Texas Democratic ticket except for Mr. Nixon, Southern party leaders make no secret here that they see his Democrats for Nixon as an easy out for prominent Southerners to avoid the hard political choice of turning Republican.

A case in point is Virginia, where Democratic Sen. William Spong, fearful that Sen. George McGovern may defeat his re-election bid, has disassociated himself from McGovern's presidential campaign. With a full-blown Connally operation in Virginia, other moderate Democrats such as Attorney General Andrew Miller might hang their hats on the Democrats for Nixon pole and ride out a Nixon landslide.

"We don't want to let the Andy Millers off the hook," one Virginia Republican leader here told us, "and that's what Connally would do." The upshot: An announcement that Sidney Kellam, long-time conservative Democratic leader in Virginia Beach, would be Democrats for Nixon vice chairman was quietly reversed. Connally will avoid the Old Dominion.

REPUBLICAN leaders in Tennessee also have locked the door on Connally, sending this ultimatum to MacGregor: If John Connally sets foot in Tennessee, the result will be a psychological disaster for the Republican organization, undefeated statewide since 1964.

Connally has suffered other reverses. He quietly offered a campaign job to Charles Snider, Gov. George Wallace's aborted 1972 presidential campaign manager. Snider was willing but asked Wallace's permission. Wallace said no.

For Connally, these setbacks could damage what White House aides are convinced is his long-range course: A change in party registration, a high post in a second Nixon administration (probably secretary of state) and a run for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination.

Connally confronts not only organizational obstacles in his pro-Nixon campaign but also growing hostility from ambitious Republicans beginning to regard him as a threat to their own ascent. In Texas, Sen. John Tower has fought partisan battles against Connally for a decade and would scarcely welcome him as Mr. Republican in Texas. Even worse, with Connally backing Tower's Democratic opponent for the Senate (Barefoot Sanders), Tower's intimates fear Connally's ticket-splitting campaign in Texas.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

✓ H

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: 9:15 MEETING GROUP  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON

As I mentioned last Saturday, Sindlinger is doing continuous polling and every three to four days he develops current poll data. Last week, during the period that we were mounting an intensive attack on McGovern, he (McGovern) continued to decline. In fact, during the week of August 28, McGovern declined to the lowest point yet in the campaign. 56.3% of the people said they would vote for President Nixon, 21.5% for McGovern and the balance undecided. Those are of all people who plan to vote and who are registered. Over the weekend, from September 1 through 4, McGovern gained from 21.5% to 25.1%. The President also gained, but relatively less, from 56.3% to 57.6%. It is now demonstrable, looking at the Sindlinger poll data from the Democratic Convention to date, that McGovern has declined while he has been on the defensive during the Eagleton matter, during the Ramsey Clark visit to North Vietna, during the Salinger affair, during the Republican Convention and during the week of our sustained counter-attack last week.

Over the weekend, our counter-attack was very weak. The only major news of the weekend was one press release by Dole which was publicized and the President's speech which was, of course, an attack upon the welfare ethic and impliedly upon McGovern. McGovern, on the other hand, over the weekend did make positive press every day.

It was not that we didn't try, we did; we just didn't have the kind of material that generated the kind of press that we need on a continuing basis.

It is perfectly clear to me from watching the trend lines of the Sindlinger poll data, that McGovern cannot gain while he is on the defensive, while he is responding to our charges and while we are hitting him very hard. He does show, however, that he can gain when he has the momentum as evidenced over this past weekend.

I have all of the Sindlinger data on a continuous basis going back to the Democratic Convention if you would like to review it. You will come to the same conclusion I have that it is absolutely imperative that we continue to press him and press him very hard so that he is defending, responding and addressing the issues we want him to address rather than the issues that he wants to address. Today is turning out to be a lousy day in that none of the things we programmed seem to be having any impact. We cannot afford to give McGovern the time to get well and the purpose of this memo is simply to urge a sustained, maximum effort for the next few weeks of the same kind that we maintained last week.

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

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

✓ H

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHARLES W. COLSON  
FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR<sup>CM</sup>  
SUBJECT: Union Bugs

With respect to your memo to Fred Malek on the use of the union bug, it has been our policy since the very beginning that all campaign materials will bear the union bug, and indeed all have, with the exception of 100,000 stickers which were printed by a union printer, but, by mistake, without the union bug. This was the printer's mistake, and one day later was corrected at no cost to the Committee: today, 12,500 corrected stickers were delivered to Washington and an equal number to New York. We will not be charged.

On the subject of stationery, several months ago you proposed that two changes be made in our Committee stationery -- first, that the American eagle watermark be removed, and second, that the union bug be placed on the stationery. Everyone agreed that we would remove the watermark because it might be misconstrued as government paper. However, on the question of the union bug, our advertising people and virtually everyone else who was consulted recommended against placing the bug on the stationery for a number of reasons. First, hardly anybody uses the union bug anymore. The White House does not use it, no government agency uses it, labor lawyers do not use it, the Republican National Committee does not use it, and more and more candidates do not use it.

Second, we have been using stationery without the union bug since May of 1971 -- and have had not one complaint; nobody has said anything about the fact that we did not use the union bug. I think this shows that the bug just isn't as significant as it used to be.

A friendly Republican printer supplies all of our stationery and business card needs at 5% above its cost. The shop is not union. If we move the business to another shop, we can expect our printing costs to increase by 50% at least. Also, we would not get the kind of quality and care which we get at this firm. We can get stationery and cards in 24 hours from the company, and would not get it from another, especially not from a union shop.

In summary, there seems to be no reason to throw away all of the stationery, envelopes, memo pads, business cards, press release forms, return address labels, etc., and substitute similar items with a union bug at a great cost for which we have no more funds. Incidentally, we understand that John Connally's Democrats for Nixon operation found union stationery too expensive and elected to go with non-union stationery. Have you sent John Connally a memo such as your September 5 memo to Fred Malek?

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON  
SUBJECT: Union Bugs

A year ago I warned Jeb Magruder about using Committee for the Re-election of the President letterhead that didn't have a union bug. For some reason, Magruder's orders to include the union bug were not followed. I raised it again with Mitchell in April, who had a hemorrhage and ordered immediately that all stationery and materials be required to have a union bug.

As of this date, the stationery still doesn't have a union bug. The only stationery that does is that used by the labor committee because they have insisted upon it.

We have now had 100,000 Nixon labor stickers delivered, sample attached. Incredibly, there is no union bug. I will not authorize these to be used nor will Rodgers or DeLury. They have to be thrown away even though they cost \$6,000! Isn't there some way, some how, we can get someone in the Committee for the Re-election of the President to do this one very simple thing? It is incredible to me that we can't seem to get this simple point through anywhere.

By the way, whoever authorized the printing of these stickers without a union bug should pay the bill and it shouldn't be charged to the labor committee budget. I hope you will authorize the reprint of these with a union bug immediately

Furthermore, the posters which have been requested by the Teamsters, I am now told, cannot be printed because they are too strong. The Teamsters are willing to buy them to put on their trucks. I don't know what the hell is going on, but we seem to be doing everything humanly possible not to get the labor vote this year.

I have talked with Hodgson about the foregoing and he totally agrees with me with the one caveat that he believes the 100,000 stickers that have been printed should be dumped in the deepest part of the Atlantic Ocean.

cc: Honorable Frances Hodgson

cc: *Chuck Magruder*

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Pat Hutar and Barbara Franklin's  
Campaign Roles

According to Fred Malek, the campaign roles of Barbara Franklin and Pat Hutar are separate with each having the responsibilities outlined below.

Barbara Franklin has overall responsibility to get women, as a constituent group, to vote for the President. She is in charge of the Women's Surrogate Program, and coordinates all materials, mailings, special advertising, and press relations. She is ultimately responsible for Barbara MacGregor's Flying Squad program using Administration and top White House Staff wives.

Pat Hutar does not report to Barbara Franklin. Pat Hutar is responsible for the Pledge to the President program, which recruits volunteers. Hutar is responsible for all volunteer programs except YVP. Even though most volunteers are women, Hutar's focus is volunteers. Hutar is also in charge of the Hostess Telephone program which relies on women to make telephone calls from their own home. This program is to be distinguished from the telephone centers program, under the direction of Bob Marik and usually staffed by volunteers. In addition, Pat Hutar is also involved in some of the scheduling of Cabinet wives.

GS/jb

H  
To  
H 9/18

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR  
 FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
 SUBJECT: Distribution of Lapel Pins

An idea has come up for gaining increased use of the American flag lapel pin worn by the President. The thought being that the presence of this particular pin signifies, more than anything, the bond we all share in our endeavor to re-elect the President. Thus, in order to gain wider distribution of this pin, our thought is to:

1. Issue pins to all 1701/1730 and November Group staff, (volunteers included), with a cover memo from you.

APPROVE   X   DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

2. Provide all surrogates with pins for their own use as well as a supply of pins for distribution to their staffs and at their speaking locations. Again, these will go out with a note from you.

APPROVE   X   DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

3. Provide all State Chairmen with a pin for their use and a supply of pins for distribution to their staff and in their area. Your letter would accompany the pins.

APPROVE   X   DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

4. Issue pins to all voter block and citizen's committee heads for distribution to their membership. This distribution will include Ken Rietz and his corps of young folks who in turn can hand out pins during their "Bumper Blitz", as well as Pat Hutar and her legion of volunteers.

APPROVE   X   DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

5. Provide each advancement here at the Committee, as well as Ron Walker's office, with a full supply of pins to distribute as they move across the country.

