

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
28	3	2/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Phil Joanou to Gordon Strachan. RE: Brochure. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Brochure	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: America needs President Nixon, re-election campaign. 2 pgs.
28	3	1/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to Ken Cole. RE: About the draft of proposed divisions of responsibilities between Evans and McLane. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. To McLane and Evans. RE: Aging Area Responsibilities. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Document. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Key St. Poll. 2 pgs.
28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: New Hampshire Speaking Events Prior to March 7, 1972. 3 pgs.
28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Florida Speaking Events Prior to March 14, 1972. 3 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. RE: About phone conversation that Muskie is on the Committee. 1 pg.
28	3	2/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Fred Malek to Ken Khachigian. RE: Conversation about Ed Muskie serving on the Advisory Commission. 1 pg.

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28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to Fred Malek. RE: Please check into the attachment. 1 pg.
28	3	1/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Kenneth L. Khachigian to Haldeman. RE: Ed Muskie using the Advisory Commission to embarrass the President. 1 pg.
28	3	1/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Hallett development program. 1 pg.
28	3	1/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charles Colson to H.R. Haldeman RE: Attached memo. 1 pg.
28	3	1/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Doug Hallett to Charles W. Colson. RE: Counter California's dislike of the President. 3 pgs.

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28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Shaheen Papers. 1 pg.
28	3	2/8/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown to Malek. RE: Campaign Strategy Group Meeting. 4 pgs.
28	3	2/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From John Dean to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Potential Distruptions at the Republican National Convention. 3 pgs.
28	3	2/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Attached weekly report. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Advertising, Black Liason. 10 pgs.

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28	3	2/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: New Hampshire Hook Election. 1pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten document. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: K. 1pg
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten document. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Finances. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten document. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Dean. 1 pg.
28	3	2/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper Clipping. From James R. Polk to Recipient Unknown. RE: GOP's Kalmbach. 4 pgs.

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28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Estimated Operating expenses for February, 1972. 2 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten document. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Hugh Sloan. 2 pgs.
28	3	2/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to John N. Mitchell. RE: The possible Senate candidacy of Robert Gable for the seat noew held by John Sherman Cooper. 2 pgs
28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to The Vice President. RE: The California Republican Assembly. 1 pg.
28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to The Attorney General. RE: Poll Information. 1 pg.

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28	3	2/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to H.R. Haldeman. RE: For you information. 1 pg.
28	3	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Brad E. Hainsworth to Harry S. Dent. RE: FYI summary of findings in a study of presidential elections investigating public participation in nation-wide voting. 3 pgs.
28	3	2/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry Dent to H.R. Haldeman. RE: For your information. 1 pg.
28	3	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Wallace Henley to Harry Dent. RE: GCW. 2 pgs.
28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry Dent to The Attorney General and Bob Haldeman. RE: West Virginia. 2 pgs.

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28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to Honorable John N. Mitchell. RE: Louisiana Gubernatorial Race. 2 pgs.
28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to The Attorney General. RE: Attached mailing to solicit primary petition signatures. 2 pgs.
28	3	1/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Jim Holshouser. Recipient Unknown. RE: Fellow Republicans. 1 pg.
28	3	1/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Charles R. Jones Jr. to Recipient Unknown. RE: Dear Fellow Nixon Supporter. 2 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Form	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Petition for President Richard M. Nixon. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
28	3	1/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Steering Committee named, meeting held. 2 pgs.
28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Donald Rumsfeld to Bob Haldeman. RE: BLANK. 1 pg.
28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Author Unknown to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Material on Hawaii. 1 pg.
28	3	2/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Hawaii Political Assessment. 2 pgs.
28	3	2/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Thomas Evans to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Interest in the attachment on projected activities of the Republican Party. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
28	3	1/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ed DeBolt to Tom Evans. RE: RNC Registration Activities. 4 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Target '72 Registration. 3 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Target '72 A Program for Victory. 5 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten document. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Charlie McWorter. 1 pg.
28	3	2/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Coordinating Functions for the Campaign Operations. 5 pgs.

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28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten document. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Rowland. 1 pg.
28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Peter Dailey to The Attorney General through Jeb magruder. RE: Financial Controls and Reporting Procedure; Advertising Agency. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Organization Notes November Group. 8 pgs.
28	3	1/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Frome Robert C. Odle Jr. to The Attorney General. RE: Attached weekly report. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Advertising, Agriculture. 13 pgs.

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28	3	1/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: New Hampshire Speaking Events Prior to March 7, 1972. 2 pgs.
28	3	1/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Florida Speaking Events Prior to March 14, 1972. 2 pgs.
28	3	1/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Florida Primary Plan. 3 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From L.B. Thomas to Forte. RE: Florida Republicans standing up at Presidential primary. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Form	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: The Florida Letter. 1 pg.

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28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Form	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: President's Commitment Card. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Presidential Commitment Program. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Tommy Thomas to Presidential Volunteer. RE: Presidential Commitment Program. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Form	Charts. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Florida. 4 pgs.
28	3	1/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert H. Marik to The Attorney General. RE: Computer Mapping Project. 2 pgs.

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28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Map. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: County of Los Angeles
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Specifications for Pilot Project. 2 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Financial Records	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Proposed Budget - Pilot Project for Computer Maps. 1 pg.
28	3	1/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Campaign Strategy Group. 5 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Key Counties and Key Precincts. 2 pgs.

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28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Map. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Organization Chart. 1 pg.
28	3	1/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle Jr. to The Attorney General through Jeb S. Magruder. RE: Representative Ashbrook's Direct Mail Campaign. 2 pgs.
28	3	1/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert Odle Jr. to The Attorney General. RE: Office Space for Advertising Agency. 1 pg.
28	3	1/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Attachement of the President's news summary. 1 pg.
28	3	1/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Yankelovich Presentation on College Youth. 2 pgs.

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28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Youth drive by GOP. 1 pg.
28	3	1/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Cancellation of appearance by Senator Scott in New Hampshire. 1 pg.
28	3	1/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Herbert L. Porter to Jeb Magruder. RE: Senator Scott. 1 pg.
28	3	1/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: New Hampshire Rally. 1 pg.
28	3	1/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From George Gorton to Ken Rietz. RE: New Hampshire "Young Voters" Rally. 1 pg.

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28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Boston. 1 pg.
28	3	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Samples of the first mailings. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Re-election sticker. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Re-elect the President. 3 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Lane Dwinell to Mr. and Mrs. Faulkner. RE: New Hampshire primary and the re-election of President Nixon. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From lane Dwinell to Fellow Republican. RE: New Hampshire primary and the re-election of President Nixon. 1 pg.

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28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Lane Dwinell to Mr. and Mrs. Collins. RE: New Hampshire primary and the re-election of President Nixon. 1 pg.
28	3	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: New York State. 3 pgs.
28	3	1/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Attachment of Tom Korologos memo to Clark MacGregor. 1 pg.
28	3	1/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Tom Korologos to Clark MacGregor through William E. Timmons. RE: 1972 Senate Election Prospects. 2 pgs.
28	3	1/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Campaign Strategy Group. 5 pgs.

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28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Tab A. Author Unknown. Receptient Unknown. RE: Promotional Materials. 3 pgs.
28	3	1/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Tab B. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Committee to Re-elect the President. 2 pgs.
28	3	1/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry Fleming to Attorney General John Mitchell. RE: Primary Races. 2 pgs.
28	3	1/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The Blavk Vote. 1 pg.
28	3	2/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Devan L. Shumway to The Attorney general through Jeb Magruder. RE: Wire Services. 1 pg.

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28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Youth Citizenship Fund. 1 pg.
28	3	1/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Rietz to Jeb Magruder. RE: The Youth Citizenship Fund. 1 pg.
28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Director of the Transient Vote. 1 pg.
28	3	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Governor Regan's announcement. 2 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	Press Release. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Ronal Regan heading the campaign in California to re-elect President Nixon. 2 pgs.

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28	3	2/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	Press release. Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: The re-election campaign in California. 2 pgs.
28	3	2/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: New Hampshire Speaking Events Prior to March 7, 1972. 3 pgs.
28	3	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to The Attorney General. RE: Political Issues Group Meeting Thursday, February 3, 1972. 3 pgs.
28	3	2/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Planning Mechanism for the Republican National Convention. 2 pgs.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: 1972 Convention Decision Calender. 2 pgs.

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28	3	2/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: San Diego Office. 1 pg.
28	3	1/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William Timmons to Jeb Magruder. RE: San Diego Office. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Resume. From Ann Milne Ramsay to Recipient Unknown. RE: Resume. 2 pgs.
28	3	1/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Alex Armendaris - Candidate for Spanish Speaking Director. 1 pg.
28	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Author Unknown. Recipient Unknown. RE: Alex Armendaris. 8 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman

Box Number: 308

Folder: 16 Campaign-Part I Feb. 2-Feb. 16, '72 [Folder 1]

Document

Disposition

40	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Joanou to Strachan, 2-1-72
41	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2-10-72
42	Return	Private/Political	Notes, "K, Stans - Assoc..." 2-15-[72]
43	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the AG, 2-7-72

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

*It
saw
proof*

February 1, 1972

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

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHEN
FROM: PHIL JOANOU
SUBJECT: Brochure

Attached is a first proof of the volunteers kit which was presented at the January 24 strategy meeting. The copy for the inserts is still in the works.

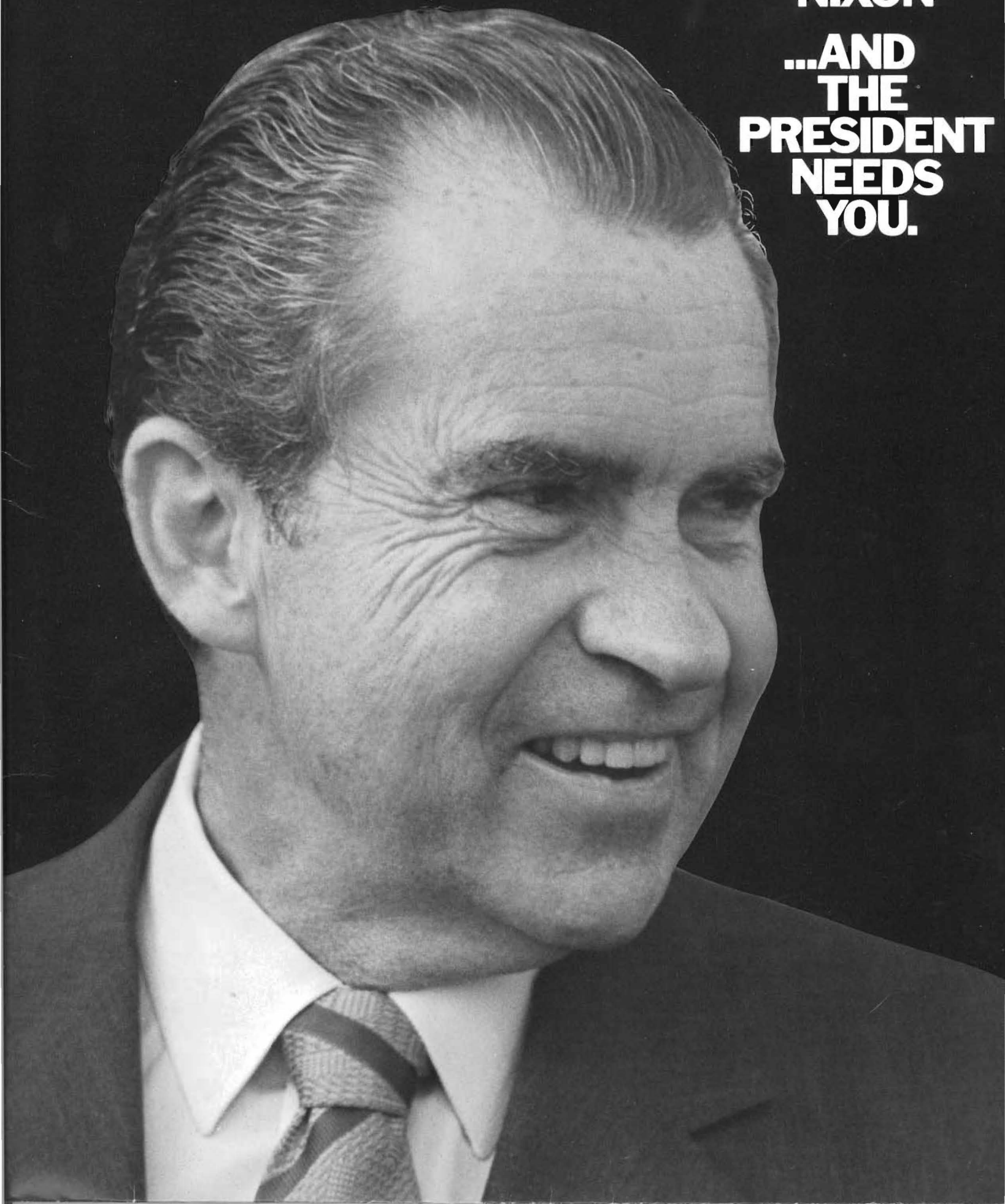
The purpose of this brochure is to provide detailed information on the issues, provide flexibility in that the inserts can be changed quickly and at low cost to encourage volunteers. Additionally, the inserts will be used to follow-up telephone calls on specific issues.

We plan to proceed with production on the brochure on February 3.

Joanou

**AMERICA
NEEDS
PRESIDENT
NIXON**

**...AND
THE
PRESIDENT
NEEDS
YOU.**



How you can help.

You can play an important role in the re-election of the President.
Here's how:

1. Volunteer your services to your local campaign headquarters. There are many areas where skills are needed, such as . . .
 - Help to incorporate into the campaign, party auxiliary organizations (Y.R.'s, C.R.'s, etc.)
 - Help incorporate community organizations (Rotary, Elks, etc.)
 - Help gather basic political information.
 - Help conduct voter identification canvass.
 - Help conduct selective registration drive.
 - Help with fund raising.
 - Help conduct special drives on absentee, sick, disabled voters.
 - Help conduct voter turnout drive.
 - Help insure ballot security.or, you can help in scheduling events, organizing files, operating the headquarters, organizing younger voters.
2. Organize a neighborhood coffee klatch and discuss the upcoming campaign, the President's record, and the vital issues facing this country today. In this kit you will find fact sheets on these issues that can be used to guide the discussion.
3. Call ten friends and ask for their support for the President. Ask them to call ten more.
4. Talk up the President with your friends (nothing succeeds better than word of mouth advertising).
5. Use a bumper sticker on your car. Wear a button. Make your support of the President known.
6. Make sure you and your friends register.
7. Make sure you vote on election day.

You don't need past political experience to help re-elect the President!

Cole

L
Drafts
reports
that Evans
and McLane
are working
with
Todelat
1701

January 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

KEN COLE

FROM:

CHARLES COLSON

Attached is Bud Evans draft to me of proposed division of responsibilities between Evans and McLane on aging. It is good as a draft; it needs some further refinement and perhaps a little juggling back and forth. Also, it does not recognize the inevitable overlap. Some things that Bud will be doing politically are also things which McLane must be involved in substantively. That is where working relationships simply have to evolve and can hardly be dictated in a memo. But, as I say, this is a good starter.

Velli
Keller

I called you Saturday because there is another aspect of this that we need to talk about. Assuming that the signals are still as they were. However, let's you and I get McLane and Evans in and get them started. Every day that passes is one less day we have to really get this operation off and running.

AGING AREA RESPONSIBILITIES

McLane:

GENERALLY: Substantive matters.

SPECIFICALLY:

- assure White House support for policies that will aid in winning the elderly vote.
- develop proposals, projects and substantive initiatives.
- conduct in-depth studies of proposed initiative possibilities.
- develop legislation to institute proposals, projects and initiatives.
- coordinate these efforts with initiatives in other fields.
- develop strategy for passage of such legislation.
- monitor progress of such legislation.
- run the Cabinet-level Domestic Council on Aging.
- direct the Working group.
- Push departments and agencies to develop and implement useful programs for the elderly.
- coordinate the departments' and agencies' substantive aging effort.
- monitor White House follow-up to WHCoA recommendations.

Evans:

GENERALLY: Political matters.

SPECIFICALLY:

- act as liaison with aging organizations.
- monitor position appointments to assure hiring of personnel loyal to the President.
- develop and monitor execution of PR plans.
- develop Presidential involvements.
- coordinate Administration speaking engagements.
- exploit what we do and what opposition does not do.
- coordinate our efforts with the campaign committee and RNC. *(in coordination with Hillman)*
- stroke key aging leaders.
- monitor grants, and direct to Republican groups and areas where possible. *(work with Hillman & Coffey)*
- push proposals, projects and initiatives with high political payoffs. *data Hillman*
- political follow-up to WHCoA.

Key St. Poll - pop of Geos of both parties
O.C.

Bailey - only oral presentation
rejected by JSM, doing memos
#, policy + text → writing
Brochure, Kit, letterheads

- Price,
When asks H wants to hear Bailey's
presentation - on TV film, etc.

Polls - AG/H system - Tal Pap.

JSM thinks AG has no agree.

Teter - JSM wants all projects
thru him to get priorities
Cath, Environ, etc

JSM know
- uses → as excuses for AG
- Recomm on SOTU

→ ① - as much time as necessary - not
3 or 5 or X days per week

memo
a/summary
comments

② - 35,000 per annum rate

③ - JSM down on Teter - low, hard

Mabell - H + AG - paper - in Tal Pap

AG concerned about "operator"

JSM to be coordinator - w/ Hiddy + Porter

↳ WH Support Budget - Balk | all mgs

AG + JSM agree that JSM
shld not be a spokes
in camp, shld be behind
scenes but fr/ May 1 of '71
until Shuman (presidir)
AG as Camp Dir, when
on request fr/ they public
we shld see people, limit
so that:

- ① stories out fr/ WH
that inaccur + harmful
(ex. E, Dent in Nat'l
that book) so note
to man who give line
↑ JSM
- ② Requested by AG, H P
etc to get certain lines
out - 50% in NH, etc.
then Shuman on at 2/7
- ③ Series of press after Mayanoc
- ④ Nov 9 Spe - P 1st pol, then
series
- ⑤ w/ declara by P. on 1/8?
then press inquiries
- JSM no "on record" or TV
interviews, - only blg in p
- Anticip stories when AG moves over

February 3, 1972
4:00 p.m.

NEW HAMPSHIRE SPEAKING EVENTS PRIOR TO MARCH 7, 1972

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
January 13	Headquarters Grand Opening New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President, Concord	Sec. Volpe
January 21 and 22	Voter Registration Rally, Manchester	Sen. Weicker
January 29	New Hampshire State Bar Association, Concord	Sec. Richardson
January 31	Testamomial Dinner for Sen. Cotton, Lebanon	Sen. Scott
February 4	New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President Fund Raising Dinner, Concord	Sec. Morton
February 4	Claremont High School Student Body, Claremont	Sec. Morton
February 4 and 5	Keene State College, Franklin Pierce College, New Hampshire College and St. Anselms College	Cong. Kemp Cong. Steiger
February 8	New Hampshire College Student Body, Manchester	Mr. Ruckelshaus
February 8	New Hampshire Clean Waters Association, Laconia	Mr. Ruckelshaus
February 9	Joint Session of New Hampshire Legislature	Mr. Ruckelshaus
February 9	North Conway and Conway Rotary Clubs Ladies Night Dinner, North Conway	Sen. Brock
February 10	Dinner Conference with Environmental Scientists, Durham	Mr. Train

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
February 12	Rockingham County Republican Dinner Dance, Pelham	Sec. Richardson
February 12	Coos County Republican Party Lincoln Day Dinner, Berlin	Sec. Richardson
February 12	Amherst Lincoln Day Dinner, Amherst, N.H.	Sec. Romney
February 15	Strafford County Republican Committee Lincoln Day Dinner, Dover	Sen. Packwood (Invitation pending)
February 18	Grafton County Republican Committee Lincoln Day Dinner, Woodsville	Sen. Beall (Invitation pending)
February 18	University of New Hampshire Annual Alumni Class Conclave, Durham	Mr. Rumsfeld
February 19	East Rockingham County Republican Party Dinner, Exeter	Sen. Baker Mr. Buddy Ebsen
February 21	Cheshire County Republican Committee Lincoln Day Dinner, Keene	Mr. Finch
February 21	Dartmouth College Student Body, Hanover	Mr. Finch (Invitation pending)
February 22	Business and Industry Association of New Hampshire Dinner, Concord	Mr. Flanigan
February 23	Nashua Chamber of Commerce Annual Dinner, Nashua	Sec. Volpe
February 23	Chamber of Commerce Dinner, Manchester	Mr. Klein
February 25	Kearsarge High School	Cong. Biester

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
February 28, 29 or March 1, 2	University of New Hampshire Student Body, Durham	Sec. Romney (Invitation pending)
March 3	New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President Reception and Rally, Manchester	Twenty spokesmen (Planning stage)

February 3, 1972
4:00 p.m.

FLORIDA SPEAKING EVENTS PRIOR TO MARCH 14, 1972

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
January 21	Chamber of Commerce Dinner Sarasota	Mr. Klein
January 22	National Highway Safety Leaders Women's Group, Orlando	Sec. Volpe
January 29	State Convention of Florida Jaycees, Daytona Beach	Vice President
January 29	Miami Penthalon, Miami	Howard Twiley (Miami Dolphins)
February 1	DuVal County Medical Society	Mr. Kleindienst
February 2	Co-host Allan Courtney Radio Show, Miami	Mr. Klein
February 3	University of Florida, Gainesville	Sen. Goldwater
February 4	Palm Beach County Fund Raising Dinner, Palm Beach	Mrs. Mitchell
February 7	Elephant Forum, Miami	Cong. Ford
February 10	Legacy of Parks, Dade County	Mrs. Julie Eisenhower
February 10	Civics Club Luncheon, Ft. Meyers	Sen. Gurney
February 10	Lincoln Day Dinner, Collier County, Naples	Sen. Gurney
February 11	Central Florida District Rotary Club Luncheon, Disneyworld	Sen. Gurney
February 11	Dade County Lincoln Day Dinner, Miami	Sen. Brock
February 12	Lake County Republican Executive Committee Lincoln Day Dinner, Leesburg	Sen. Gurney

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
February 12	Ormond Beach Republican Club Lincoln Day Dinner, Daytona Beach	Mr. Winthrop Rockefeller
February 13	Citrus County Lincoln Day Brunch, Crystal River	Sen. Gurney
February 14	Congressional Boosters Club Fund Raising Event, Palm Beach	Sec. Butz Sen. Dole Cong. Kemp Mr. Rumsfeld
February 14	Volusia County Lincoln Day Luncheon, DeLand	Sen. Gurney
February 14	Seminole County Lincoln Day Dinner, Sanford	Sen. Gurney
February 16	National Association of Manufacturers, Boca Raton	Sec. Stans
February 19	Key West County Lincoln Day Dinner, Key West	Sen. Gurney
February 21	South Broward County Lincoln Day Dinner	Sen. Gurney
February 24	Republican State Executive Committee Legislature Appreciation Dinner, Tallahassee	Sec. Morton
February 24	Florida State University Student Body, Tallahassee	Sec. Morton
February 26	Florida Engineering Society Annual Banquet, Miami	Sec. Romney
February 26	Indian River County Lincoln Day Dinner, Vero Beach	Sen. Gurney
March 4	Sarasota County Lincoln Day Dinner, Sarasota	(Invitation pending)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
March 4	GOP Fund Raising Event, St. Petersburg	Sen. Dole
March 5	American Friends of Hebrew University, Miami	Sec. Richardson
March 6	Manatee County Republican Dinner, Bradenton	Cong. Goldwater
March 6	Ft. Meyers Fund Raising Dinner, Ft. Meyers	Sen. Tower
March 6	Elephant Forum, Miami	Sen. Tower
March 6	North Broward County Lincoln Day Dinner, Fort Lauderdale	Sen. Dole
March 7	Regional Kiwanis Clubs, Manatee and Sarasota Counties	Sen. Goldwater (Invitation pending)
March 9	Republican Fund Raiser, Tampa	Sen. Goldwater
March 10	Brevard County Lincoln Day Dinner, Cocoa Beach	Sen. Dole
March 11	Jaycees Awards Banquet, St. Petersburg	Sen. Gurney
March 13	Polk County Lincoln Day Dinner, Winter Haven.	Sen. Dole

Gordon
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: Feb. 2/7 1972

TO: *FRED MALEK* LARRY HIGBY
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Malek called on February 4 to say that he had been wrong - Muskie is on the Committee (Khachigian correct) but as a Senate Representative not within President's power to appoint.

More disturbing however was Malek's reluctance to send this hard hitting memo to a staff member who had not performed a valuable political staff job well.

Is there something about Malek's new job I don't understand?

Not worth pursuing.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

February 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

KEN KHACHIGIAN

FROM:

FRED MALEK

You advised Bob Haldeman that Ed Muskie served on the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and would use this post to embarrass the President.

Your facts were wrong. Efforts double checking wasted valuable hours.

Since you have the primary staff responsibility for tracking the Democratic Contenders, I was surprised to learn that you apparently don't even have an accurate biography of Muskie. I trust you will tighten up your area of responsibility firmly and quickly.

Handwritten notes: "Handwritten" and "FMA" with a checkmark.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2/1

Date _____

TO: Fred Malek

FROM: L. HIGBY

Please check into
the attached. If has
not seen - let
him know what should
be done

L.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 21, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HALDEMAN

FROM: KENNETH L. KHACHIGIAN *KLK*

I think it should be noted that Ed Muskie is a member of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. I would expect that with regard to the school finance and property tax issues, Muskie would consider using the Advisory Commission as a vehicle to embarrass the President.

Muskie might use hearings or written reports in this area to voice his stiff opposition to whatever the President recommends, and I would guess that the media would be more than willing to air Muskie's views (since he is the most politically prominent member of the Advisory Commission).

Thus, I think our people on the Commission ought to be at least alerted to the possibilities of Muskie's actions and to bird-dog him enough to prevent surprises. Mayor Lugar is also on the Commission, and he just might be willing to be the guy who doesn't let Muskie score any public relations coups over the issues.

Also, Governor Hearnes of Missouri is on the Commission, and he is one of Muskie's early and ardent supporters. He may be called upon by Muskie's people to do some of the dirty work for them.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 1/7/72

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Colson is asking for political clearance for a Hallett developed program to identify the Administration with California. Colson mentions the need to get comments from everyone "concerned with California politically" but this really means the Attorney General. The political staff of Flemming and Magruder have no idea what the Attorney General plans in California.

Before Colson is given the go-ahead, you should discuss this program with the Attorney General.

To
Colson to
cover w/
A.G. personally

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Attached Memo

I am attaching a memo which Doug Hallett has roughed out for me. I think he has raised a number of very good points. I can and would like to follow through on several of them. A number, however, are highly political and involve our California strategy.