APPROVE       X                          DISAPPROVE                     

We would also order pins for the White House Staff (in conjunction with Bruce Kehrli) as well as for guests and staff of the Spirit of '76 (in conjunction with Dwight Chapin).

APPROVE       X                          DISAPPROVE                     

Attached are memoranda for your signature which will be used for distribution to the groups noted above.

One last thought: If you agree with the basic idea outlined above, this may make a good news item and I'll pursue it with Al Abrahams.

COMMENT:

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STAFF

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

As many of you know, President Nixon always wears an American flag in his lapel as a symbol of his pride in our flag and in our heritage.

The President has asked me to present each member of his campaign staff with a lapel pin similar to his. I have attached one to this memorandum and suggest that you wear it proudly -- as an emblem of your belief in America and its future and as a token of your kinship with the President through this campaign.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: PRESIDENTIAL SURROGATES  
FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

As many of you know, President Nixon always wears an American flag in his lapel as a symbol of his pride in our flag and in our heritage.

The President has asked me to present each member of his campaign staff with a lapel pin similar to his. I have attached one to this memorandum and suggest that you wear it proudly -- as an emblem of your belief in America and its future and as a token of your kinship with the President through this campaign.

I am also enclosing a supply of pins for distribution to your staff and to people you meet in your speaking tours.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: PETER DAILEY  
FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

As you know, President Nixon always wears an American flag in his lapel as a symbol of his pride in our flag and in our heritage.

The President has asked me to present each member of his campaign staff with a lapel pin similar to his. I have attached one to this memorandum and suggest that you wear it proudly -- as an emblem of your belief in America and its future and as a token of your kinship with the President through this campaign.

I am also enclosing a supply of pins for distribution to your staff in New York. Should you need more, contact Lewis Dale at x394.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

STATE CHAIRMEN

FROM:

CLARK MacGREGOR

As many of you know, President Nixon always wears an American flag in his lapel as a symbol of his pride in our flag and in our heritage.

The President has asked me to present each member of his campaign staff with a lapel pin similar to his. I have attached one to this memorandum and suggest that you wear it proudly -- as an emblem of your belief in America and its future and as a token of your kinship with the President in this campaign.

I am also enclosing a supply of pins for distribution to your staff and those with whom you have contact. Additional pins are available through Lewis Dale at National Headquarters.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: VOTER BLOCK AND CITIZEN'S  
COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

As many of you know, President Nixon always wears an American flag in his lapel as a symbol of his pride in our flag and in our heritage.

The President has asked me to present each member of his campaign staff with a lapel pin similar to his. I have attached one to this memorandum and suggest that you wear it proudly -- as an emblem of your belief in America and its future and as a token of your kinship with the President through this campaign.

I am also enclosing a supply of pins for distribution to each member of your committee and members of their staff. I would also like you to distribute pins to the audience at events held by your committee. Contact Lewis Dale at 1701 to replenish your supply.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PAT HUTAR

FROM:

CLARK MacGREGOR

As many of you know, President Nixon always wears an American flag in his lapel as a symbol of his pride in our flag and in our heritage.

The President has asked me to present each member of his campaign staff with a lapel pin similar to his. I have attached one to this memorandum and suggest that you wear it proudly -- as an emblem of your belief in America and its future and as a token of your kinship with the President through this campaign.

I would also like you to distribute pins to our many volunteers across the country. Lewis Dale will ensure your needs are met.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:       KEN RIETZ  
FROM:                   CLARK MacGREGOR

As you know, President Nixon always wears an American flag in his lapel as a symbol of his pride in our flag and in our heritage.

The President has asked me to present each member of his campaign staff with a lapel pin similar to his. I have attached one to this memorandum and suggest that you wear it proudly -- as an emblem of your belief in America and its future and as a token of your kinship with the President through this campaign.

I am also having a supply of pins delivered to you for distribution to your legion of young voters as well as to be handed out during your "bumper blitz" program. Lewis Dale can replenish your supply as needed.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ADVANCE STAFF  
FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

As many of you know, President Nixon always wears an American flag in his lapel as a symbol of his pride in our flag and in our heritage.

The President has asked me to present each member of his campaign staff with a lapel pin similar to his. I have attached one to this memorandum and suggest that you wear it proudly -- as an emblem of your belief in America and its future and as a token of your kinship with the President through this campaign.

I am also enclosing a supply of pins for distribution to all with whom you have contact around the country. To replenish your supply contact Lewis Dale at 1701.

Chopin - 1000

CWC - separately

DH knows little. see  
memo, no idea que pass

HIGH PRIORITY

Hzm  
9/15

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

American Flag Lapel Pins

We should be moving now hard and quickly to push the idea of the American Flag Lapel Pin. As a first step, all of our people should be wearing American Flags. Also they should be on all our speakers. Each speaker should have a supply of them to give to the people who ask for them.

On our Bumper Sticker program, it would be a good idea to offer to give each Bumper Sticker person an American Flag for his lapel at the same time.

I am sure there are several other ideas that you'll have on this, but we should get a complete program going on this immediately both at 1701 and out in the country.

Please let me know what you are doing on this by Friday, September 15.

GS/jb  
FU - 9/15

65

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : L. HIGBY  
FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN

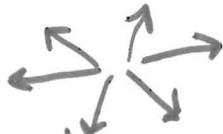
What's the follow up on the American Flag Pin project?

MS  
H  
FCU  
9/15

Repeat Friday

Who is handling  
this project anyway? -  
Kehrel, Strachan, Coleon or Chapin??

Chapin, Gurr's,



September 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

L. HIGBY

FROM :

H. R. HALDEMAN

What's the follow up on the American Flag Pin project?

HRH:pm

September 12, 1972

Hjm  
9/15

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BRUCE KEHRLI

FROM:

LARRY HIGBY

One good thing that we could do is to have you mail to everybody here on the Staff an American Flag Lapel Pin, or just have them distributed around to the offices. What say you?

LHigby:mco

ACTION MEMO

We should move now very firmly and quickly to push the American lapel pin idea. As a first step, all of our people should be wearing American flags and they should be on all speakers. Each speaker should have a supply of them to give to people who ask for them.

Also on the bumper sticker program, it might be a good idea to offer to give each bumper sticker person an American flag for his lapel at the same time.

HRH:pm

9/12/72

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date \_\_\_\_\_

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

*Menu to Magreider/Kokson  
Chapin*

✓

ACTION MEMO

We should move now very firmly and quickly to push the American *Flag* lapel pin idea. As a first step, all of our people should be wearing American flags and they should be on all speakers. Each speaker should have a supply of them to give to people who ask for them.

Also on the bumper sticker program, it might be a good idea to offer to give each bumper sticker person an American flag for his lapel at the same time.

HRH

9/12/72

September 12, 1972

Hfer  
9/15

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN  
CHUCK COLSON

FROM:

LARRY HIGBY

You should move now very firmly and quickly to push the American Flag Lapel Pin idea. As a first step, all of our people should be wearing American Flags and they should be on all our speakers. Also, each speaker should have a supply of them to give to people who ask for them.

Will each of you please do whatever possible in your area to make sure that we're pushing the American Flag Lapel Pin idea.

DH knows  
made 9/15

LHigby:mco

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 4, 1972

2:00 p.m.

(F) #m  
~~8/15~~ C  
~~8/25~~  
~~8/28~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

Attached you will find a memo recommending a new approach to our Celebrity TV Special. It would take place in the Forum in Los Angeles with all the talent being in one place and would be a fund raiser to insure that the event pays for itself plus perhaps raises some money.

What we are after from you is a reaction, and if possible a nod, giving us approval to proceed with this concept and to develop a more formal recommendation.

Approve Concept       

Disapprove       

Other       

Sudy

*Cancelled*

8/29/72 - 1702 BALKY AT FUNDY  
C TO TALK TO managers  
FW 8/29/72

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 4, 1972

TO: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN  
FROM: WILLIAM CARRUTHERS   
RE: RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE  
"T. V. SPECIAL" MEETING HELD ON AUGUST 3rd

It was agreed that the most advantageous time to air the T. V. Special would have been Sunday, August 20th. That date would have provided us with maximum impact regarding the objectives of the program, i. e. recruit volunteers, stimulate contributions, and promote the Convention.

We recommend against the September 8th air date for the same reason we objected to August 20th, not enough time to "get it together." The stakes are too high and in this short time frame and the risk factor too great. At best we would have been able to format and produce a loose variety show that has potential for a "flop." In addition our premise would have been weakened, in losing the pre-Convention emphasis.

Our least effective airdate in terms of reaching our objectives would be during the last week of the Campaign. This date would of course negate the volunteer and contributory aspects of the program and be purposeful only in terms of getting out the vote. The two primary dangers here are as follows: (1) we may stimulate Democratic votes and (2) some political event or tragedy may occur prior to an early November airdate that would cause us to cancel the program.

In summation, considering all the points we net out a minus and recommend against doing the program under the currently proposed guidelines.

Counter Recommendation

- A. We propose a major fund raiser be staged in Los Angeles at the L.A. Forum, capacity 17,000. This program would include our major list of performing celebrities. It is of most importance that the celebrity composition include some major youth oriented acts.

This event could be staged and produced within the next four weeks with minimal difficulty. We can ticket and control the audience providing the desired demographic. In addition, we should see to it that high administration officials and other attractive Republican supporters are in attendance.

? - why

- B. If we can arrange to mass our talent in Los Angeles for this event, we would then provide television coverage of the event. This is television at its best, covering an exciting one-time-only event which includes not only the on stage performance but would capture the response of the audience.