I would not normally run this kind of memo by you, but rather would pick up the things that look worthwhile and work through the staffing system. In this case, because of the sensitivity of California and the obvious interrelationship of many of these points with the California political strategy, I think you should review it, get the comments of everyone else who is concerned with California politically and let me know which areas you would like pursued.

A number of P. R. points I think have considerable appeal and we should start staffing them now. Of particular interest to me are points 2, 3, 7 (which we are trying to do anyway), 9 and 10 (if it is in conformance with the basic political strategy).

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

3 January 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES W. COLSON


FROM DOUG HALLETT

In talking to Jon Rose, who is, as you know, spending a great deal of time in Southern California, I find that he has sensed the same feeling I do - that is, that many Californians don't feel the President is strongly identified with the state; that it is just a place from which he runs for office; and, inversely, when you argue with them and tell them how much the President likes San Clemente; that he wants to retire there, etc., they warm up considerably. Possible ways to counter this:

- (1) President could travel more while in California. I'd like to see him do something at Whittier College, go to church at one of the missions, do a walking tour in East L.A., inspect the Santa Barbara Channel, go to Pt. Reyes or Golden Gateway in San Francisco (once the latter is settled), address a joint session of the state legislature in Sacramento, and undertake other highly visible activities. The First Lady could do the same.
- (2) We should focus on California newspapers. The First Lady might conduct a tour - followed by a luncheon - at San Clemente for the Home & Garden or Women's Editors of the major California newspapers with photographers invited along. San Clemente, especially in view of its historic background, is invaluable in identifying the President with his native state. The President, in turn, might do an exclusive interview with West, the L.A. Times's Sunday magazine, on his early days in California. We could give another exclusive interview on farm problems to the McClatchey newspapers, in Sacramento, Fresno, and Bakersfield and another on the President's Navy years, World War II, and international affairs to the San Diego Union.
- (3) We should use San Clemente - when the President is not there - as a base for non-stop stroking of various California interest-groups. Republican state legislators, congressmen, constitutional officers, and leading local officials such as Robert Wilson and Bob

Pete Wilson could be invited to San Clemente for a two-three day briefing, half devoted to national-international problems with key spokesmen, half devoted to our efforts in behalf of California with people like Rose officiating. Similar briefings could be given to a group of leading business types, a group of labor types (If Reagan made heavy in-roads in this group, we certainly should be able to do so), and others. Shorter, one-two day briefings could be arranged for farmers, conservation groups, and others.

(4) We should prepare a two or three paragraph speech insert on the President's relationship with California to be used by all administration spokesmen speaking in California. It would be fluff, but it would, I think, be helpful.

(5) We might do a half-hour TV special from Whittier. The President could visit to go to the College's Chicano Studies Center and, while there, tape a special, leading the viewer through his old home, high school, and college, discussing what values, etc. he gained from his experiences, talking about California when he was there, and the changes that have occurred since then. This could be used nationally or, perhaps, as a California exclusive.

(6) Friendly columnists should be encouraged to emphasize the President's belief in the importance of California for his re-election. This might be reinforced by bringing back a representative group of Republicans (not just Reaganites, but guys like Wilson, Bill Bagley, Flournoy, etc. as well) for a private dinner with the President. Once he moves over to 1701, the Attorney-General could do an exclusive interview for California newspaper political editors, discussing the state, etc.

(7) Californians spend half their lives in Cars listening to the radio. I don't know how much we do as far as providing tapes, but we might begin intensifying our efforts in this way as far as California. When an aerospace contract or a ship contract is announced, for example, we could get Laird or Chafee or some other high-level type to do a spot emphasizing how much the President wants to alleviate the unemployment problem or whatever - and then get it out there fast. The same should be done as far as TV - the TV news shows in San Francisco and L.A. are highly popular. And, of course, our speakers should be encouraged to be especially mindful of secondary radio-TV interview-interview show opportunities when they are in the state.

(8) If administration types who are visible want to vacation they can vacation in California. The L.A. and San Francisco social pages cover the action at Squaw Valley and Mammoth in the winter and Tahoe and Palm Springs extremely well. Californians also value their recreation - and value people who go in for it. Frequent appearances of administration types at California recreation spas should not be underestimated. Right now, all we get is the Veep sitting in Palm Springs.

(9) Concentrated mailing effort to California. When the details of the school finance program are announced, we obviously cannot afford to mail to every school district in the country, but we can do it as far as California is concerned. Kathleen Balsdon should be alert to opportunities to send intensified mailings to Californians on issues of pressing concern out there like property taxes.

(10) A couple specially-focused speaking programs: Every Californian in the administration should spend one week between now and November speaking in their home areas or areas where they have an identity.

I know guys like Weinberger and Finch spend a lot of time speaking out there, but younger guys - like Hanzlik on Finch's staff - could arrange to go out there at government expense and speak to local service clubs, do an interview with their local paper and radio station, etc. - all emphasizing the administration's concern for and rapport with California. Secondly, we could do a special speaking program at California colleges and universities, sending guys on Bud Krogh's level to state colleges and guys on Peter Michel's level to junior colleges for full days, appearing at classes, doing an interview with the college paper, etc.

The above are only my preliminary thoughts. I think others should be asked for input and I think we should begin moving in this area as soon as possible.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

AB

Administratively Confidential

February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *G*

SUBJECT:

Shaheen Papers

Jeb Magruder has been approached by representatives of a Mr. Shaheen about creating a color afternoon newspaper in New York. Apparently the goal of the paper is to capture the New York Post's market.

Neither the Attorney General nor Colson know anything about this Shaheen paper project. I have not approached Herb Klein. Assuming you know about this Shaheen paper project, the question is should Magruder encourage these representatives or not.

- Yes, ask Magruder to proceed with non-financial assistance
- No, have Magruder and White House Staff stay uninvolved
- Other

I've given Jeb the word here —

*2/8
Unofficial support
no camp or
WH interest*

To Malek

Draft

~~Good~~
2

TALKING PAPER FOR JEB MAGRUDER

Re: Campaign Strategy Group Meeting

- 1) Attendees -- The correct people are invited ~~but~~ the absence of Buchanan and Garment, the only ones besides Chapin with national campaign experience is a weakness which must be corrected.
- 2) Agenda -- Specific items for discussion should be listed ahead of time.
- 3) Substance of Discussions -- The group should concentrate on those issues which they can influence. Examples are the surrogate program (what should our response to Morton's speech problems in New Hampshire be); the use of celebrities; the appearance and tone of the direct mail as it in fact is delivered; the problems of a particular state's organization; Presidential domestic travel, where would it be most effective; etc. General discussions of Vice Presidential candidates, the role of Wallace, Haldeman's interviews are not productive. If the group wants to discuss these subjects they should do so after the agenda is completed.
- 4) Clearance Process -- The group should go on record approving or disapproving a particular item such as the newspaper ads, but a record should also be kept of who expressed dissenting views.

(Example -- Chapin's views on an advertising campaign are more important than Flemming's.)

Materials should not be presented to the group as a "fait accompli". Either the Campaign Strategy Group has an impact on the decision or they don't. The newspaper ads were already locked as was the Nixon Re-Election .

5) White House Input -- Those with background and expertise in national campaigns should be invited periodically. Flanigan, Ehrlichman, and Colson should be invited periodically to comment.

GS
2/8/72

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all typed to come
Perry instead
Finch
not HGK
RZ
Scali-out
see memo
mtgs

DC - cut back - no Flemming or Koopers
- not Joanou - only Bailey + JSM
- new list

GS
2/8/72

Sat

Mallick → Pol Mtg - not this pr one

→ Purpose: review public communications prior to commit - either ads or press.
- Flemming - only internal
- specific agenda
- no dinner, beer, Sat morning


JSM
lead
mtg

Dill M

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: JOHN DEAN 
SUBJECT: Potential Disruptions at the
Republican National Convention

In response to my memorandum of January 31, 1972 summarizing present intelligence regarding the potential for disruptions at the GOP Convention in San Diego, you have requested information regarding the "positive things that are planned."

At the outset, I might say that I find that the present intelligence information does have some positive elements. First, it indicates that the "anti" groups are disorganized, that there is more talk than action, and that there is friction between the national organizations and the local San Diego organizations. Rest assured that nothing is being done to change this situation and, in fact, everything possible is being done to preserve it as long as possible. Second, I find virtually no serious discussion among the "anti" groups regarding use of confrontation techniques (a la May Day variety) at the San Diego Convention. Their goal is numbers -- large numbers. In fact, such old warriors as Hayden, Rubin, Hoffman and Dellinger have privately confided that they feel that they will only succeed if they have a mass demonstration, without incident!

By way of planning, there is little that can be done to affect the "anti" groups until they get down to serious planning themselves. At this time, we are doing what is possible to keep their plans from developing in a manner that will cause difficulty in holding the convention.

I also find a very positive situation in the preparedness planning by the city and state officials for any type of demonstration. From the Governor's office to the Mayor's office to the Sheriff's and Police Chief's offices, detailed plans are being made. When I first began focusing on the San Diego demonstration potential I was alarmed at the lack of understanding and appreciation of the demonstration potential by the responsible officials. In the ensuing months, however, I have found them taking every step necessary to deal with and control any demonstration. The city has some 20 different task forces working on this one problem. The task forces are composed -- depending on the focus of study -- of city, state and federal officials. While many of the task forces are primarily studying the law enforcement and related problems, others are reviewing such matters as rock festivals, surfing contests, etc.

Your memorandum to me (via Strachan) specifically raises the matter of "football games, surfing contests, and rock concerts...." as things we should be planning for. While I agree that some such activity is appropriate, I also feel that such planning is not an answer to the potential problems. Activities of this nature might serve two purposes: divert the kids from the convention and/or keep them busy while there. I seriously question the diversionary tactic. It has been tried on several occasions and has failed. As an observer of every major demonstration in the United States in the last three years, I know of it only partially succeeding once, i. e., Portland, Oregon, American Legion Convention. If such activities are employed as a means of giving the kids something to do to keep them out of trouble, I agree it has some potential; but we should keep in mind the fact that such activities can also attract, as well as divert and I don't think we should do anything to attract more kids to California during August of 1972.

Mayor Wilson has promised to send me copies of the reports of all the task forces, which should give us the details of all the planning activities.

In brief, the picture is not that horrible. Yes, there may be a large number of long haired freaks roaming around San Diego during our convention, but the plans have been made to control them -- should that be necessary. I have no hesitation in offering this prediction:

-- there will be somewhere between 250,000 -
450,000 (maximum) demonstrators --

-- the great majority will be orderly -- and --

-- there will be ample law enforcement people
trained and able to deal with any situation
which may arise.

There is also this very positive thought -- the demonstrations
could very well completely fizzle. As you know, the leaders are
calling for no less than a million kids. However, if the national
climate is calm, they might have trouble getting 100,000 interested
in San Diego. How's that for a pollyanna?

I will keep you posted on the positive as well as negative sides of
this situation as they develop.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

February 2, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is our weekly report.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

~~bcc:~~ Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

ADVERTISING

Office space has been secured at 909 Third Avenue in New York.

Radio and television commercials for Florida will be produced on location February 3 and 4, and will be available for viewing the week of February 7.

Newspaper ads for New Hampshire and Florida are in development and will be reviewed by the Strategy Group on February 7.

Letterhead designs for State Committees have been approved and are in production, as are press release letterheads.

The Primary States creative strategy was presented by the Strategy Group and approved.

The pre-convention promotion strategy was also presented and approved.

Mr. Paul Muller has been retained by the Agency as Chief Financial Officers. He was Vice President and Treasurer of Young & Rubicam.

Mr. Mike Lessor has been retained as New Account Supervisor. He was Senior Vice President of Marschalk.

Mr. George Karalekas has been retained as Media Director. He was Director of Advertising, Canada Dry, and Vice President, Media, Grey Advertising.

BLACK LIAISON

During the week we attended, and were actively involved in, with attendees from around the Nation, a White House Budget Message Briefing. In addition to providing back-up support in singling out portions of the budget directly related to programs impacting on minorities, discussions with key leaders set out roles they will play in the campaign.

Florida and Georgia organization meetings were finalized.

Out-of-town visitors to the Division's offices continued and included: Black realtor, T. M. Alexander, Sr. (Atlanta), Ambrose Lane, publisher (Buffalo), Dr. James Holloway, Howard University (Washington), and John Sims, Executive of U. S. Plywood (New York).

At the invitation of District of Columbia Republicans, we attended a Black Republican Caucus. The Caucus centered around (1) role in the coming campaign, (2) fielding a candidate for the local congressional race, (3) reaching more rank and file voters, (4) holding one or more special events. Committees were set up to report

back to a later meeting of the Caucus. The Caucus pledged its efforts to working closely with the Committee for the Re-election of the President following our presentation.

Contacts were made with entertainers in support of the strategy to attract celebrities to the campaign (Jerry Butler, Sammy Davis, Jr., and Lionel Hampton).

We hosted a hospitality suite in connection with the "Bob Brown Tribute" (more than 250 people from over the country visited the suite). This allowed for dissemination of information on the Administration's record regarding minorities and for gaining commitments from key persons to work in behalf of the President's re-election.

Papers were developed for in-house Committee use (for advertising and a white paper for the Illinois Chairman).

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Regional Chairmen for our group have accepted in Boston, St. Louis, Atlanta, Boise and Chicago. It is expected that the person contacted in New York will also accept. We will be contacting the other regional candidates for their agreement. Those chairmen who have accepted will be visited during the next week and the state and city organizations within their regions will be set up. In addition to the regional assignments, we have acceptance in two states for the state chairmen. All who have so far accepted are prominent businessmen and we are encouraged by our progress to date.