This is a minimal expenditure of dollars and would provide us with a video-tape of the program. I think it would be safe to say that the gate receipts would cover the expense of the hall, scale payments to performers and musicians, advertising and the television equipment and personnel necessary to video tape the event.

We would then screen and edit the video tape down to a 30 or 15 minute program and then insert our "commercials" to complete the product. At that juncture we can make a judgement on a go-no go posture. In summation we can stage an exciting event, use television at its best, and maintain maximum flexibility throughout and reduce considerably on dollar expenditure.

cc: Cliff Miller  
 Phil Joanou  
 Mark Goode  
 Dick Moore

*[Handwritten notes and signatures, including the name "Cliff Miller" and other illegible text.]*

TELEVISION SPECIAL - "AN EVENING FOR A FRIEND"

Discussion Points for August 3rd Meeting

Attending:                   D. Moore  
                                  P. Joano  
                                  C. Miller  
                                  B. Carruthers

1.    When do we air the T. V. Special?

- A.     Current recommendation - Friday Sept. 8th
- B.     Following are the network Fall Season premier dates:

                                  ABC - Sept. 10

                                  NBC - Sept. 11

                                  CBS - Sept. 11

- C.     In order to ease the time buy situation, recommend that we air the program before Sept. 10th.

2.    When do we tape the T. V. Special?

- A.     At least four days prior to telecast date
- B.     If we hold to current air date and get approvals as of Friday, we are still in a dangerous time frame

3.    Where do we do the T. V. Special?

- A.     Recommendation is to tape the special in Los Angeles, where we have better facilities and more readily available talent.
- B.     The move to L. A. would almost certainly omit Gleason from the program.
- C.     Recommend that we attempt to retain J. Philbin as producer unless Paul Keyes is available.

4.    What is the purpose of the Special?

- A.     Volunteers
- B.     Contributions
- C.     Get out the vote

5. What is the suggested format?

- A. Straight variety
- B. Comedy concept ( a la the Honeymooners)

This ultimately will be up to the creative staff of the program but we should recommend a format. Straight variety is simpler to develop but perhaps not as interesting or creative as a fully developed comedy concept. However, a comedy concept will take considerably more time to develop.

September 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

FRED MALEK



SUBJECT:

White House Support Names

This memorandum recommends that the White House support names be sent directly to the states by a method which ensures that the source of the names will not be disclosed to the public. Specifically, I recommend that the computerized lists of White House names be blended into similar lists that are being developed by the Citizens Committee and Telephone Bank Program and sent to the State Nixon Directors on a bi-weekly basis. The proposed blending would take place over a two week period.

There are two basic benefits to this approach. First, it will be extremely difficult for the states to distinguish between the White House names and those that they are already receiving. This is a significant improvement over our previous recommendation and should help ensure that the source never be divulged to the public. Secondly, this method obviates the necessity for using a direct mail approach, the only other alternative. Although direct mail is undoubtedly the most secure manner to utilize the names, it is also very inefficient. We estimate that the response to the recommended approach will be 250% greater than if a direct mail campaign were conducted.

If you still feel that the recommended approach does not contain the necessary security precautions, we will complete the preparations for the joint Finance Committee/Volunteer Recruitment mailing.

Concurrence:	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Direct to States	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Direct Mail	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Discuss	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

S → FM  
9/9  
11:30

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 25, 1972

H  
FO  
8/29  
H  
9/6

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ROB DAVISON

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

As Fred Malek has probably explained to you, we have to go back to the drawing boards for the preparation of a proposal to use the 700,000 White House support names. The approval remains valid -- that is, the 700,000 names can be used for a volunteer program. However, the primary concern is the security of the names. The decision is not to send the names out to the states. The reason for this is that the source of the names will become public knowledge and there will be severe criticism. When you have developed a substitute proposal, forward it to me immediately as I am anxious to get this project wrapped up.

9/5 - see today

cc: Mike Smith

GS/jb

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **S**  
SUBJECT: White House Support Lists

On July 31 you approved use of the 300,000 White House Support List for "a direct mail appeal to them to volunteer to work for the President". You had previously approved a Stans fundraising appeal to the same group. Both letters were to be subject to your express approval of the text and absolute security over the source of the names. Stans' aide told me that Stans cleared the letter attached at Tab A personally with you.

The text of the letter has been approved and cards may be transferred to a secure tape:

Yes, Stans has OK.  
 No, Stans does not have approval.  
 Other.

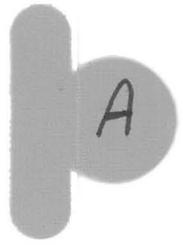
The approval granted to Magruder for an appeal for volunteers resulted in a substantially modified request from Malek (attached at Tab B). He is requesting access to the 785,000 names, including those who participated in Nixon Neighbors in 1968, the Cambodia Speech approval letters, the early 1969 general support letters, the 91,000 Haiphong mining letters, all pro-President letters, birthday cards, and letters from the public who have received letters from the President or Roland Elliott.

However, Malek is not seeking authority merely to write the volunteers asking them to offer their services at a local Headquarters. Instead, Malek wants to take the lists, divide them by Key States and send the names to the local campaign director for utilization in either the telephone campaign or field operation. The obvious problem with this

proposal is that the security of the lists is not assured. Not only are the lists in the hands of people outside our immediate control but also the source of the names -- the President's supporters from the White House computer -- would leak fairly quickly.

These names should be used in this campaign but I recommend against the Malek proposal. I will work with Malek to develop a secure alternative.

OK



August 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: KENNETH K. TALMAGE *Ken*

Enclosed is the text of the proposed solicitation letter to the individuals on the White House Support list.

Secretary Stans is anxious to expedite the mailing of this letter. Please let me know when, where and from whom the 3 X 5 cards can be picked up.

Thanks.

Proposed Solicitation  
White House Support List

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

Your words of support<sup>1</sup> to President Nixon ~~on one~~  
~~on more occasions~~ during his first term of office were  
very valuable. It helped the President in determining  
which courses of action would be best for the American  
people.

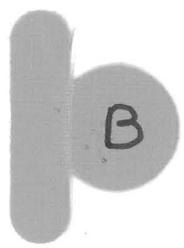
The President again needs your help in order to  
continue the kind of leadership this country must have  
to survive and prosper. As you know, a presidential  
campaign costs a good deal of money. Unlike yourself,  
many Americans need to know more about President Nixon's  
accomplishments and the promise they hold for the future  
if he is re-elected.

I hope that you, as a loyal and concerned American,  
will respond to the President's need by completing the  
enclosed card and returning it to me with a check for  
the maximum you can manage. This investment in good  
government could well be the best you will ever make.

Sincerely,

Maurice H. Stans  
Chairman

OK by  
Haldeman



**Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President**

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-6920

August 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: FRED MALEK   
SUBJECT: Lists of Presidential Supporters

BACKGROUND

The names of 785,000 people who have indicated their personal support of the President have been collected by the following people in the White House: Kathy Balsdon (Chuck Colson's office, 360,000 names on computer tape); Anne Higgins (Correspondence Office, 300,000 names on index cards); and Roland Elliott (Correspondence office, 125,000 names on computer tape). A few months ago, the Committee for the Re-Election of the President requested that these names be made available for campaign purposes. You released these lists so that the necessary staff work could be performed, but requested that a plan for utilization of the names be submitted to you prior to their release from 1701.

PURPOSE

This memorandum presents the requested Utilization Plan and recommends its immediate approval so that the names can be released by Monday, August 21st.

ALTERNATIVES

Two alternative methods of utilizing the lists were evaluated. The first method involved using the names in a 1701 Direct Mail Campaign. The second alternative involved utilizing the names for state-oriented volunteer recruitment programs. Specifically, we evaluated the possibility of giving the names of supporters from the nine key states to Nancy Brataas to use in her Telephone Bank Program. The remaining names from the non-key states would be sent by the 1701 Regional Directors to the individual State Volunteer Recruitment Chairmen for dissemination to the local field organizations.

ANALYSIS, RECOMMENDATIONS

In analyzing the Direct Mail approach, we concluded that this alternative was both expensive and ineffective, resulting in a cost per volunteer recruited of \$8 to \$12. We, therefore, eliminated this approach. The second alternative,

however, proved to be viable and I recommend it for two significant reasons. First, the real key to recruiting volunteers and placing them in the field lies in the proper management of the volunteer effort at the state and local levels. This alternative decentralizes the responsibility for utilizing the names to the states, permitting local management of the volunteer effort. Secondly, this approach utilizes Nancy Brataas' Telephone Bank Program in key states. In the primaries the Telephone Banks proved to be a very professional method of recruiting volunteers, resulting in a relatively low cost per volunteer enlisted. By using this proven, efficient program, we will be able to maximize our impact in key states.

#### FURTHER ACTION

Roland Elliott, who is collating the three lists, reports that he will be ready to transfer most of the names to 1701 by this Friday. The remainder of the names will be transferred by the end of the month. Once the collated lists reach 1701, Bob Marik's staff will review them for duplication and VIPs, making the appropriate deletions. Bob then will give the key state lists to Nancy Brataas and the remainder to the Regional Directors. We have decided not to reimburse the White House for expenses incurred in this effort because any payment made by 1701 would eventually become part of the White House public record. This conflicts with our desire not to divulge the source of the names.