We have a second draft on our film script. More work must be done on it before it can be considered.

JEWISH LIAISON

There is continued activity by the American Jewish community on organizing its efforts to bring a million signatures on petitions urging the President to include the item of Soviet Jewry on the summit agenda with the Russians. Petitions have been distributed to communities throughout the United States and background material has also been sent out. The focus will be on a national leadership conference in Washington on May 3 with supporting demonstrations in communities around the country on April 30. The petition drive is being run nationally and is to culminate at the May 3 date.

There will be a request for a meeting between the President and the leaders of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, and there will be extensive publicity covering this request. Supporting

statements by Congressional and political figures will be used to buttress this. If the President does decide that he wishes to meet with a representative group of leadership, it would be wise to select the appropriate timing at the point where any hint of pressure can be reduced.

LEGAL

Bill Novelli was advised of the requirements of the Campaign Communications Reform Act as it pertains to direct mail. We conferred with Messrs. Flemming and Cohen concerning contributions by corporations. For Mr. Shumway, we reviewed a contract between David Green and the Republican National Committee and our opinion is that the RNC is bound under its terms. We conferred with the Business and Industry Committee on the legal aspects of: (a) communications of a political nature between corporate officers and employees; and (b) prohibited contribution of services, both direct and constructive. We drafted a charter for the Committee for the Re-election of the President and conferred with Attorney General Mitchell and Messrs. Dean and Magruder on certain aspects of the campaign. We reviewed a proposed contract between the Committee and Design Associates and submitted the opinion that the document in question constituted a mere offer, and that the offeror is one not empowered to make an offer on behalf of the Committee. We revised an offer to contract for housing of Young Republicans and Young Voters for the President received from the University of San Diego and advised Mr. Teeter with respect to the legality of prepayment of contracts for polling services under the Campaign Communications Reform Act.

OLDER AMERICANS

Personnel activities continue to take up the bulk of the time.

John Martin will stay as Commissioner on Aging and efforts are now re-directed to beefing up underneath him. Dan Todd is a member on the Secretary's Task Force charged with doing this (along with Rod Brady and Stu Clark under Veneman's direction).

Jamie McLane has left the Domestic Affairs staff to become Don Rumsfeld's deputy at COLC. Vicki Keller will replace him (and will need help). Arthur Flemming and Todd are working on how to effectively back her up.

Flemming has not settled his shop v. Domestic Council staff and HEW. We are still not sure how this will shake out but will give it as much time as necessary until it is resolved.

Byron Gold is now putting full time into staffing out whether or not we are in a position to "eliminate hunger among the elderly". Report due February 7th.

Dick Darman has returned (January 31) and will take full responsibility for development of Special Message on Aging and Amendments (due date February 23rd).

We reviewed the Florida situation with Howard Weber and Mr. Van of the RNC. Weber will stay in Florida full time through the Primary to coordinate Older American activities for 1701, RNC and State Committee. He'll be paid by Thomas, not us.

POLITICAL

This week we solidified our organizational structure in New Hampshire, and improved programming of their efforts towards the telephone campaign and the "get-out-the-vote" campaign. These will be the two prime responsibilities of our New Hampshire group between now and March 7. Other activities will continue, but not at the expense of the two major projects. Governor Dwinell and Allan Walker have a complete understanding on this and a timetable has been worked out to help us attain maximum effectiveness in both activities.

Nathan (Gus) Agostinelli was announced as our state chairman in Connecticut on Tuesday, January 25. As of January 31 we have announced chairmen in 11 states, 13 are ready for announcement, and 16 are in the final stages of being set up. We are working out problems in 11 states in preparation for naming chairmen.

PR/MEDIA

Tom Girard attended the Connecticut announcement on January 25 in Hartford. In addition to newspaper coverage, Nathan Agostinelli, the Chairman, was interviewed by Channel 8 - New Haven, and the Hartford outlets of CBS and NBC attended the Press Conference. Girard also met with the party officials and briefed the Chairman prior to the Press Conference.

Continued work with the New Hampshire Committee included discussions and advice to them from Girard for the appearance of Secretary Richardson. Van Shumway and Girard both spoke with John Sias, the Press Secretary for the New Hampshire Committee, regarding future plans. A media plan has been requested for Sias laying out the program for Press, Surrogates and general PR in New Hampshire up to the Primary. The Committee Press department will then work with Sias and his plan to assure greater impact and more productive press coverage.

Ann Dore worked extensively with Roy Nilson and Bill David in Florida regarding the Surrogates' visits during the next 10 days.

The Florida audio operation is now in operation under the direction of Roy Nilson. He covered Vice President Agnew's visit last Saturday. The taped segment was fed to all radio stations in Florida. Girard arranged for the audio to be fed to the Washington based Green operation, which then fed the material to stations around the country.

The New Hampshire audio operation is also feeding taped segments of national spokesmen to Green and this in turn is being used for national feeds. In the not-too-distant future we will have the capability to measure the response to these feeds.

Dore spoke with the Indiana Committee people to lay out plans for their announcement on February 1st. Girard worked with their PR representative on the press release and attended the press conference in Indianapolis.

Girard advised David Green of the Youth News conference held January 25th. Green dispatched a film crew and audio man. Thirty-five video tapes were sent to stations. Green reported that the tapes were used by 29 stations.

Girard assisted photographers from the Swedish Broadcasting Company, UPI, and UPI-TV newsfilm as they took shots on the second floor of Committee headquarters.

Girard talked with Dick Brazie who covers Capitol Hill and politics for Westinghouse Broadcasting. This was on background and the topic was a general discussion of the campaign organization and activities in the states.

Dore spoke on the record with Ann Blackman of AP on the general topic of women in the Nixon campaign with the understanding that the staff is still being formed.

Shumway met with Dave Broder and Wally Mears (AP) whom he briefed on the campaign and in particular the New Hampshire activities prior to their visit there. He also met with Paul Healy of the New York Daily News with whom he discussed the campaign in general.

Art Amolsch prepared a statement for State Chairmen to use following President Nixon's Vietnam negotiations address.

Art also wrote the press release for the California announcement which is to be used at a Press Conference on February 4.

A Press Secretaries Handbook was written by Art and is now in draft form to be finalized and sent to all state press secretaries.

RESEARCH AND STRATEGY

Bob Marik, Bob Morgan and Rick Fore met with Undersecretary of Commerce, Jim Lynn, Rick Schweitzer of Commerce, and Joe Wright and Lance Tarrance of the Census Bureau. The purpose of the meeting was to determine the best manner of obtaining census information for the Committee. In particular, the meeting centered on census mapping and its applicability to campaign activity. The discussion clarified the operating plan within Commerce and Census to produce the maps, as well as how they will be used by the campaign.

Marik and Nancy Brataas visited New Hampshire for the purpose of putting into operation the telephone canvass which is planned for the primary campaign. Brataas, who will be in charge of the operation, met with New Hampshire volunteers who will be in charge of each of the seven centers in which telephone banks will be set up. She reviewed the complete program and distributed the operating materials which will be required for each center. Brataas will remain in New Hampshire to work with the New Hampshire organization to implement the plan.

At the present time, the high priority tasks are to organize the lists of telephone numbers for each headquarters and to recruit the registered voters to begin operations.

The office space for each of the seven telephone locations has been secured and the telephones are being installed. The active canvassing will begin on Friday, February 11. Within two weeks all Republican households will have been contacted. In the period just before the election, households which indicated support for the President will be called back and reminded to vote on March 7.

Marik, Morgan, Arthur Finkelstein and Fore met with staff assistants and consultants to the Speaker of the House of the New York Assembly. This group has management responsibilities for all Republican Assembly Campaigns in New York.

Governor Rockefeller, our Nixon Chairman in New York, gave his approval for the meeting with the Speaker's representatives. The meeting was held with a full understanding that Governor Rockefeller will be the Chairman of our effort in New York. He will also review all proposals of cooperation between the Committee for the Re-election of the President and the Republican Assembly Campaign management team.

It was agreed that there was an excellent opportunity to cooperate in the areas of demography, polling and direct mail. The appropriate people at our Committee will be in touch with their counterparts of the New York group to work out details. A program of cooperation will then be presented to the campaign management for approval.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

Porter met with the Attorney General to discuss progress towards the organization of special interest groups for the campaign. Included in the discussions were Ethnic, Labor, and Spanish speaking groups. In addition, the idea of hiring a veteran to head up a Veterans for the Re-election of the President Committee was discussed.

Porter and Curt Herge met with Gordon Luce, Vice-Chairman of the California Committee to discuss the program of Spokesmen Resources.

We have been in contact with Herb Klein's office to coordinate the requirements imposed by the White House on the Domestic Agencies and Departments. The objective is to require the preparation and submission of one report to meet several needs.

WOMEN

Rita Hauser was in Miami on January to deliver the Commencement Address at the University of Miami. As Rita was the first woman to make this address, her appearance got wide publicity in the press and television. Rita noted her intention to resign her U. N. position in order to campaign for the President, and this resulted in good media coverage on Nixon and the women's vote. She appeared on state-wide television, "Mid-day Scene," on January 27 to discuss the President's campaign (the next guest was Hubert Humphrey).

Rita also met with Tommy Thomas and Paula Hawkins on women's activities in the Primary. Hawkins is well aware of women's interests and also of the high percentage of top Republican women attached to Ashbrook.

Contact was made by telephone with a number of the key women appointees inviting them to a luncheon meeting on Wednesday, February 2. We were unable to get everyone together but we will have periodic meetings from now until victory day. Anne Armstrong and Jean Spencer will also be in attendance. Pat Hutar outlined the general areas to be covered in the first meeting and emphasized the importance of and need for their ideas in developing programs to involve women in the campaign. They liked this approach and seemed enthusiastic about participating. In addition, we discussed their personal involvement in the campaign. Judging from their comments, some of them are not sure to what degree and under what circumstances they can participate. This will be one of the topics on the agenda. We will base our discussions on a general outline of campaign activities to get their thinking and suggestions.

On February 1, Nancy Steorts and Pat Hutar will meet with Paula Hawkins

and Tommy Thomas to go over the materials that will be used in the direct mail program and to cover the work to be done by volunteers in the 10 county headquarters as well as by volunteers in the precincts.

Pat Hutar met with Pat Hitt and Jean Hawkins to get information on the women's activities in 1968 from January through the post-election period. Every facet of this operation was covered. The meeting was very valuable and Pat Hitt and Jean gave their full cooperation. They will continue to be helpful as programs for the volunteers are developed and implemented.

YOUNG VOTERS FOR THE PRESIDENT

New Hampshire

Young voters will canvass this weekend for unregistered supporters of the President. In addition to asking questions, they will pass out literature and volunteer cards. After this weekend, they will be phased into the telephone get-out-the-vote effort.

Our reports indicate that the number of young people at our rally last weekend demoralized the McCloskey headquarters in New Hampshire. In addition, it developed credibility for the idea that youth support the President and it increased morale among local campaign workers.

The first mock election will be held in New Hampshire on February 10 at New Hampshire College. Although we arranged it, the election is being sponsored by the student government. There will be 10 candidates and each person will vote for one (three Republicans). We believe this format the best for maximizing our results. Ruckelshaus will be speaking at New Hampshire College on the 9th and that is why the 10th was chosen.

We are exploring other possible mock elections although we want to be sure they will favor the President. Other possibilities are:

- New Hampshire Technical Institute on February 16.
- Daniel Webster Junior College and Aeronautical Institute on February 29.
- Dartmouth College on February 29.
- Plymouth State College - no date.

High school mock elections are being explored but because we could not control them as well (most make voting mandatory) we need exactly the right situation. One high school mock election has been scheduled by the school - Phillips Exeter Academy - and we are doing our

best to control the results. In addition, Kersarge High School at Sumner has scheduled a mock convention on February 24 and we are making every effort to see that the results are favorable.

Florida

We now have 2,000 volunteers recruited. Although the local party organization has not been much help, our registration drives are proceeding. We feel a maximum registration effort will have to be made in April. Our organization will help man the telephones to follow-up the direct mail effort for the primary.

Prior to the primary, we will announce a Florida Young Voters Committee which will include the same kind of outstanding young people named to the national committee last week.

Wisconsin

We now have a full-time volunteer as state chairman - Bob Kasten. He is setting up an organization that will conduct a voter registration drive in the spring and assist in the get-out-the-vote effort in the fall.

Illinois

Tom Houser has appointed Paul Caprio the youth coordinator. Caprio is a volunteer and will hire a youth director. The organization will set up a voter registration drive in the spring.

California

Tom Hayden, director of youth activities for the state central committee, will direct the Young Voters for the President Committee. Hayden is looking for a full-time staff director now.

Hayden, Luce, Nofziger, and Rietz agree that voter registration among young people is the key. We will be setting up a drive and have a proposal in for staff and necessary funds.

Speakers Placed

Counsellor Rumsfeld will speak before the Senate Youth Program.

Secretary Morton will address the student body of Plymouth State College (New Hampshire) in behalf of the President.

Mrs. Agnew will attend the Illinois state convention of the Future Homemakers of America.

Howard Twilley (Miami Dolphins) attended a Miami pentathlon (high school age athletic meet drawing from all over the state) in behalf of the President as well as meeting with our registration workers over the weekend.

Anne Armstrong addressed a college age mock convention in Springfield, Illinois, that drew participants from the area schools.

Representative Biester will address a high school age mock convention drawn from the Eastern seaboard at Kersarge High School in New Hampshire.

Representatives Steiger and Kemp will be in New Hampshire this weekend and will cover several colleges and high schools (including events at New Hampshire College, St. Anselms College, New England College, Franklin Pierce College, Keene State, Keene High School, Hanover High School) as well as radio and newspaper interviews and participation in our continuing registration drive.

Miscellaneous

The President appointed Jo Ann Cullen, whom we recommended, to the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education.

Administratively Confidential

February 10, 1972

*Any point
via a note
here?*

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

New Hampshire Mock Election

The Committee to Re-Elect the President conducted a mock election at New Hampshire College in Manchester, New Hampshire today. Sample ballots were given to 150 students (total enrollment 950). The results were:

Nixon-----	32%
Muskie-----	28%
McGovern-----	15%
Ed Cole (local)-----	6%
Humphrey-----	3%
Lindsay-----	3%
McCloskey-----	3%
Ashbrook-----	1%
Hartke-----	1%
Yorty-----	1%

At the direction of Jeb Magruder and Ken Rietz, Van Shunway and Tom Sias, the New Hampshire PR Director for the Committee to Re-Elect the President, are handling publicity in Washington and New Hampshire respectively.

*From P.
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Burtmold*

GS:lm

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Stans - Assoc Amn - K accepted
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Same as G8
- assigns still for 1

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w/o H - A-G + Stans
agree
- parallel box for Campaign

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Severson - a prob. nils,
not to be trusted.
K → Bebe

Mac Neil - Rockwell painting
Nat'l Portrait Gallery
75G contrib.

G-mall Protocol - Jim Reynolds K-recon

MF
F
S

H
G
Political Matters

Finances

*

① Here Kalmbeach reports that Dick Watson from Paris increased his contribution from 200 (already ^{Collected 100⁰⁰ in the bank}) to 300.

② Here Kalmbeach recommends that the full-time San Clemente gardener, Brigade Garcia, receive a pay increase from \$514 per month to \$550.

— Approve — Disap — C —

③ ^{Herby} Kalmbeach saw Don Nixon and

Maguire

Dean

- very large digging of
skillful investigator

- Herl Alexander book

- making of P in 68

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have dropped details

- 1701 chatted - not a
direct lead

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- Not much new in
story

- compil of milk &
etc.

Most is not really
close to facts

Not one person who sat
down & lealed, rather
a compilation

GOP'S KALMBACH

The Covert Collector

By JAMES R. POLK

Special to The Star

A little-known lawyer in Newport Beach, Calif., has raised millions in undercover campaign funds in the last four years as the hidden money man for President Nixon.

Inside sources say the man, Herbert W. Kalmbach, whose name has been a close-kept secret in White House politics, will be taking a crucial part again in Nixon's re-election race this year.

Kalmbach travels as Nixon's personal agent throughout this country and as far as Europe to collect campaign checks from Republican donors.

In Newport Beach, Kalmbach declined any comment. But surfacing from other sources in both government and GOP money circles were these disclosures:

● Kalmbach helped raise

James R. Polk is a former Associated Press investigative reporter who is now doing campaign finance research under a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism.

nearly \$3 million in covert campaign money for key GOP Senate candidates in 1970. The checks were sent through a townhouse basement backroom used by former Nixon political aide Jack A. Gleason. But the operation was run from inside the White House by presidential assistant H. R. (Bob) Haldeman.

● According to a White House source, Kalmbach is slated to join Maurice H. Stans as one of the top money managers of the 1972 campaign. In 1968, Kalmbach served under Stans, bringing in the large individu-

al donations which often were steered through secret committees in Delaware and Illinois.

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● Since Nixon took office, Kalmbach's law firm has grown dramatically. Kalmbach still has his own office in the seaside suburb of Newport Beach, but his firm's plush downtown suite now occupies an entire floor of Los Angeles' newest skyscraper. Since 1968, the firm has gained such new clients as United Air

See MONEY, Page A-8

Continued From Page A-1

Lincs, Travelers Insurance Co., Marriott Corp. and MCA, the giant of the entertainment industry.

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In Los Angeles, oil tool millionaire Henry Salvatori, who gave more than \$100,000 for Nixon in 1938, described Kalmbach's role this way: "He's more or less the person who calls in certain people."

Asked whether this meant the big donors, Salvatori said, "He sort of correlates that activity."

Another attorney, a Democrat who has raised hundreds of thousands of dollars in Southern California for his own party's presidential races, said:

"Herb has been a man of mystery because he has never been out in front. But he's coming out more.

"He has the closeness and confidence of the presidency. That's the reason for his success. He's a friend of the President. People who give like to have the feel of the closeness of the presidency."

The money that Kalmbach collects comes from wealthy Nixon backers such as Salvatori, Chicago insurance man W. Clement Stone, Detroit industrialist Max M. Fisher, Pittsburgh executive Richard M. Scaife, Ambassador Arthur K. Watson in France, and many others — some well-known, some not.

Secrecy Loopholes

Only a portion of this money has shown up on public records. The rest has been funneled through dummy committees using the loopholes for secrecy in the nation's capital and certain states. An aide with Stans and Kalmbach recalls one man in 1968 staying up late into the night just to think up new names for dummy groups.

The campaign reform bill passed by Congress and now awaiting Nixon's signature is meant to bring most of these campaign donations out into the open for 1972 — but the law won't take effect until April.

By then, many of the big checks for Nixon's estimated \$25 million re-election drive already may be in the bank, without the names appearing on campaign reports to Congress.

At least six previous \$100,000 donors, plus a number of corporation heads, were among White House dinner guests last weekend when a singer stunned the audience with an anti-war protest. Kalmbach and Stans were part of the gathering.

Kalmbach, 50, was a law school classmate of White House adviser Robert H. Finch at the University of Southern California after World War II. Apparently the only political title he ever held was Orange County co-chairman in Finch's successful race for lieutenant governor in California in 1966.

Aides to Stans

By 1968, Stans' closest money aides at Nixon's Park Avenue campaign headquarters in New York included both Kalmbach and Gleason. A source said Kalmbach helped bring in the big money, and Gleason helped set up the dummy committees.

Kalmbach returned to his expanding law practice in California in 1969, quietly handling the San Clemente purchase. Gleason followed Stans to the Commerce Department, became a White House political aide, then left in 1970 to move to a gray townhouse on 19th Street.

Through the basement of that townhouse flowed between \$2.5 million and \$3 million as part of the White House push to capture a GOP majority in the Senate.

The biggest chunk—\$250,000—went into Tennessee for winner William E. Brock III. The usual quota for other target states was \$150,000.

The key states included Florida, Indiana, Maryland, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Utah and Wyoming. Sen. J. Glenn Beall Jr. of Maryland was the only victor besides Brock in the states where much of the money was spent.

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Other donors in the United States tapped for top GOP Senate races included such backers as chemical executive John M. Olin, TV ratings head Arthur C. Nielsen Sr., architect Charles Luckman in Los Angeles, oilman Walter R. Davis in Midland, Tex., investor

Thomas A. Pappas of Boston, and perhaps two dozen others.

Dairymen Involved

All of the money moving through the townhouse operation came from individuals except \$100,000 from two controversial dairymen's funds known as TAPE and SPACE.

The checks were the first installment in more than \$400,000 given by dairy groups to GOP and Nixon committees in less than a year. A citizen's group is suing the Nixon administration to try to roll back an increase in milk price supports on the ground it was linked to the campaign outpouring.

The 1970 money was controlled by a White House group that included political aides Charles W. Colson and Harry S. Dent. The top-ranking official involved was Haldeman. This group decided which candidates would get how much from the townhouse setup. As many as 30 Republicans eventually got help.

Inside sources say part of the money from the Kalmbach fund-raising operation also went to pay for last-minute advertisements branding Democratic candidates in eight states as the choice of radicals and extremists.

The ads in 70 newspapers bore the name of Washington attorney Carl L. Shipley and stirred one of the major disputes of the campaign. Two separate sources confirmed the financing came from the White House political effort.

Kalmbach could not be contacted either by telephone or in two visits to his law offices.

Legal Ethics Cited

Asked by letter for an interview on his role both in politics and as the President's lawyer, Kalmbach wrote that legal ethics "make it clear that it is not only improper but unprofessional for an attorney to discuss client matters . . ."

Since Nixon became president, the law firm of Kalmbach, DeMarco, Knapp & Chillingworth has grown impressively, both in location and legal practice.

From an eighth-floor suite in Century City in 1968, it moved first to a 19th-floor office in a bank tower in downtown Los Angeles, then this winter to the 44th floor near the top of the city's newest pillar of commerce.

The firm's listing of clients in a nationwide legal directory has shown the same dramatic climb. In 1968 it named companies such as Pacific Lighting, Newport National Bank, Atlantic Richfield and Stans' brokerage house in New York.

The 1971 directory takes up twice as much space for the Kalmbach firm. New clients include United Air Lines, Flying Tiger, MCA, Dart Industries, Marriott, Travelers Insurance, University of Southern California and, of course, the Richard Nixon Foundation.

Several new clients are linked with major GOP backers. Justin W. Dart, head of the drug chain, is a longtime United board member, recently headed the U.S.C. board of trustees, and is on the Nixon Foundation.

Unclear to Clients

In some cases, the law firm's role seemed unclear to clients. Asked what the Kalmbach firm did for his company, one official said, "I have no idea."

But the legal head at Dart Industries said Kalmbach's firm handles its real estate purchases. And MCA's legal official said it was used in cable TV. He said the firm was retained through MCA vice president Taft Schreiber, who is also on the Nixon Foundation.

Kalmbach is the secretary of the foundation, created to build a Nixon presidential library. His firm handles all its legal work, and foundation President Leonard K. Firestone keeps his office in the Kalmbach suite.

Nixon's oceanside estate was bought three years ago under a special arrangement that gave Nixon use of the 21-acre layout while paying the immediate price for only 5 acres.

As announced by a White House official, the Nixons are spending \$340,000 for roughly one-fourth of the \$1.4 million estate with "no payment immediately due on the balance."

As a result, the deed on record at the Orange County seat of Santa Ana carries a unique mortgage "in the principal sum of \$1,000,000.00."

The White House announcement said no money would be due on the balance of the estate until the Nixons find an eventual purchaser for that land. Then payments can be spread out over five years. And the deed says the mortgage can be extended.

The purchase was carried out so discreetly, using a title company, that the Nixon name appears nowhere in the 14 pages of records.

Neither does Kalmbach's name. But four sources said he handled the estate deal.

Kalmbach

GOP'S KALMBACH

The Covert Collector

By JAMES R. POLK
Special to The Star

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F.G.

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G. Sch...

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Several new clients are linked with major GOP backers. Justin W. Dart, head of the drug chain, is a longtime United board member, recently headed the U.S.C. board of trustees, and is on the Nixon Foundation.

Unclear to Clients

In some cases, the law firm's role seemed unclear to clients. Asked what the Kalmbach firm did for his company, one official said, "I have no idea."

But the legal head at Dart Industries said Kalmbach's firm handles its real estate purchases. And MCA's legal official said it was used in cable TV. He said the firm was retained through MCA vice president Taft Schreiber, who is also on the Nixon Foundation.

Kalmbach is the secretary of the foundation, created to build a Nixon presidential library. His firm handles all its legal work, and foundation President Leonard K. Firestone keeps his office in the Kalmbach suite.

Nixon's oceanside estate was bought three years ago under a special arrangement that gave Nixon use of the 21-acre layout while paying the immediate price for only 5 acres.

As announced by a White House official, the Nixons are spending \$340,000 for roughly one-fourth of the \$1.4 million estate with "no payment immediately due on the balance."

As a result, the deed on record at the Orange County seat of Santa Ana carries a unique mortgage "in the principal sum of \$1,000,000.00."

The White House announcement said no money would be due on the balance of the estate until the Nixons find an eventual purchaser for that land. Then payments can be spread out over five years. And the deed says the mortgage can be extended.

The purchase was carried out so discreetly, using a title company, that the Nixon name appears nowhere in the 14 pages of records.

Neither does Kalmbach's name. But four sources said he handled the estate deal.

ESTIMATED OPERATING EXPENSES FOR FEBRUARY, 1972

PERSONNEL - 91 Employees (Gross Figures)

Campaign Committee (84 - increase of 33)	\$120,700
Finance Committee (7 - increase of 1)	8,450
	<u>\$129,150</u>

TRAVEL AND ENTERTAINMENT

Campaign Committee	37,000
Finance Committee	7,000
	<u>\$ 44,000</u>

OPERATING EXPENSES

Rent (Future will be 17,720)	28,660
Meetings	2,000
Parking	572
Telephone	15,000
Taxes (F.I.C.A. and Unemployment)	9,900
Insurance	3,000
Accounting and Misc. Professional Services	800
Office Equipment Rentals	3,000
Office Supplies	8,000
Postage	800
Furniture, Carpets, and Draperies	10,000
Finance Direct Mail	65,000
Polling	194,225
Press Department	8,400
Direct Mail - Florida and N. H.	132,000
Telephone - New Hampshire	14,000
Posters - Youth	50,000
Deposit - C & P Telephone Company	75,000
November, Inc. - Deposit	75,000
Illinois	25,000
Miscellaneous	1,500

\$721,857

TOTAL EXPENSES FOR FEBRUARY (ESTIMATED)
RESERVE

\$895,007

ESTIMATED REQUIREMENT

\$895,000

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

ACTUAL OPERATING EXPENSES FOR JANUARY, 1972

PERSONNEL - 57 Employees - Increase of 17 over December \$89,270

TRAVEL AND ENTERTAINMENT

Campaign Committee	25,000
Finance Committee	<u>2,600</u>
	\$27,600

OPERATING EXPENSES

Rent	7,700
Meetings	360
Parking	484
Telephone	12,750
Taxes (F.I.C.A. and D. C. Unemployment)	7,894
Insurance	2,100
Accounting and Misc. Professional Services	1,400
Office Equipment Rentals	725
Office Supplies	5,900
Postage	400
Furniture, Carpets, Draperies	16,450
Finance Direct Mail	29,100
Polling	165,320
RNC - Reimbursement	80,530
U. S. International University	5,000
Advertising and Public Relations	6,590
Convention	2,000
Youth - Special Events	3,247
Candidate Support	6,300
Oregon	5,000
New Hampshire	45,500
California	25,240
Florida	<u>3,500</u>

\$433,490

TOTAL EXPENDITURES

550,360

2/15

Hugh Sloan

Paul Barwick - Controller
at 1701.