If you concur in the above recommendations and action steps, we will begin immediately to implement this plan.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: WILLIAM TIMMONS *BT.*  
SUBJECT: Campaign Group

What are chances of my attending the campaign planning group's meetings? I would like to be programmed in because of my Hill dealings and feel that now and again I might even make a contribution.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL~~

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN S

SUBJECT:

Possible Subject for  
10 a.m. Political Meeting

You indicated today that you had several political subjects to cover at the 10 a.m. meeting in Ehrlichman's office. However, there is one problem that you may want to cover in the meeting or separately with MacGregor.

Stans told MacGregor and Magruder today at 3 p.m. that he would not release any money to the November Group until they accepted the 6.3 million budget instead of the 10 million requested. You expressed your views to MacGregor regarding the advertising budget in the attached memorandum.

This budget problem may be raised Friday afternoon when Peter Dailey is prepared to present to you the final "finished" campaign newspaper and TV ads. Although Dailey plans on discussing the revised advertising strategy in light of McGovern's, this budget matter may be raised by Dailey because the matter has not been resolved.

✓  
Mac on  
top of  
this.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

*Clark  
MacGregor*

MEMORANDUM

August 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: PETER H. DAILEY

SUBJECT: Advertising Budget

*I think Pete  
is absolutely  
right - and that we  
are doing a very  
poor job of it. Even if  
we don't pay for it.*

The recent decisions to cut the Committee Advertising budget should be reviewed now to provide for sound media planning and scheduling.

For your review, we submit the following:

Considerations

1. \$14.2 million is allowable for media under the Federal Election Campaign Spending Act.
2. \$3 million has been deducted from the total for other uses, leaving a current budget of \$11.2 million.
3. We want to provide adequate reach and frequency, flexibility of message, a meaningful delivery of DFN messages (or anti-McGovern advertising), and an adequate contingency budget.
4. In 1968, the Nixon campaign spent \$22.5 million in broadcast alone, while the Democrats spent \$15.4 million. At present we have \$8.1 million allocated to broadcast, a reduction from 1968 of 268%. Thus, the allowable budget has been already reduced \$3 million and is well under 1968 expenditures.
5. The McGovern forces may well spend up to the \$14.2 million allowable if they can raise the funds.
6. We do not want to visably outspend McGovern. We do not want money to be a campaign issue.

7. Polling data must be a determinate of dollar planning. We must be prepared to spend all available funds to win the election and make adjustments downward later if polls indicate. *Right*
8. Advertising is the only communications vehicle through which we can transmit our message as the Committee wants it communicated without having the press provide its own interpretations. Also, it is the best way to communicate McGovern's radical positions to the American electorate. ✓
9. Current Committee plans call for a substantially reduced budget. The most recent plan shows a budget allocation of \$6.2 million dollars. *Not appropriate*

Conclusions

The \$6.2 million budget assumes an easy election and one not related to issues. We cannot operate on that assumption. *Absolutely.*

We should plan now on a close election. National and local polling data should be closely scrutinized and the plan adjusted downward later. *Right*

Recommendation

The budget for advertising should be restored to the \$11.2 million level. We can not afford to plan now on an easy win, then be put in a position of scrambling for dollars in the last weeks if the polling gap closes.

*agree*

*Art Staley*



ACTION MEMO - POLITICAL MEETING

We need the names of the key state assignment that we discussed at the last meeting. Also, we need to include those states where there are Senate races such as Montana.

HRH

9/7/72

*Mac w/ guide to P  
this aft.*

## ACTION MEMO

In order to first downgrade McGovern's bravery which the press is emphasizing on his walking tours, and second to prepare the way for the President to meet people when he goes out in the country without having the press say that he's trying to copy McGovern, we need to get out a story that is broadly circulated and picked up pointing out that Nixon has been doing person-to-person work in all 50 states, and whatever number of countries it is that he's visited, and that he intends to continue to do so.

We have not made nearly enough out of the fact that the President has visited all 50 states, or that on these visits he has overridden the security people time and time again - walking to the fence, making unscheduled stops, and having more contact with people than any man who has ever served in the office.

Especially, his action should be compared to the situation we found in 1968 when the President was virtually a prisoner in the White House due to the possibility of violence whenever he went out into the country.

If we can make the point regarding people's concern about security and Bremer that those incidents occur when there are scheduled stops,

they don't occur when the stops are unscheduled and it is the unscheduled stops that the President has always insisted on, even back as far as the Caracas incident.

As a matter of fact, he can use the concern about the Bremer threats as the basis for building up the President's availability, making the point that we have threats all the time but that the President insists all the time, without being rash, that he still needs the opportunity to meet people as he travels through the country.

He's going to be doing this anyway, so we might as well make a virtue out of it rather than running into the press reaction that he's only doing it in answer to McGovern's tactic.

HRH:pm

8/16/72

Committee for the Re-election of the President



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.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 12, 1972

*AB*  
*Don*

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: THE PRESIDENT

*L. C. Jew*  
*Colson*  
*H. H. H. H.*  
*first*

I have spoken to Colson about the advisability of getting out a Clark mailing. What I think is needed here is not a big long speech but just a couple of tough, hard-hitting paragraphs making the point quoting directly from what Clark said in Hanoi and then quoting directly what McGovern said about appointing Clark to the FBI, and then saying that for 40 years, or whatever the case may be, the Nation's number one anti-Communist, the man in charge of investigating Communist subversion, was J. Edgar Hoover. One of the critical issues of this campaign is whether we have as President a man who has said that he will appoint Ramsey Clark, one who has been giving aid and comfort to a Communist enemy responsible for the deaths of 55,000 Americans, as head of the organization that has the responsibility, among others, of investigating and prosecuting Communist subversion in the United States. This can be an enormously powerful mailing to Veterans, Labor, and other groups. It is also, of course, superb speech material. Will you follow up with Colson and, in this case, check the rhetoric but, more important, the substance to make sure it is simple, hard-hitting and accurate.

Along the same line, I have noted that in Rhode Island McGovern was explaining and of course modifying his positions on amnesty, pot and abortion. This of course is all to the good provided he keeps talking about these issues. On the other hand, it is vitally important that we not let him get off the hook on these issues.

In other words, our goal should be to keep him nailed to his original positions which he still deeply believes in and which he is compromising for political purposes, and at the same time to keep him talking about these issues. The way we can achieve this goal is to take his most extravagant, extreme statements on each of these three issues and see that they are heavily mailed to interest groups, for example, including editors and opinion makers across the country.

*Colson*

Handwritten notes in the top left margin:  
- A large arrow pointing left.  
- "Headlines" written vertically.  
- "Buchanan do not" written vertically.  
- "Get plan to it" written vertically.  
- "Not committed plus it out" written diagonally.

Second, it would be well to check his schedule and possibly, each time he comes into a city for a visit, have an ad run which puts in his extreme quotes and calls upon him to explain those positions. Some of our less sophisticated softheads will say that this will give him a chance to change his position. As you can naturally see, they are totally wrong. This will force him to discuss the issues and we want him discussing the issues on which he is vulnerable rather than the issues on which he thinks we are vulnerable. Discuss this matter with Colson and see what can be worked out as far as a game plan. Give me a report on matters of this type. I want you to be sure to work jointly with Colson so that he doesn't go off without proper guidance. He needs someone to talk to on matters of this type and I will not have the time from now on and I will expect you to fill in for me in discussing the strategy.

On another subject, it has occurred to me that one of the most effective techniques we could use would be to have Agnew follow McGovern on his campaign appearances. I would schedule the Vice President the day after McGovern comes in or two days after. This would allow us to accomplish two goals.

1. With good advance work we can have crowds that will be bigger than McGovern's and the Press will have to report the comparison.
2. It will allow Agnew to get into a running debate with McGovern on the issues that McGovern has discussed, and also to remind the people of issues McGovern dodged or vacillated on while he was making his appearance.

I consider this to be a vitally important and effective tactic. Agnew is by far the best one to do it. In the event that we can't get him to do it, then you drop down to MacGregor or someone else who simply won't draw the crowds. Give me a report on what you can work out in this respect. As I am sure you can see, this in a more effective way gets at Sear's recommendation that Agnew should ask McGovern a question each day. Agnew coming into a city that McGovern has visited either the day afterwards or two days afterwards would hypo his questions and his issues far more than simply asking a question out in Montana while McGovern is walking the sidewalks of Jersey City.

Just

On another subject, it has occurred to me that we should begin now on a project which will tend to accomplish two purposes. First, to downgrade McGovern's "bravery" which the Press is emphasizing in walking among people, and second to prepare the way for me to meet people when I do go out into the country without having the Press say that I am trying to copy McGovern.

We have not made nearly enough out of the fact that I have visited 50 States. We have not made nearly enough out of the fact that on these visits I have overridden the security people time and time again-- that I not only walk to the fence but I make unscheduled stops and have had more contact with people than any man who has ever served in the Presidency. We should particularly compare my actions to the situation we found in 1968 when Johnson was virtually a prisoner in the White House due to the possibility of violence whenever he was to go into the country. In fact, even my forays around the White House, walking over to the Treasury Building, etc., should not go unnoticed in setting and laying the groundwork for this.

Ziglar  
Chamber  
Colson  
Ehrlichman  
Obama  
Brent  
Pagan

In other words, what needs to be done here is to get out a story which will be broadly circulated and picked up pointing out that RN is doing person-to-person work not only in 50 States but in blank countries that he has visited. Second, that he intends to continue to do so.