Budget Comm - Stans, Am,
AG - Co-Comm

Herb K Lee Neenan, Cliff Miller,
Fred Malek, not JSM

Finance
Committee
for Re-
Election
of P.

Mary - Comm - wants
K to be fulltime,

Co-Comm - not in
house. "Forestone,
Bus Levy, Max
Fisher, John Rollins

In House will be Uelch
Newell Weed
Lee Neenan

Dan Hofgren
Sloan, Treasurer of
campaign

Kent Almadige - aide to
Sloan

\$ total
150000

\$ before Apr 7 - now total

5m - considerable given

Spent 2m

10m commits due before 4/7

Seicy - will not call to Press,
past comments re/
Commerce Press Conf

Francis Hale → Mustie - hear, etc

AG Salary figures
for 124 people @ 2.2 pay
r./TSM.

Monthly open for Jan 700,000
projected for Fed

H

February 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Honorable John N. Mitchell

SUBJECT: The possible Senate candidacy of Robert (Bob) Gable for the seat now held by John Sherman Cooper.

BACKGROUND

Robert Gable has expressed interest in running for the Senate seat of John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky.

Mr. Gable is from Kentucky's Fifth Congressional District and is described as able candidate material. He is a loyal Republican with experience in statewide politics, and has the confidence and respect of those who have been associated with him in past Republican efforts.

Gable is a man of considerable financial wealth. He "owns outright" the mining town of Sterns, Kentucky, and is owner of Sterns Coal and Lumber Company, a family enterprise. His wealth has been estimated to be anywhere between five and fifty million dollars. In his business and personal dealings, he has been described as intelligent, reputable and honest.

Gable was educated in the Arizona public schools and graduated from Stanford University. He is approximately 40 years of age, is married and has three children.

POLITICAL

Gable has had experience in political fund raising. He was a campaign coordinator and fund raiser for Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee, though living across the border. He was also

page 2
February 2, 1972

State Finance Chairman for the Emberton gubernatorial race in Kentucky. He has been described as an industrious, energetic and imaginative Republican loyalist who leaves no stone unturned in meeting his political responsibilities. He is respected and liked by Republicans throughout the state.

Gable has had experience in state office as State Parks Commissioner under Governor Nunn from 1968 to 1970. During this period of time, some animosity developed between Gable and Governor Nunn. He has made it known that if Nunn were to run for the Senate, he would challenge him in the primaries.

RECOMMENDATION

Gable is given little chance of winning. He presently has very little name recognition throughout the state, and those who know him say this is his chief drawback. The fact that he is a "coal baron" could also be used effectively against him, as could his inherited wealth.

Nevertheless, this man ought to be encouraged to run if Nunn doesn't. He would make a very credible and attractive candidate despite liabilities which are not insurmountable. Furthermore, the fact that Kentucky is presently represented by two Republicans in the Senate and two Republicans out of seven Congressmen is indicative of the fact that the GOP can win. However, if a decision is to be made, it should be made soon to preclude a fight in the May primaries.



Harry S. Dent
Special Counsel
to the President

HSD:BEH:jc
bcc: H. R. Haldeman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HSD*

The California Republican Assembly, a conservative organization which has more influence on grass roots Republican organization in California than any other, is having its 1972 convention at Palo Alto, California, April 8, 1972. Purpose of this convention will be to endorse candidates for state-wide and national office. Congressman Ashbrook will be there to address the convention and will, of course, be seeking the endorsement of the group for the presidential preferential primary.

The President has been invited by CRA to likewise address the convention. However, he cannot do this because of his prohibition against any political appearances or any political activities prior to the national convention. I explained this to the leadership of this organization when I addressed their board meeting last weekend.

— Governor Reagan thinks this is a very important group and that you should appear there in behalf of the President. He made this recommendation to the President Tuesday. The President talked with me today and requested that I brief you on the importance of the CRA and let you know of his wishes that you undertake this assignment.

Lyn Nofziger is very familiar with this group. They are very conservative, and it is just possible that they could vote and decide to endorse Ashbrook although the odds are with the President. Even if they should endorse the President they might also pass a resolution differing with many of our positions such as the budget, welfare reform, national security, and foreign aid.

I will be glad to help in briefing you and your speech assistants on this organization at the appropriate time.

✓ bcc: H. R. Haldeman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: HARRY S. DENT

Ed Forman stopped by to give me some poll information on the New Mexico poll regarding the U. S. Senate race. The poll showed that in a GOP primary Domenici, our 1970 candidate for Governor, would get 41%; Forman, 36%; Cargo, 15%; Frances, 3%; and Davidson (retiring state chairman), 1%. The poll showed that Domenici had a 1% hostility rating; Forman, 2%; Cargo, 30%. The poll also showed that Forman's votes would go to Domenici meaning that Domenici would vanquish Cargo in a primary. In the general election, the polls showed Domenici should win by 2 points, 42 to 40, over Jack Daniels, a Democrat primary contender in 1970.

It is therefore expected that in addition to Forman, everyone else will pull out of the primary race except Cargo, if he has enough brass to stay in.

✓ bcc: H. R. Haldeman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

X

Date: February 7, 1972

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT

Handwritten initials

Please handle _____

✓

For your information _____

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: Harry S. Dent

FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth

SUBJECT: FYI summary of findings in a study of presidential elections investigating public participation in nation-wide voting.

The basic finding of the study is that of those eligible by age to vote nation-wide, 62.0% went to the polls in 1960, with a drop to 61.2% in 1964 and a further drop to 60.8% in 1968. Voting turnout in America is, all in all, on a small but steady decline.

In 1960, the state with the highest turnout was Idaho with 80.0%. In 1964 and 1968, Utah was the state with the highest turnout with 78.1% and 76.1% respectively. The high in turnout is on the decline from 80.0% to 78.1%.

The states in which the decline exceeds 7.7% between 1960 and 1968 are those states most inclined toward apathy.

<u>State</u>	<u>Drop in Turnout</u>
Nebraska	10.9%
New Hampshire	9.9%
Vermont	9.1%
Rhode Island	8.8%
North Dakota	8.8%
Massachusetts	8.6%
Idaho	8.3%
Missouri	8.1%
Kentucky	8.0%
Ohio	7.9%

The Southern states are those states in which turnout has risen between 1960 and 1968.

<u>State</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>% Rise</u>
Alabama	30.9	52.7	21.8
Arkansas	40.8	53.9	13.1
Florida	49.0	52.5	3.5
Georgia	30.1	43.6	13.5
Louisiana	44.5	54.7	10.2
Mississippi	25.4	53.1	27.7
North Carolina	53.0	54.1	1.1
South Carolina	30.3	46.4	16.1
Tennessee	49.9	53.4	3.2
Texas	41.4	48.0	6.6
Virginia	33.0	50.1	17.1

Collectively, the turnout in the Southern states rose from 40.5% in 1960 to 50.6% in 1968, a rise of 10.9%. The Southern states are moving towards a more uniform turnout rate which in 1968 hovers around 50.6%.

The fluctuation in voter turnout in most states seems to be a matter of incentives and motivations resulting from economic and social factors.

In the South, the significantly lower rate of turnout must result from lack of incentives and motivations that attract or impel eligible voters.

First, the economic repression of the South from the end of the Civil War to recent years is a large factor. An example would be the discriminatory or preferential freight rates which hampered economic development well into this century.

Second, the South's intransigent adherence to one political party has denied it the incentives of two-party competition.

Third, the Black man was discouraged or prevented from voting.

The South is beginning to emerge from this apathy for several reasons:

1. Industrial development and the migration of business to the South.
2. The emergence of the two-party system.
3. The enfranchisement of the Blacks which impels Whites to involve themselves in public life and to go to the polls.

Apathy appears to be spreading throughout the rest of the nation in an apparently unconscious, unorganized wave. The reasons are not readily apparent.

Underneath this is the feeling that voting does not get you anywhere. With our high standards of living and general affluence, people feel secure and also feel it is unnecessary to vote. At the same time, modern social and technological problems appear insoluble to the average voter.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

to

Date: February 7, 1972

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT

HSD

Please handle _____

For your information ✓


MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: Harry Dent
FROM: Wallace Henley
SUBJECT: GCW



George is still beleaguered with trouble in Wallace country. This time it's a feud with the Alabama Democrat Executive Committee.

Last weekend, the Alabama Democrat Executive Committee chose nine candidates for presidential elector who are all pledged to vote for the nominee of the Democrat National Convention, if the Democrats carry Alabama.

This insures that another candidate couldn't swoop in and capture the Democratic column on the ballot. This also means that if Wallace is a candidate in the general election, he will have to put his slate of electors on the ballot under another party emblem -- unless, of course, he wins the nomination in Miami.

Meanwhile, Wallace, in the words of one of my Alabama friends, may have to place his political future on the line in trying to win control of the Alabama delegation to Miami. While this, I think, is an overstatement, winning control of the Alabama delegation will not be easy for Wallace.

Under present rules, 29 delegates will be elected in Alabama on a district basis -- not statewide. Then, the 29 will select six more to bring the total size of the delegation to 37.

Last weekend, the Alabama party determined there will be no direct presidential preference primary. Each candidate for delegate may list his preferred presidential candidate with his name on the ballot, or simply be listed as uncommitted.

Scoop Jackson was in Birmingham two weeks ago. Tom King, a state senator who was A/A to Congressman George Huddleston, is to lead the Jackson effort in Alabama. This, of course, will be a drive to enlist and elect a Jackson-pledged slate of delegates to Miami.

My people in Alabama expect Wallace, Humphrey, Muskie and McGovern slates to emerge within a few weeks.

The districts in which delegates will be elected were set up according to rules laid down by the DNC and are based on a formula weighted 50% by population and 50% by the vote for the Democrat candidates in 1968. Seven of these districts are predominately Black.

Tom Turnipseed, Wallace's former campaign manager, thinks Hubert Humphrey may outdo Jackson in Alabama. I wouldn't be surprised.

Wallace has introduced a bill requiring a direct presidential preference primary. The leading candidate would then select a slate of delegates. Even if this passes the Legislature -- which it probably won't -- it would be in for tough sledding before the Miami credentials committee.

At this point, it looks like Wallace will be unable to lead a united delegation to Miami. Instead, he will probably wind up there with his home strength pretty much diluted.

Whatever happens to Wallace in the Alabama primary will have little impact on others, since the Alabama primary is on May 2, and most of the big ones will already be history.

Ⓚ

February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
 BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT *ASD*

SUBJECT: West Virginia

Governor Arch Moore has recently completed a poll in West Virginia. He says it shows him running ahead of Jay Rockefeller for governor. Rockefeller just sent us indirectly some poll data showing Moore to be running 2 points behind Jennings Randolph for the Senate. I get the impression Moore will run for re-election as governor.

Moore gave me these figures on presidential races:

Nixon	37%	Nixon	38.8
Kennedy	27.8	Humphrey	21.9
Wallace	10.2	Wallace	11
Undecided	25	Undecided	28.5
Nixon	40.2	Nixon	39.8
Lindsay	12.2	Muskie	26.1
Wallace	12.7	Wallace	8.8
Undecided	35.2	Undecided	25.3

Nixon	42
Jackson	8.2
Wallace	13.9
Undecided	35.2

①

February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR

Honorable John N. Mitchell

SUBJECT: Louisiana Gubernatorial Race

BACKGROUND

Louisiana Republican Gubernatorial candidate David Treen was defeated by Congressman Ed Edwards by 57% of the vote.

ANALYSIS

Two factors seem paramount in David Treen's defeat -- the solidarity of the Democrat Party, and the heavy black vote.

All local Democrat officials united behind Edwards in an effort to unite the Party and achieve a heavy voter turnout on election day. In doing so, great emphasis was placed on "voting the rooster," or, "pulling the rooster handle." Voting a straight Party ticket was one of the major Democrat themes. In effect, the Treen team was fighting the united Democrat power structure.

There was an extremely heavy turnout of black voters and they voted Democrat almost to a man. Black registration has nearly doubled in the past eight years.

The Treen forces tried to finesse the black vote by keeping a low profile in black areas and lull Negro voters into thinking there was no necessity for a heavy turnout. It didn't work.

SUMMARY

Treen forces believed they needed 500,000 votes if they were to win. They received approximately 477,000, about 43% of the vote.

page 2
February 3, 1972

One could look upon this loss as a net gain for the GOP in Louisiana. This was an excellent showing. One GOP official argues that the vote represents an excellent base for the President. If the President had been running, the election would have been much closer. The President can expect support from those voting for Treen and a high percentage of those supporting Edwards, even if Wallace is in the race.