I know that some will say that the people won't like this because of their concern about security and Bremer, etc. On the other hand, we all know that incidents like Bremer's occur when there are scheduled stops. They do not occur when the stops are unscheduled, and it is the unscheduled stop which I have always insisted on. Go back and read my chapter on Caracas in Six Crises. You will find that in the section on Lima, Peru, and on Caracas, that it was my decisions to change our motorcade patterns which put the demonstrators off balance and which at least, in Caracas, probably had the effect of saving my life.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

I think it will be rather easy to get this point across because people are going to be asking about the Bremer threats. In fact, I think we should build it up to an extent that we have threats all the time but the President insists, without being rash, that he still have the opportunity to meet people as he travels throughout the country. Since I am going to do this anyway, we'd better make a virtue out of it rather than running into what will be inevitably the Press reaction that I did so in order to answer McGovern's tactic and that it was a change of policy as far as I was concerned. I would like a report on how you are going to carry forth this directive.

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

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

*Fried.*

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

FRED MALEK *FMM*

SUBJECT:

Report on Youth Registration  
Drive

Attached is Ken Rietz's report on the August 12th Youth Registration Drive. Although we fell somewhat short of expectations in the number of volunteers out and the number of people canvassed, I feel the media attention was well worth the effort. We would, of course appreciate any comments you might have.

Attachment

*20% instead of 120%  
is a little more than  
"somewhat short". If  
we follow the same ratios  
in the election, McG will  
win by the largest vote %  
since N. Washington made it  
100%. Let's try to be  
a) more realistic, b) more honest  
& c) more practical. H.*

Covered  
w/ GA  
8/21

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM : L. HIGBY L

1

Bob is still expecting a follow-up report on the young voters registration drive of August 12.

In Rietz' preliminary report, it's obvious that the thing was about an 80% flop. Rietz should have enough sense to report this as being the case if that's what it really is and also, let us know what is being done to correct the situation in the future and explain why this one was a flop.

8/27 Rietz - unavailable til mon  
8/28 - " return later today  
12<sup>th</sup> Rietz preparing now

1

Riets

For  
Week. H 74  
~~8/25~~

August 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM : L. HIGBY

Bob is still expecting a follow-up report on the young voters registration drive of August 12.

In Riets' preliminary report, it's obvious that the thing was about an 80% flop. Riets should have enough sense to report this as being the case if that's what it really is and also, let us know what is being done to correct the situation in the future and explain why this one was a flop.

m B 305-674-2255

LH:pm

August 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: KEN RIETZ  
SUBJECT: Young Voters for the President  
Registration Drive, August 12, 1972

The Young Voters for the President Voter Registration Drive on August 12, 1972 resulted in:

1. National press coverage on Saturday evening's NBC news featuring Tricia and Ed Cox registering voters at Montgomery Mall Shopping Center, Bethesda. The drive was also tied into an ABC network story on the Young Voters program which was broadcast Monday evening.
2. Local press coverage in Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Maryland, Pennsylvania, California, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Wisconsin, Utah, Washington, and Oregon.
3. The effort was to stress the young people working hard for the President rather than to draw attention to celebrities and stars.
4. More than 20,000 volunteers worked an average of more than two hours each: 5,000 in California; 2,000 in Illinois; 500 in Wisconsin; 1,000 in Maryland; 500 in Texas; and 400 in Virginia.

At this stage there is no final report on how many unregistered voters were found. We asked each young person participating to interview a minimum of 100 people each.

The final report from the field will be available on Friday, August 25. The delay on final statistics is due to the fact that our Young Voters Leadership was brought to Miami on Sunday to organize a major effort at the Convention.

**the  
campus  
canvass**



College Republican National Committee,  
310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

COLLEGE REPUBLICANS

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Home phone / \_\_\_\_\_

Home Address \_\_\_\_\_ County \_\_\_\_\_

School Address \_\_\_\_\_ School phone / \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Home phone / \_\_\_\_\_

Home Address \_\_\_\_\_ County \_\_\_\_\_

School Address \_\_\_\_\_ School phone / \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Home phone / \_\_\_\_\_

Home Address \_\_\_\_\_ County \_\_\_\_\_

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Name \_\_\_\_\_ Home phone / \_\_\_\_\_

Home Address \_\_\_\_\_ County \_\_\_\_\_

School Address \_\_\_\_\_ School phone / \_\_\_\_\_

*"Organize the whole state, so that every Whig can be brought to the polls...divide (the) county into small districts, and...appoint in each a sub-committee...make a perfect list of all the voters and...ascertain with certainty for whom they will vote...keep a constant watch on the doubtful voters, and...have them talked to by those in whom they have the most confidence,...and on election days see that every Whig is brought to the polls."*

Abraham Lincoln

## INTRODUCTION

With the 26th Amendment lowering the voting age to 18, the importance of effecting basic organization on college campuses has reached a new level of importance. Seven and a half million collegians represent a group of voters that any party and any candidate ignores at its own peril.

It is imperative that efforts be undertaken to identify those students who are Republican, insure that they are registered, and give them the opportunity to participate more actively in the Republican Party through their College Republican club.

Moreover, efforts must be made to reach those students who have yet to affiliate with a political party to convince them that the Republican Party is their political home.

The elements of precinct organization that Abraham Lincoln spoke of in 1840 are readily transferable to the college campus, whether students reside in dormitories, fraternity or sorority houses, cooperatives, private apartments or at home. It is only through this transference that the above tasks can be completed.

The Campus Canvass details the organization and operation of a campus canvass. This canvass is the single most important event in the annual existence of a College Republican club.

Without a canvass, no selective registration and voter turnout program may be effectively waged.

With a canvass, properly run and followed up, any club can expect to garner at least 10% of the student body as a dues-paying member.

This manual is under constant revision. Your suggestions, comments, and criticisms are welcomed and encouraged. Forward them to College Republican National Committee, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Karl Rove  
Executive Director

## EARLY AND THOROUGH PREPARATION

The key to proper recruitment and execution of the campus canvass is early and thorough preparation. Several steps must be completed well in advance in order to insure successful completion of the actual canvass. These steps are:

1. The Appointment of an Organization Committee Chairman. In most cases, the club chairman does not have time to oversee the details of the campus canvass. The club chairman must supervise the first meeting, fund raising, speakers, newsletter, recruitment, candidates' campus appearance, campaign activity, ad nauseum, in addition to his studies.  
  
It is therefore imperative that an individual be detailed to manage the canvass. This is the Organization Committee chairman. The individuals doing the canvass comprise the Organization Committee.
2. The Preparation of a campus Organization Chart. It must have a blank for a leader for every dormitory floor and Greek house. Each floor leader should be responsible for about 30, but no more than 50 students. Additional blanks must be provided for off-campus housing, and approximately each 50-100 commuter students. (See Appendix I)
3. The Appointment of Unit Chairmen for Dorms or other residence halls, or fraternity and sorority houses, or apartment complexes. They supervise the canvass in their respective units, as well as canvass personally when needed. These chairmen are the contact between the individual floor leaders and the canvass director. It is imperative that they be responsible individuals.

Club members with a record of reliability may be promptly appointed by the Organization Committee Chairman and Club leaders. Chairmen for dormitories without obviously qualified potential chairmen may be selected from among floor leaders after the canvass on the basis of performance on the canvass.

At a large university it may be necessary to divide the campus into areas with several living units, each under an area captain, supervising several unit chairmen. The Organization Committee Chairman has the ultimate authority to appoint or remove dorm chairmen and floor leaders. If a person does not function, quickly remove him or her as graciously as possible. Get the canvass done!

4. The Appointment of a Commuter Chairman and Collection of Commuter Student Lists. The responsibility that falls on this individual is that of coordinating the canvass of

commuter students. His first task is to compile a telephone list of commuter students.

There are several approaches which can be used in locating off-campus students. The Dean of Students or the Student Housing Office will undoubtedly have a directory of students who are living off-campus; try to obtain a copy of this list.

Enrollment lists might also be obtained from the Registrar, the Bursar, the President, the student infirmary, Campus Security or the Student Housing Office.

Most universities publish student directories. Student directories are a source of telephone numbers for commuter students. Publication, however, usually takes place late in the fall, making up-to-date directories usable for winter or spring canvasses. If the student population is relatively immobile, these out-of-date directories might provide reasonably accurate listings for the three (or one) returning classes (or class).

If an enrollment list which includes off-campus students is unavailable from an official source and a student directory is not published, the College Republican Club can produce a student directory as a "service project." Set up a separate table in the school registration line with a sign: "Give Information for Student Directory Here." Have small sign-in cards to collect the necessary data.

Producing a student directory might be a money maker. It may take a long time, but it will be a good service to the campus. Meanwhile, the basic information available to conduct a canvass is made available.

The commuter chairman oversees the commuter captains. The latter are responsible for the canvass of a group of commuters. These individual lists can be either alphabetical, geographical or by directory page. Assign each captain 100 names.

Attention must be given to the apartment houses, married students housing, streets near the campus, and rooming houses where the students usually live. The commuter chairman must appoint "precinct captains" to be responsible for canvassing each of these areas.

5. The Appointment of an Overall Fraternity Chairman and a Sorority Chairman. They will serve in the same way as the dorm chairmen. Appoint fraternity and sorority house leaders who will be equivalent to other floor leaders. It is important that the house leaders be members of their assigned houses.

6. Prepare Tally Sheets. These are forms on which floor leaders collect data and mark preferences. At minimum, the sheet should allow for listing the names, addresses and phone numbers of the people canvassed, as well as their preferences. Several copies must be kept of each tally. One copy must stay with the floor leader, one with the dorm captain, and one in the club's files. If possible, another copy should be retained with the state federation; yet another with the youth campaign or (in non-election periods) state GOP central committee.

Xeroxing is expensive. In the long run, it is better to use either carbon paper or self-carbonating paper.

A sample tally sheet is included in the Appendix. Additionally- the state federation might have tallies available; the College Republican National Committee does have simple, inexpensive ones available.

7. Make Preparations for the Organizational Committee Meeting. At this gathering, the Organization Committee will kick-off the canvassing effort with the distribution of materials and the instruction of canvassers. Several tasks must be completed.

Pick a date and meeting place. The Committee conclave must follow on the heels of the membership table. It is imperative that it be held within the first days of the term. The meeting room should hold a slightly smaller crowd that is anticipated for the meeting.

Arrange for meeting reminders. These reminders, handed out at the table, note the time, date and place of the first meeting and the phone number and name of a club member to contact if the Organization Committee member is unable to attend.

Instruction sheets should be reproduced. Each canvasser should have an instruction sheet, detailing the canvassing method and the proper follow-up (see Appendix II for a sample). This should be one sheet or less with a minimum of rah-rah.

Voter registration information must be readied. The CRNC can provide voter registration hard-cards (see Appendix III). Also included is a sample information sheet that can be inexpensively reproduced by offset, mimeograph or xerox.

A schedule for the drive is a must. The canvass effort must be run and completed within three days (best) to five days (good). Remember, give people a two-week deadline and they will generally wait until the last days of the last week before they begin to work. With each dorm canvasser respon-

sible for 50 people and each phone canvasser responsible for 100, three to five days is adequate time (see Appendix IV for sample schedule).

### *RECRUIT*

While materials are being prepared and living unit chairmen selected, floor leaders must be recruited. The floor leader is the "precinct captain" of the club. Through him, the club communicates with the rank and file student body. Upon him rests the outcome of the campus canvass. He does the actual canvassing.

There are two sources for floor leaders. One is the existing club membership. Current membership rolls should be compiled for members living in uncovered units and floors. Wherever competent club members exist, they should be asked to participate in the canvass. This commitment should be solicited well in advance of the canvass effort.

Many slots may be unfilled in the canvass organization chart after this is completed. The other source of manpower must be tapped. This is the manpower recruited at the membership table (See "The Membership Table" and "Up the Hard Core!" guides). Each student who expresses interest in joining the club should be asked to print his name, school mailing address, dormitory room number, and phone number on a list kept at the table. His residence should be checked on the organization chart. If there is no leader yet for his living group, ask him to be a floor leader or unit chairman. Give him a notice of when and where the campus Organization Committee meeting will be held.

### *EXECUTE*

Call a meeting of unit Chairmen and floor leaders (the Organization Committee) the first or second day of classes, on the heels of the membership table. Make every effort to get every committee member to the meeting. Provide name tags.

Make certain promotional material, instructions, tally sheets and voter registration information are prepared in advance and dispensed properly and quickly at the meeting. Extra tally sheets are a necessity. The club chairman or the Organization Committee Chairman should make a brief, complete, concise presentation to the group. Unit chairmen and floor leaders should be given a set of written instructions.

It is imperative that all workers be aware of the importance of the canvass effort. By doing a complete canvass, the club is doing three important things. First, it is locating every possible friendly voter. Second, it is recruiting every possible club member. Third, the club is developing the structure necessary to generate crowds, develop pools or works, register and turn out voters.

Verbally instruct the Committee members in the canvassing format. Though they will all have written instructions, now is the time to review them and prompt any questions that might be around.

1. The canvass should be made by personally knocking on every student's door. Door-to-door canvassing should be done at times when most students are in their rooms.
2. Before starting the canvass, a tally sheet listing all students in the unit should be prepared.
3. Each person should be canvassed as follows:

A. *"Hello, I'm \_\_\_\_\_. I'm conducting a Political Preference Survey. Do you mind if I ask you a few questions?"*

- i. If the student is busy, make arrangements for another time, note it on the tally sheet and return at that time.
- ii. If the student refuses, thank him (or her) politely and move on, noting the refusal on the tally.
- iii. If the student agrees to answer the questions, ask the questions as they appear on the tally sheet.

B. *"Do you consider yourself a Republican or a Democrat?"*

Only give the initial options of Republican or Democrat. If the student volunteers that he is Unaffiliated or Independent, ask:

*"Do you lean more to the Republicans or to the Democrats?" or "Do you generally support Republican candidates or Democrat candidates?"*

Mark R or D in the proper place on the tally sheet. If a student insists that he is Unaffiliated or Independent, mark him down as U.

C. *"Whom do you support for President, Richard Nixon or George McGovern?"*

If the student is uncertain, try to get him to say which way he leans. Record the student on the tally sheet as RN or GM. Those who insist they are undecided, mark U.

D. *"Whom do you support in the Governor's race, Robert Weed or Ralph Casey?"*

Mark with W, C or U, as above.

If a student expresses a preference for only Democrats thank

him and move on. Do not spend time needlessly arguing with Democrats. If Republican or committed Republican candidates, ask:

E. *"Are you a registered voter?"*

- i. If registered: *"Where do you intend to vote?"*
- ii. If unregistered: *"Where do you intend to register?"*

Note the appropriate response. If the person is an unregistered Republican or Independent who supports GOP candidates, provide a registration information piece.

If the unregistered favorable voter wished to register absentee, consult the College Republican National Committee publication, "Student Guide to Absentee Registration." This brochure details the absentee registration procedures for every state. Another pamphlet, "Student Guide to Absentee Voting," outlines the absentee voting procedures in a similar manner. Both are available from the College Republican National Committee at no cost.

If Republican or uncommitted to any Democrat candidate, ask:

F. *"Would you like to join the College Republican Club?"*

If student joins:

G. *"Would you like to pay dues now?"*

Independents or Democrats who support specific Republican candidates should be asked to join that candidate's youth campaign organization.

H. *"Would you join the Young Voters for the President?"*  
or *"Would you like to join Collegians for Weed?"*

After questioning, the canvasser should ask for the interviewee's name, school address and phone number. Do not inquire before conducting the poll.

The phone canvass is conducted in a similar manner, with registration information obviously mailed and dues not collected. Person-to-person follow-up is even more effective.

If a student is undecided between GOP candidate(s) and the opposition, it is the job of the floor leader to give him campaign literature and, after the canvass, to sway him to be for the party's choices.

If a student is not in, find out when he is usually in and make it a point to be there at that time. He will appreciate the extra effort. do not neglect out-of-state students as they often make the best

members and workers.

Instruct canvassers to make a special effort to collect dues from new members if possible. A small financial outlay now may commit a student to active participation.

The canvass must begin immediately following the meeting. Floor leaders must be given three days (and no longer) to complete their part of the canvass and return tally sheets to the Organization Committee Chairman or their dorm chairmen. If a tight schedule is not followed then the canvass is doomed to drag on and die. Before the pressure of studies builds up and additional commitments burden the canvasser, the canvass must be completed. Strictly adhere to deadlines!

Three days after the canvass begins, the tally sheets are to be returned. Hold a meeting with the dorm chairmen and floor leaders. At this meeting the unit chairmen will turn in a copy of the tally sheets, containing the names and addresses of each student contacted and the canvass results. One copy of the tally sheet is retained by unit chairman and one by the floor leader. These are crucial. They are the "perfect list of voters" to which Lincoln referred.

From these lists the unit chairman must also make his new assignments for the second round of canvassing. On the basis of these forms, he should be able to tell which floor leaders did their jobs and which did not. New assignments should be made on that basis. Any floor leader who is not producing must be discarded, and a new one named. This new canvasser has only three days to complete his part of the canvass.

Make sure that the people who are undecided and the Republicans who are eligible to register and vote are contacted and provided information and literature by the floor leaders who produced during the first week.

Follow-up is imperative. This is where clubs are built and votes won. In phone canvases, success depends on the person-to-person follow-up to an even greater degree. Each floor captain or commuter canvasser must be asked to:

1. Register all eligible Republicans.
2. Provide literature and personal opinion for the "undecideds"--let them know that people care that they support GOP candidate(s).
3. Encourage members, supporters and "undecideds" to hear club programs and attend club activities.

It is important that work not stop after the canvass is completed. When someone who is willing to work is found, make sure that he or she has an opportunity to do so. Encourage them--ask them to meetings,

speeches and rallies. When they have a job to do, help them. Make sure that they have the literature and information to give to their friends.

It is not possible to reach 100% of the students, but there is little excuse for reaching anything less than 80-90% of them. There should be a second effort initiated by the floor leaders, after they have turned in their first results, to canvass the few students they missed in the first effort.

Make certain floor leaders turn in the canvass results for all students they survey, including those who are undecided or Democrat.

It is important to remind workers, from the unit chairmen to the floor leaders, that it is not worth the time and the energy to argue with opposition supporters. Forget them! Locate supporters and work on the undecided--give them literature and your personal opinion. Make sure all Republicans get information on how to register to vote if eligible.

Offer an award of some kind, such as a transistor radio, a plaque, or a political souvenir, to the floor leaders who sign up the greatest percentage of the students in their units into the College Republican Club.

It cannot be emphasized enough that you must find capable and effective individuals to lead each dorm. In turn you must impress upon them the need for qualified floor leaders. If someone does not produce results in the time allotted, immediately find someone to replace him. There is no room in our organization for deadwood!

The club should have a headquarters location. If no office space is available on campus, use a dormitory room. This headquarters need not be large enough for meetings. Its function is to act as a distribution and collection point for materials to the Organization Committee.

After the canvass: When the canvass is completed, the Organization Committee can be used to:

- a. Distribute literature;
- b. conduct surveys;
- c. drum up crowds;
- d. help prepare for mock elections;
- e. aid candidates in student elections who are favorable to CRs;
- f. run a campus voters project; and
- g. further recruitment.