Harry S. Dent
Special Counsel
to the President

bcc: H. R. Haldeman

①

February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *ASD*

Attached is a mailing to solicit primary petition signatures for the President under the name of Charlie Jonas, Jr. with a note attached by Jim Holshouser. This is one of the latest attempts by the Holshouser forces to tie directly into the Presidential campaign. Since this time Holshouser has made a public statement that he is getting money and assistance out of Washington because "the President does not forget those who helped him in 1968."

Jonas, Jr. was told to deny publicly any connection between the Holshouser campaign and the Nixon campaign. He has done so.

When I was in Greensboro for the steering committee meeting January 31, I mentioned the letter with the Holshouser note to Jonas, Brad Hayes and Steve Krouch. Krouch is also working for the Nixon Committee. Unfortunately, all three of these gentlemen are dedicated to the Holshouser effort, and Hayes is on both payrolls. I told all of them this tie-in would have to cease immediately. Hayes indicated he would choose to work with Holshouser. Jonas told me he just could not bring himself to straighten this matter out and that I would have to do it for him. Two months ago he said he was moving the Nixon operation from Raleigh, next door to the Holshouser operation, to Charlotte where Jonas could better control the matter. He now says he will do this right away.

I hate to report this but Jonas is a weaker chairman than I had anticipated. In addition to this, he has been unable to work out an agreement with Mel Broughten, the former Democrat

The Attorney General
February 3, 1972
Page 2

chairman, to come into a key campaign role. He blames all of this on Broughten and his desire only for a big title and lack of willingness to do any real work. Frank Rouse, the state GOP chairman, says otherwise and is getting me Broughten's side of the story. Now Jonas says Broughten is coming back around.

The meeting we had in North Carolina with the steering committee members was good. Each one was given a Presidential pen, and they were all given a good pep talk.

I will continue to follow up to see that the Holshouser and Nixon operations are separated and that we are tied in to no other campaign.

Here is a poll taken in Mecklenburg County (Charlotte) among 700 random people:

"If the Presidential election were today, for whom would you vote?"

RN	37.6%	RN	53.7%	RN	58.9%
GCW	37.0	Muskie	25.0	EMK	22.9
HHH	25.0	Undecided	21.0		
Muskie	10.5				
McGov	1.8				
EMK	1.7			RN	61.2%
Undecided	39.0			HHH	20.1

It showed the Republicans losing the Congressional seat, and Gardner the preference over Holshouser.

✓ bcc: H. R. Haldeman

1/19/72

Fellow Republicans:

Attached you will find a petition for putting President Nixon's name on the ballot in our state, and an instruction sheet. I want to do everything I can to help Mr. Nixon, as I did in 1968, so I ask your cooperation in getting these petitions filled out as soon as possible. Thank you in advance for your help.

Jim Holshouser

file

January 19, 1972

Dear Fellow Nixon Supporter:

We need your help in circulating the enclosed petitions to help get the Nixon Re-Election Campaign off to a roaring start. The petitions are for use in obtaining signatures to put President Nixon on the Republican Primary Presidential Ballot in North Carolina. While the President will almost surely be nominated automatically I am sure you will agree that a ground-swell of support generated by our goal of 200,000 signatures is very much to be desired.

There are some points to keep in mind about the petitions:

1. Only valid Republican signatures count, HOWEVER, please accept any Democrat's signature who wishes to sign. Signatures should be as they appear in the Registration Books.
2. All signatures must be from the same county; the county name to be filled in on the appropriate line.
3. The petition need not be filled with signatures to be valid, though it is certainly desirable.
4. The precinct must be filled in. If the signer does not know his precinct, make sure you get his correct address so you can look up his precinct later and fill it in.
5. As soon as you have one full, or have gone as far as you can - send the petition in.

The deadline for getting the petitions in is February 21. That is something less than two months away, so please get as many signatures as possible as soon as you can and get them in.

IF YOU NEED MORE PETITIONS: Write: Committee for the Re-Election of
the President
Post Office Box 10406
Raleigh, North Carolina 27605
or call A.C. 919 833-2545

Many thanks, and with you help we'll have the President's campaign in North Carolina in high gear and rolling strong before the Democrats even know what hit them.

Sincerely,



Charles R. Jonas, Jr.

CRJjr/ddg

(over please)

SOLE OTHER METHODS OF OBTAINING SIGNATURES:

1. Carry one in your pocket all the time and ask everyone you see to sign it.
2. Barber Shops, Beauty Salons
3. Workers in office buildings, mills, factories and business establishments.
4. Civic Club meetings, Republican gatherings.
5. Supermarkets, shopping centers, parking lots - use the TARS
6. Association meetings, bridge clubs
7. Service stations, restaurant checkouts
8. Card tables at busy intersections for foot traffic.

Holshouser

NEWSLETTER

Volume II, No. I
January 19, 1972

STEERING COMMITTEE NAMED, MEETING HELD: The official Holshouser for Governor Committee is starting to take shape. Many of its leaders are coming from the ranks of "Friends for Holshouser," which was launched last fall.

The backbone of the organization will be a state Steering Committee, which held its first meeting on January 8 in Raleigh. In outlining the responsibilities of the group, Jim Holshouser said the Steering Committee will serve as the "eyes and ears" for the campaign, and guide the direction of the campaign. Said Holshouser: "This group should help us avoid many of the pot holes on the road to victory."

The Steering Committee will meet approximately once a month or six weeks during the course of the campaign. Members include:

BILLY G. ANDERSON of Moravian Falls, the immediate past Wilkes County Chairman; State Senator HARRY BAGNAI of Winston-Salem, Senate Minority Leader and the spokesman for a group of legislators who endorsed Jim Gardner early in the 1968 campaign; Rev. W. E. BANKS of Thomasville, prominent Baptist leader and former Youth Secretary for the N.A.A.C.P.;

Mrs. BETTY BARBER of Goldston, past secretary of the Fourth District and a strong Gardner partisan in his congressional and gubernatorial campaigns; JOE BREWER of Wilkesboro, the 1968 Wilkes County Gardner chairman; RUFUS BROCK of Mocksville, the Davie County Gardner finance chairman in 1968; HARVEY CARPENTER of Thomasville, former mayor and Davidson County Gardner leader in 1968;

Former State Representative GEORGE CLARK of Wilmington, currently a member of the New Hanover School Board; State Representative LAURENCE COBB of Charlotte, the lone G.O.P. member of the Mecklenburg County delegation; Mayor JIMMY COUCH of Jonesville, a co-chairman of the Yadkin County Gardner campaign in 1968; City Councilman GEORGE COXHEAD of Chapel Hill, Orange County Gardner finance chairman in 1968;

State Senator DAVID FLAHERTY of Lenoir, a key man in the past campaigns of Congressman Jim Broyhill; FREDERICK M. (BUTCH) GALLAGHER, III, of Charlotte, an outstanding Young Republican leader from Mecklenburg County; Mayor TOMMY GIBSON of Goldsboro, that city's first Republican mayor in modern times;

Mrs. HELEN GODFREY of Goldsboro, the 1968 Wayne County Gardner chairman; SCOTT HARVEY of Arden, two-time 11th District Congressional candidate; MARCUS HICKMAN of Charlotte, 1968 state chairman for Jack Stickley; State Senator HAMILTON C. HORTON of Winston-Salem, the party's most eloquent spokesman in the Legislature;

The Hilton Inn, 1707 Hillsborough Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27605 (AC 919) 832-8875

Dr. LARNIE HORTON of Kittrell, president of Kittrell College; DAVID JONES of Fayetteville, past Cumberland County G.O.P. Chairman; Mrs. JO KIMBERLIN of Granite Falls, a Caldwell County Gardner leader in 1968; State Senator PHIL KIRK of Salisbury, a former State Young Republican Chairman and state Youth for Stickley chairman in 1968;

County Commissioner PERRY LOCKERMAN of Clinton, known as "Mr. Republican" in Sampson County; ROBERT B. LONG, JR. of Asheville, immediate past G.O.P. Chairman in Buncombe County; State Senator COOLIDGE MURROW of High Point, a Gardner leader in Guilford County in 1968; Mrs. CHARLES B. (PAT) NEAL of Durham, G.O.P. member of the school board;

Mrs. WILLIAM (JOANN) OSTEEEN of Greensboro, wife of our 1970 Congressional candidate; MARTIN PANNELL of Newton, 10th District Stickley chairman in 1968; DONALD POLLOCK of Kinston, chairman of the Black Republican Caucus; LAWRENCE POPE of Kernersville, G.O.P. leader in the state's largest Republican Precinct (Abbotts Creek); Mrs. WESLEY (DOTTIE) POTTER of Asheville, immediate Buncombe County G.O.P. vice chairman;

Mrs. OLIVER (MARIE) ROWE of Charlotte, immediate past state president of the Federation of Republican Women; ROBERT SHAW of Guilford College, G.O.P. County Commissioner in Guilford County; BANNER SHELTON of Madison, former 6th District chairman of the party;

DONNIE SMITH of Raleigh, co-chairman of the Wake County Nixon for President Committee; House Minority Leader CHARLES TAYLOR of Brevard, who played a key role in issue development in the 1968 Gardner campaign; KER THOMAS of Hickory, immediate past Legal Counsel to the State Republican Party; LAVERNE MORNTON of Goldston, Chatham County G.O.P. chairman and longtime Gardner partisan; Mrs. CLIFFORD (ALMA) TILGHMAN of Beaufort, longtime eastern leader in the Federation of Republican Women;

Mrs. FRAN TOMLIN of Concord, vice chairman of the 8th District G.O.P.; PAUL WHITFIELD of Charlotte, a 1968 leader for Gardner in the state's most populous county; JOHN WILKINSON of Washington, a 1968 Gardner leader in eastern North Carolina, and HENRY B. WILMER of Charlotte, Mecklenburg G.O.P. chairman.

This is the group Jim Holshouser will look to for leadership in his bid to become the first Republican Governor in this century. We have the man, we have the team, and we have the issues to do just that!

* * *

MORE STAFF MEMBERS ADDED

The Holshouser for Governor campaign has added four additional staff members since our last Newsletter. We feel most fortunate to have Tenney Deane of Charlotte as our new Deputy Campaign Manager. Tenney will have a broad range of duties, but is working mainly on finance at this early stage. Tenney is a graduate of Davidson College and a Charlotte insurance executive. During 1960 and 1968, he served as an advance man for Richard Nixon's nationwide campaign (including the 1968 Greensboro trip). Since the 1968 election, Tenney has done advance work for Vice President Spiro Agnew.

Others joining the staff include William C. (Bill) Deal of Greensboro, who will serve as our state Youth Director; Mrs. Kay Pearce of Raleigh, finance secretary; and Miss Elizabeth (Betse) Hamilton of Raleigh, general secretary.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



February 3, 1972

FOR ·

BOB HALDEMAN

FROM ·

DONALD RUMSFELD

February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : H. R. HALDEMAN

Attached is some material on Hawaii that I thought might be of some interest to you. It is current and was prepared by a good man.

February 2, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

HAWAII - POLITICAL ASSESSMENT

1. General

The Republican Party is in a sad state of disrepair in the State of Hawaii. The President lost the State badly in the 1968 election (Nixon 39%; Humphrey 60% and Wallace 1 %) and Senator Fong won only a very narrow victory in his 1970 race for reelection. Hawaii's two Congressmen are Democrat as are the Governor and Mayor of Honolulu. In part, this Democratic ascendency is attributable to the fact that Hawaii is a generally "liberal" State. Its diverse racial and cultural heritage plays a major role in this general outlook.

2. Japanese Voting Bloc

The Japanese represent the most formidable voting bloc on the Island. Matsunaga, Mink and Inouye are all of Japanese extraction. Patsy Mink's bumper stickers say "Patsy Takemoto Mink" so there can be no mistake. Governor Burns is very closely identified with the Japanese community. (Both of his sons married Japanese girls and one of the sons has a Japanese surnames.) The Republicans do not, at this point, have any widely respected Japanese leadership. Senator Fong is of Chinese extraction.

3. The ILWU

The ILWU is by far the most influential labor organization in the State and as such has widespread political influence. It represents not only the dock workers but also most of the hotel workers on Oahu and the pineapple and sugar plantation workers throughout the State. With the exception of Honolulu's Mayor Fasi, all of the major Democratic officeholders are beholden to the ILWU. Fasi is aligned with the State Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO) and is carrying on a running feud with Governor Burns.

4. The Strike

The dock strike lasted 100 days from July 1 through October 4 when the Taft-Hartley injunction was invoked. Estimates of the cost of this first phase of the strike range from \$35 to \$50 million. The strike was resumed on January 17 and there is no doubt that it will have serious consequences for the State's economy. Because of alliances with the ILWU, however, the State Government and the Democratic Congressmen have downplayed the effects of the strike and have been very cool towards the Administration's emergency legislation to end it. Nevertheless, unemployment is growing, business failures are increasing and state tax revenues are down. Knowledgeable citizens are aware of the fact that the strike is a real problem, that the economy of the State has suffered and that the Democrats are not really doing anything about it. Further, the ordinary man in the street has experienced direct discomfort from the strike as a result of shortages and higher prices. Consequently, the Democrats appear to be vulnerable on this issue.