It is surprising how rapidly and well this Committee can function if it is used regularly and accorded due recognition.

APPENDIX I

CANVASS ORGANIZATION CHART

(list name and phone number)

Hatcher Hall \_\_\_\_\_

First floor \_\_\_\_\_

Second floor \_\_\_\_\_

Third floor \_\_\_\_\_

Highland \_\_\_\_\_

1, West wing \_\_\_\_\_

1, East wing \_\_\_\_\_

2, West wing \_\_\_\_\_

2, East wing \_\_\_\_\_

Graham \_\_\_\_\_

First \_\_\_\_\_

Second \_\_\_\_\_

Third \_\_\_\_\_

Commonwealth \_\_\_\_\_

First \_\_\_\_\_

Second \_\_\_\_\_

Fraternities \_\_\_\_\_

SAE \_\_\_\_\_

TKE \_\_\_\_\_

ATO \_\_\_\_\_

Sororities \_\_\_\_\_

Tri-Delt \_\_\_\_\_

Chi Omega \_\_\_\_\_

Kappa Delta \_\_\_\_\_

Skyline Village Apartments

\_\_\_\_\_

100 Bldg \_\_\_\_\_

200 Bldg \_\_\_\_\_

300 Bldg \_\_\_\_\_

Fletcher Cooperative

\_\_\_\_\_

First \_\_\_\_\_

Second \_\_\_\_\_

Third \_\_\_\_\_

Commuter \_\_\_\_\_

Pages 1-4 \_\_\_\_\_

Pages 5-8 \_\_\_\_\_

Pages 9-12 \_\_\_\_\_

Pages 13-16 \_\_\_\_\_

Pages 17-20 \_\_\_\_\_

Pages 21-24 \_\_\_\_\_



## APPENDIX II

### CANVASS INSTRUCTION SHEET

A. *"Hello, I'm \_\_\_\_\_ . I'm conducting a Political Preference Survey. Do you mind if I ask you a few questions?"*

- i. If the student is busy, make arrangements for another time, note it on the tally sheet and return at that time.
- ii. If the student refuses, thank him (or her) politely and move on, noting the refusal on the tally.
- iii. If the student agrees to answer the questions, ask the questions as they appear on the tally sheet.

B. *"Do you consider yourself a Republican or a Democrat?"*

Only give the initial options of Republican or Democrat. If the student volunteers that he is Unaffiliated or Independent, ask:

*"Do you lean more to the Republicans or to the Democrats?" or "Do you generally support Republican candidates or Democrat candidates?"*

Mark R or D in the proper place on the tally sheet. If a student insists that he is Unaffiliated or Independent, mark him down as U.

C. *"Whom do you support for President, Richard Nixon or George McGovern?"*

If the student is uncertain, try to get him to say which way he leans. Record the student on the tally sheet as RN or GM. Those who insist they are undecided, mark U.

D. *"Whom do you support for Governor, Robert Weed or Ralph Casey?"*

Mark with W, C or U, as above.

If a student expresses a preference for only Democrats, thank him and move on. Do not spend time needlessly arguing with Democrats. If Republican or committed to Republican candidates, ask:

E. *"Are you a registered voter?"*

Mark Y or N.

- i. If registered: *"Where do you intend to vote?"*
- ii. If unregistered: *"Where do you intend to register?"*

Note the appropriate response. If the person is an unregistered Republican or Independent who supports GOP candidates, provide a registration information piece.

If the unregistered favorable voter wished to register absentee, consult the "Student Guide to Absentee Registration," which details the absentee registration procedures for every state. Another pamphlet, "Student Guide to Absentee Voting," outlines the absentee voting procedures in a similar manner.

If Republican or uncommitted to any Democrat candidate, ask:

F. *"Would you like to join the College Republican Club?"*

If student joins: *"Would you like<sup>2</sup> to pay dues now?"*

Independents or Democrats who support specific Republican candidates should be asked to join that candidate's youth campaign organization.

G. *"Would you join the Young Voters for the President?"* or *"Would you like to join Collegians for Weed?"*

After questioning, the canvasser should ask for the interviewee's name, school address and phone number. Do not inquire before conducting poll.

**Meet The Most  
Impotent Force  
In Politics Today**

# YOU.

The Unregistered Voter. Being unregistered means you are unable to participate in the decision-making that will shape your world. Register to vote now and stop being powerless.

YOU CAN REGISTER IF...

WHERE TO REGISTER...

WHEN TO REGISTER...

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT...



copyright, 1971, by the College  
Republican Nat'l Committee

VOTER REGISTRATION INFORMATION

REGISTER TO VOTE

YOU CAN REGISTER TO VOTE IF:

You have never registered.  
You have changed your address since the last election.  
You failed to vote or voted absentee in the 1970  
General Election.

WHERE TO REGISTER:

Washoe County Court House (120 South Arlington Blvd.)

WHEN TO REGISTER:

Last day to register for Primary -- August 5  
Last day to register for General -- October 1

FOR MORE INFORMATION (TRANSPORTATION TO THE COURT HOUSE):

CONTACT: C. C. Brown  
Wilson Hall, Room 516  
Phone -- 537-2390

Distributed by the College Republican Club

APPENDIX IV

SAMPLE SCHEDULE

Tuesday	September 15	Operate full-time table during class registration period and fill in the Organization Committee with floor leaders and, where possible, dorm supervisors.
Wednesday	September 16	7:00 pm. Hold Organization Committee meeting for training purposes, distributing materials, etc. Canvass begins.
Thursday	September 27	Organization Committee Chairman checks with dorm supervisors and they with floor leaders in a major effort to insure that the canvass is progressing properly.
Friday	September 18	7:00 pm. Second meeting of the Organization Committee. Tally sheets turned in. "assistants" assigned to floor leaders who have not canvassed. Other persons assigned to canvass in areas not yet having any floor leaders at all.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/2/72

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

A review with Magruder this morning developed the notations as to which information is attributable to Bart Porter.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
SUBJECT: Washington Post Article  
on the Surrogate Campaign

Earlier this week, Lou Cannon called Al Abrahams to discuss the surrogate program. Abrahams could tell from the conversation that Cannon had inaccurate information concerning the program and mentioned this to me. I felt that it was appropriate for Bart Porter to talk to Lou to prevent any incorrect information from being published. Abrahams did not feel qualified to talk on this subject.

Attached is the article as it appeared in the Post yesterday. I have circled the information which came from either Porter or Abrahams. Cannon had the idea that all information was automatically fed to the surrogates from the White House and that the White House was "orchestrating" the line. As you can see, Porter turned this around. Also, Cannon told Porter that it was his understanding that the program was going to cost "over \$2 million". Porter told Cannon that it was less than a million.

Cannon was aware of the morning scheduling meeting at the White House. Porter confirmed the meeting, but as you can see, did not name names.

It was obvious that Lou Cannon had talked to a number of our surrogates and had substantial information on the surrogate program.

# 35 Surrogates Campaign

## for Nixon

### 35 'Stand-ins' Campaign For Nixon's Re-election

FRONT PAGE

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Nixon re-election committee is relying on the carefully scheduled use of 35 presidential stand-ins to celebrate the accomplishments of President Nixon and portray Sen. George McGovern as a man whose qualities are not truly "presidential."

With polls showing the President far ahead, the committee is banking on a heavy use of the stand-ins, officially known as presidential surrogates, to carry the Nixon re-election message to every corner of the country. But the emphasis will be on the 12 key states, including all of the 10 most populous states except Massachusetts, which are the targets of the high-powered Nixon campaign.

The surrogates are an essential part of the re-election campaign strategy, which is based on the belief that the President must perform as President rather than climbing down on the hustings for overt political combat with Sen. McGovern.

"The surrogates have a number of advantages," explains one White House official. "First of all, the Cabinet officers among them are the best qualified people to explain presidential accomplishments in their areas of expertise."

Secondly, the surrogates can answer McGovern charges as they arise and the senators among them deal with McGovern as an equal. And the surrogates can be used with great flexibility, since they have been chosen to represent every faction and region of the party.

Administration sources insist that the surrogates, whose speeches reflect similar themes of presidential achievement at home and abroad, are not "orchestrated" in the sense that their speeches are written by the White House.

But the White House does provide position papers for all of the surrogates and also furnishes up-to-the-minute information on the latest administration rebuttals to McGovern positions.

Ed Fallor, in the communications office of the Committee to Re-elect President Nixon, is in charge of keeping track of McGovern statements. He meets regularly with White House communications officials to discuss the administration "line" in dealing with the Democratic presidential nominee.

See SURROGATES, A6, Col. 3

#### SURROGATES, From A1

A key element in the Nixon administration approach—used by all administration spokesmen, not just the surrogates—is the idea that McGovern lacks the character, competence and judgment to be considered "presidential" material. This accords with the fundamental Nixon re-election strategy of attempting to convince voters that Mr. Nixon is the better man for the job rather than convincing

them that the Republican Party is better qualified than the Democratic Party.

The surrogate program, which was first tested with considerable success in the New Hampshire primary against Reps. Paul N. McCloskey and John Ashbrook, will involve more than 800 mandays of speeches and cost between \$1.5 million and \$2 million. Except where a local sponsoring organization picks up the tab, the Committee to Re-elect President Nixon foots the entire bill for the surrogate and his staff aides.

Scheduling of the surrogates is under the direction of Herbert L. (Bart) Porter at the committee. Porter meets at 8:30 a.m. every day with representatives of the White House, who retain control of presidential scheduling, and with scheduling representatives of the First Family and Vice President Agnew.

Porter

"LESS THAN \$1 MILLION"

Porter

Porter

Every effort is made at the meetings to match the surrogate carefully with audiences and regions of the country where the presidential stand-in is presumed to be most effective. But the surrogate has the final choice on whether he accepts the speaking assignment.

Porter

The cast of the surrogates is more carefully balanced than the composition of a military squad in an old Hollywood war movie.

The list includes two women (Consumer Affairs Director Virginia Knauer and U.S. Treasurer Romana Banuelos), a black (Sen. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts), a Spanish-speaking American (Mrs. Banuelos) and an ideological range that extends from Sen. Jacob Javits of New York to Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

The 35 stand-ins include 11 Cabinet members, four agency heads, two members of the White House staff (special counsel Harry Dent and Communications Director Herbert Klein), 10 senators, five governors (including Linwood Holton of Virginia), three House members and Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar.

While all of the surrogates are presumed equal in the eyes of the schedulers, some are considered definitely more equal than others.

By common consent, Secretary of Transportation John Volpe is among the most effective of the surrogates. He also has the most scheduled speaking dates during the next two months, 25, and he is considered the best administration spokesman among the ethnic audiences that are a key Nixon target in the campaign.

Porter

Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz has been widely used—"He's a great campaigner, and not only in the farm states, and he loves to speak," says one administration official—and presidential counselor Robert Finch has been a hit with urban audiences.

Two veteran governors, California's Ronald Reagan and New York's Nelson Rockefeller, remain most in demand below the presidential and vice presidential level at GOP fund-raisers and Sen. William Brock of Tennessee has performed well in the eyes of the committee staff.

Another speaker who has excelled for the committee, though he is not well-known nationally, is Cost of Living Council Director Donald Rumsfeld.

Sen. Goldwater, by common consent, is considered the "least controllable" of the surrogates, though he remains a hit with conservative audiences.

"We wanted him to speak for 10 minutes on Monday night at the Republican convention and to take it easy," says one administration official. "But you can't control Barry. He spoke for 25 minutes on Tuesday and gave McGovern hell."

There is an implicit understanding in the committee that surrogates will rebut McGovern positions without attacking him personally.

"This isn't a matter of telling anyone what to do—you can't put a halter on a senator," explains Al Abrahams, director of communications for the Committee to Re-elect President Nixon. "But these men are experienced politicians. They didn't get where they are by making wild, outlandish statements."

Other administration officials say that the surrogates themselves make sure they are stating administration policy.

"These people have their own political futures to think of and don't want to go off half-cocked," one official said.

Scheduling of the surrogates focuses on major or regional media centers, and each stand-in is expected to have a "press availability" when he goes out to speak.

Porter

Even the domestic Cabinet officials are expected to deal with foreign policy issues, such as the Vietnam war or Israel, if they arise at press conferences. Two of the administration's most prominent officials, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird and Secretary of State William Rogers, are excluded from surrogate status because of the supposed non-partisan character of their offices.

The complete list of stand-ins:

Cabinet officials—Butz, Finch, Rumsfeld, Labor Secretary James Hodgson, Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton, Commerce Secretary Peter Peterson, Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Elliot Richardson, Housing and Urban Development Secretary George Romney, Treasury Secretary George Shultz.

Agency heads—Mrs. Knauer, Mrs. Banuelos, Environmental Protection Agency Director William Ruckelshaus, Action Director Joseph Blatchford.

White House staff—Dent and Klein.

Senators—Brock, Brooke, Goldwater, Javits, Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma, Marlow Cook of Kentucky, Edward Gurney of Florida, Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, Robert Taft Jr. and William Saxbe of Ohio.

Governors—Holton, Reagan, Rockefeller, Winfield Dunn of Tennessee, William Milliken of Michigan.

House members—Gerald Ford of Michigan, Jack Kemp of New York, John Rhodes of Arizona.

Mayors—Lugar.

Conventions sources; neither Porter nor Abrahams

82  
-35  
-4  
**ACTION MEMO - POLITICAL MEETING**

We need the names of the key state assignment that we discussed at the last meeting. Also, we need to include those states where there are Senate races such as Montana.

HRH:pm

9/7/72

September 6, 1972

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

It is important to get our surrogates out immediately on an all out attack on McGovern's most extreme positions. There are stories indicating that McGovern during the past week suddenly was changing his line and sounding more and more like a Democratic candidate in the old Democratic tradition. We must not let him get away with this. It is vital to keep him on the defensive on his most vulnerable issues.

The issues that are most difficult for him to finesse are Vietnam and Defense. He cannot move too far off his extreme position here or he will lose his whole Left Wing support. For example, the quote from Fortune with regard to his beliefs that the Communists would not test him because they would not want to lose his friendship would be very effective in carrying out George Meany's line that he just doesn't understand the Communist threat.

It is very important here to see that this is the kind of material that is used only by highly sophisticated people in a way that McGovern will not be able to respond that his loyalty or patriotism is being questioned. Every statement should be prefaced with the idea that he is naive and lacks judgement on appraising the Communist threat. However, when you have such a collection of statements -- i. e. that the Russians rearmed after World War II only because we did, that we throw Thieu out and have a Communist government come into power in South Vietnam, the statement in Fortune, the quote from Newsweek that Kissinger has given to you and which Newsweek didn't use -- these and others provide ammunition that could be used over the next two months in a devastating way.

Obviously every effort should be made to keep reminding people of his extreme welfare plans and his high budget which would result in an increase in taxes. It is vitally important to keep the ball on his side of the court -- in other words have the debate be about his plans and not about our tax reform plans which may come later on in the campaign.

Finally, in view of the Harris poll results, our positive speakers should hammer courage, integrity, world leader, and of course, the hard line in Vietnam, knowing that we find a very receptive audience to begin with on these points. All speakers should now start taking the line of calling our people to join the New Majority, give the President the chance to finish the job that he has begun at home and abroad.

cc: John Ehrlichman  
Dwight Chapin ✓  
Ronald Ziegler

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LARRY HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Advertising Billboards

You asked whether Dailey plans any billboards in the campaign. The answer is no. Billboards are comparatively very expensive. Also, because the message is so short, billboards are usually used for candidate identification, which is not one of our problems. A third reason is the environmental criticism. The first two reasons are crucial, the third would be finessed.

GS/jb

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

To  
Lg/8

Date \_\_\_\_\_

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN/thru Gordon Strachen

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

\_\_\_\_\_ Please Handle

\_\_\_\_\_ FYI

\_\_\_\_\_ File

\_\_\_\_\_ Hold

As requested.

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

FRED MALEK *FMM*

SUBJECT:

Military Voters

Bob Haldeman requested a memorandum briefly summarizing our program to secure for the President the largest possible share of the military vote. As you know, our program is designed both to persuade the undecided military voter to vote for the President, and to facilitate absentee voting by those military voters favorable to the President.

To persuade military voters to vote for the President, we have arranged to have handbills appealing to military voters distributed at the 168 largest domestic military bases on two occasions (mid September and mid October), by Young Voters for the President volunteers. Moreover, surrogate speakers, DOD officials, and friendly Congressmen will be appearing at many of these bases. Finally, we have bought space for four ads each in the Army, Navy, and Air Force Times.

Domestically, we are carrying on extensive absentee voter efforts at each of the 168 largest installations. Through the regular Nixon organization, door to door canvassers in towns near each of these bases have been provided with military absentee ballot applications (FPCA forms) and issue material oriented toward the military voter. The canvassers have been instructed to personally deliver the forms and other material to every military household with voters favorable to the President.

We have not neglected the overseas military voter, either. Each key state registration roll will be searched by computer to identify Republican APO/FPO addressees. Each military voter so identified will receive a computer letter asking for his vote, issue material, and an FPCA form.

Of course, DOD is also conducting its legally required biennial registration drive, aimed at all persons in the military. The potential military voters missed by our efforts are mostly 18 to 24 year olds, who generally live on base. It is not legally possible to selectively urge on-base personnel to vote, and we believe that any effort to indiscriminately urge these young men to vote would be counterproductive, since the best data Bob Teeter has indicates that these young servicemen would on balance vote against the President. The exceptions are career servicemen who are being contacted through our program and who make up the bulk of the residual force in Viet Nam

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN *S*  
SUBJECT: Debates Between Spokesmen

Magruder is asking for your view on whether any Administration spokesmen should debate any Democratic spokesmen. Magruder favors no debates by anyone during the campaign.

Magruder covered the subject with MacGregor this morning and used the attached memorandum as a talking paper. MacGregor favors a case by case determination of who should debate whom. MacGregor favors Richardson debating Humphrey, and wants to debate O'Brien himself.

Recommendation

That MacGregor's system of a case by case determination be followed.

*S → JSM  
9/7* Approve  Disapprove  Comments \_\_\_\_\_

*A. Brennan*

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Request for Policy Decision on Possible Confrontations

Secretary Richardson has agreed to address an evening meeting of the Beverly Hills B'nai B'rith in Los Angeles on September 11. The expected attendance is 1,000 people.

We have been advised that the B'nai B'rith organization has invited Senator Humphrey to attend the same meeting. If the Senator cannot attend, they propose to invite an alternative "major Democrat".

This situation raises several important policy issues:

(1) Should surrogate speakers attend events where confrontations with major Democrats are likely?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(2) Should surrogates at anytime publicly discuss or debate with Democrats?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

In light of these questions, should Secretary Richardson withdraw from the above mentioned event?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