5. Prospects

The likelihood of the President carrying Hawaii seems very slender. Republicans with whom I spoke are discouraged and disorganized. While they see prospects of improving the President's showing in 1972 on the basis of favorable reaction to his China initiative and dissatisfaction with the Democrats' attitude on the strike issue, they are not optimistic that he can carry the State. Neither of the two Senate seats is up for reelection nor is there a gubernatorial election. Mrs. Mink will not, in all likelihood, have significant opposition. Fred Rohlfig will very likely run against Spark Matsunaga and faces an uphill fight. Among other things, he is having difficulty getting adequate financial backing. (As is true in the City of Chicago, most of the normally Republican money goes to back Democrats simply because they are clearly in political control.) Efforts by the Administration to woo these interests would seem appropriate. Steps along this line are the subject of a separate memorandum.



Republican
National
Committee.



Thomas B. Evans, Jr., Co-Chairman

February 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE H.R. HALDEMAN

Thought you might be interested in the attached memorandum setting forth projected activities for the Republican Party in preparation for victory in November.

Any comments or suggestions from your staff would be most appreciated.

ili



Republican
National
Committee.

January 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO:

FROM:

Subject:

Tom EVANS
Ed DeBolt
RNC Registration Activities

The 1972 national campaign will be different than the 1968 campaign. In 1972 the Republican Party enjoys the advantage of presidential incumbancy. This means that the issues of the campaign are already established - - established in the record of achievement of the Nixon Administration. The strategy of the campaign similiarly is known and will manifest itself in the record of performance of the Nixon Administration.

This means that the role of the party organization is well defined -- to register all our favorable voters, to turn out our vote on Election Day, to protect that vote with strong ballot security and insure that every favorable absentee ballot is cast. That is the mandate and the primary responsibility of the Republican Party in the 1972 national campaign.

In viewing the practical aspects of designing programs capable of meeting this challenge several factors become apparent.

- Registration programs are the first priority.
- Enthusiasm for early spring registration drives as well as the traditional summer and fall drives had to be generated.
- Practical, workable techniques as opposed to generalized programs had to be developed, tested and implemented to insure successful registration drives.
- To be successful, party officials at all levels had to be informed of the registration priority, educated in practical techniques, and convinced of the vital need of successful registration drives.

As a result of this review of the existing circumstances, the following actions were taken by the Political Division of the Republican National Committee.

- The nucleus of a staff was formed consisting of Dick Thaxton, who has had considerable state and county level experience in registration and voter turnout experience, and John Sayre, who had been heavily involved in the military and civilian life with ballot security and absentee ballot programs. Their task was to further review these problems, with emphasis on registration, survey practical, workable techniques for accomplishing these tasks, develop their own staff for testing and implementing programs and finally taking successful techniques to party organizations at the state and county levels in an advisory capacity to insure that these vital tasks are accomplished.
- The review of existing registration programs resulted in the development of techniques that utilized the recruiting, training, and dispatching of large numbers of volunteers in highly organized and controlled registration "blitzes" aimed at target areas. The most important elements of these techniques were the high degree of accountability to a central authority, and the efficient utilization of manpower in terms of money and effectiveness.
- In January, 1972 a series of pilot projects in Florida and Texas were designed on a controlled basis to test these techniques, gain vital staff experience and develop a record of success. These pilot projects will be completed February, 1972. One project, Pinellas County, Florida was successfully completed on January 29, 1972. Designed as the initial test of registration techniques, this controlled project was set up to establish, staff and train one headquarters unit, and to recruit, train, equip and dispatch one hundred volunteers to go into sixteen precincts to identify unregistered favorable voters. The results were extremely encouraging in this controlled project. In one day, approximately 3,700 households were contacted: approximately 350 unregistered Republicans and favorable voters were found in sixteen precincts (an average of 22 unregistered favorable voters per precinct), and approximately 50 of these unregistered voters were registered on that day. The remainder will be registered within the next two weeks.
- Volunteer recruiting on a larger pilot project in Houston, Texas is proceeding at a very encouraging pace with over 300 volunteers recruited as of today. The blitz day for this project is February 19. Projects in Texas are also underway in Forth Worth and Dallas and will be completed in the first week of March.

- A "war room" has been established at the RNC to detail project registration dates, project coordinators, information on state activities and project status. The primary purpose of the "war room" is to coordinate all Target '72 registration activities into a single location to facilitate status review and project accountability.
- Conversations with State and County leaders indicated the immediate need for practical registration techniques that will work. During the month of January, contacts in counties within the following states resulted in an immediate, positive response to begin early spring drives to build the foundation for massive summer and fall drives. These states are as follows:

Arkansas	Kentucky	North Carolina
California	Maryland	Ohio
Connecticut	Michigan	Oklahoma
Florida	Missouri	Pennsylvania
Illinois	Nebraska	Tennessee
Indiana	New Jersey	Texas
Iowa	New York	Virginia

At this time, specific discussions are underway defining target areas in each state, assessing manpower requirements and reviewing registration goals.

- In January, registration goals were developed nationally that had as a minimum objective the registration of one and one-half million Republicans by May 15, 1972 and a total goal of 8 million registered Republicans by October, 1972. Again, I emphasize that these are minimum goals.
- At the Professional Staff Conference in Washington, the necessity for developing and implementing early spring registration drives was emphasized by party leaders such as Attorney General Mitchell, Chairman Dole, Co-chairmen Armstrong and Evans as well as in the various workshons. As the list of states above indicate, enthusiasm for and an understanding of the importance of spring as well as summer and fall registration drives in every state has been instilled in party organization leaders.
- At the present time, registration projects have been defined, and planning is underway in the states of Texas, Florida, North Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, Missouri, New Jersey, Tennessee, Indiana, Connecticut, and Oklahoma. The month of February will see this list of states with active programs expanded to at least twice that number. The Political Division of the RNC is actively involved in the definition, planning and implementing of projects in each of these states.

The impetus generated around RNC registration activities will continue to build throughout the spring. Workshops are being planned around the Leadership Training Conference to be held in March that will emphasize the importance of registration and successful, practical techniques for accomplishing registration drives.

A series of Regional Conferences sponsored by the RNC and devoted to the essential precinct tasks of registration, ballot security, absentee ballots and voter turnout are planned throughout the nation during the spring to encourage and equip all state and county party organizations with the knowledge and enthusiasm for successfully performing these tasks.

A newsletter designed to promote communication among organizational leaders responsible for developing successful precinct organizations in currently planned, with the first issue due in mid-February. This newsletter will become the media for sharing successful techniques in all the vital organizational areas of precinct work.

The designed effect of the programs described above is to develop the foundation for massive summer and fall registration drives in as many vital states as possible by encouraging, training, and equipping state and county party leaders with the knowledge and enthusiasm to undertake successful spring registration drives. If this foundation can be established and proven, and successful, practical techniques developed, the impetus for massive registration drives will have been developed. That is our aim and our objective.

The next TARGET '72 registration activities status report will be submitted on February 21, 1972 following the completion of projects in Duval County, Florida and in Harris County, Texas.

TARGET '72

Registration

RESEARCH and POLITICAL DIVISION
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

DICK THAXTON
Director of Registration and Voting Programs
202/484-6581

TARGET '72: REGISTRATION

WHAT IS IT:

A door-to-door canvass to find and register all unregistered Republicans and favorable voters.

DATE:

To be selected to correspond with the close of registration for the primary and general elections. TARGET '72: REGISTRATION should be conducted no later than one week before close of registration.

PLACE:

TARGET '72: REGISTRATION HEADQUARTERS set up to recruit, train, equip, assign and dispatch volunteers into every TARGET '72 precinct.

OBJECTIVES:

To have a team of at least four volunteers working on "Registration" Day in every TARGET '72 precinct, and to register all unregistered Republicans and favorable voters found by the canvass.

GENERAL INFORMATION:

Because there are rarely enough regular Party workers to staff each precinct in the county, TARGET '72: REGISTRATION is designed to attract many new volunteers into a one day "blitz" action program, utilizing the "one-day" volunteer to supplement the regular party workers in an all out effort to find and register every unregistered Republican.

VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT:

Volunteer workers for TARGET '72: REGISTRATION are recruited by County TARGET '72 HEADQUARTERS from lists of registered Republicans, Republican Club members, candidate organizations, etc., by means of a telephone bank put into operation approximately six weeks prior to "Registration" Day. For every 1,250 calls, approximately 100 people will volunteer and of these about 50 will work on "Registration" Day. The volunteer is sent a letter thanking him for his time and assigning him to a specific TARGET '72: REGISTRATION HEADQUARTERS on "Registration" Day. All volunteers must be called again the week before "Registration" Day insuring they will show up at the proper HEADQUARTERS and work. There must be at least four volunteers per precinct. Each REGISTRATION HEADQUARTERS is responsible for approximately 25 TARGET '72 precincts.

VOLUNTEER TRAINING:

On "Registration" Day, each volunteer reports to his assigned HEADQUARTERS and is trained by a TARGET '72: REGISTRATION trainer in how to canvass and register favorable voters in their assigned precincts. Each volunteer is equipped with a "Registration" kit containing a map of the precinct, an instruction sheet, and a canvass work sheet. Each volunteer and his partner are then dispatched to their assigned precinct as soon as possible.

REGISTRATION TECHNIQUES:

Depending upon the type of information available (such as official up-to-date registration lists, by party, etc.) the volunteer will call on those households that are not identified on registration lists. In cases where there are no registration lists, every household in the precinct must be called upon, obtaining information as to the party identity of the residents, their age, and whether or not they are registered to vote. This information is listed on the canvass work sheet. After the canvass is completed, the work sheets are returned to headquarters and are turned over to registrars to register unregistered favorable voters.

TARGET '72 ACCOUNTABILITY:

Because all volunteer recruiting is done at the County level, an immediate accounting of the number of volunteers recruited is always possible. TARGET '72: REGISTRATION HEADQUARTERS are established for every 25 TARGET '72 precincts. Volunteers are assigned first to the HEADQUARTERS and secondly to specific precincts. This means that the accountability for each TARGET '72 HEADQUARTERS covers approximately 25 precincts. To determine what is happening, it is necessary to call only the HEADQUARTERS Colonel, not 25 precinct chairmen! This allows organizational leaders to determine rapidly the type and level of coverage TARGET '72 precincts are receiving and to adjust in time, their volunteer forces to insure the maximum Republican registration in each precinct!

TARGET '72

A Program for Victory

RESEARCH and POLITICAL DIVISION
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

DICK THAXTON
Director of Registration and Voting Programs
202/484-6581

JOHN R. SAYRE
Director of Special Ballots and Ballot Security
202/484-6580

TARGET '72

Program for Victory

- FACTS:
- In 1968:
38 million people above voting age were unregistered and could not vote in the 1968 presidential election. President Nixon received only 31 million votes.
- 8 million people above voting age were registered, but did not vote in the 1968 presidential election. President Nixon received a plurality of only 500,000 votes; less than 3 votes per precinct.
- 4 million people above voting age were eligible to cast absentee or special ballots in the 1968 presidential election. Less than one-quarter did.
- In 1960:
A switch of 8,000 votes in Illinois and 40,000 votes in Texas would have elected Richard Nixon President. Both states were highly suspect of widespread voting fraud.
- WHY?
- Why only 31 million people voting for President Nixon when 38 million do not vote at all?
 - Why did 8 million registered voters not vote at all in 1968?
 - Why did three in every four voters eligible for an absentee ballot in 1968 not vote?
 - Why do Republicans lose precious ballots through election fraud?
- BECAUSE!
- Because we, as Republican leaders are not doing as good a job of conducting selective registration as we are capable of in productive target areas!
 - Because we, as Republican leaders, do not aggressively pursue workable voter turnout drives in all areas on election day!
 - Because we, as Republican leaders, are not devoting sufficient time actively pursuing special ballot programs to gain the maximum absentee vote!
 - Because we, as Republican leaders, have not in all cases adequately organized, trained and targeted ballot security teams in all high fraud areas!
- THE ANSWER
- The answer is a proven, carefully planned, organized and executed system for insuring that these tasks are successfully accomplished in those target areas within our states that are essential to victory!

- The answer is a proven action-oriented system that mobilizes all Republican workers and volunteers in a concentrated, targeted effort right to the grass-roots level!
- The answer is a proven system so designed as to give organization status accountability from the precinct to the state office as to the progress of our organizational efforts!
- The answer is a proven system, flexible in design so as to fit the particular needs of the party in any given area and to provide added strength by working flexibly with candidate organizations!

HOW?

- By "targeting" those counties and precincts that are critical in providing the margin of victory for Republicans!
- By recruiting, training, equipping and dispatching large numbers of volunteers into these target areas to conduct registration, special ballot, and voter turnout drives, and to build ballot security teams!
- By maintaining control through organization and scheduling, developing fail-safe accountability that will insure the successful completion of selective registration, special ballots, ballot security, and voter turnout programs in crucial targeted counties and precincts within our states!

Such a system and such a program is TARGET '72; a system for "targeting" in on critical election areas needed for success in the 1972 presidential election, and a program for "targeting" in on the crucial organizational tasks that must be accomplished to insure a Republican Victory in 1972.

TARGET '72, in the form of the ROUND-UP" and "VICTORY SQUAD", has enjoyed tremendous success in California. This success is the result of the concentrated mobilization of large numbers of volunteers in target areas, maximizing resources, and in developing accountability, insuring that the organization tasks are being completed on schedule at all levels.

The following brief descriptions outline the essential details of TARGET '72 voter registration, special ballots, ballot security and voter turnout programs designed to insure successful completion of essential grass roots organizational efforts in key target states, county and precincts.

TARGET '72 REGISTRATION

TARGET '72: REGISTRATION. The selective registration of all Republicans and favorable voters in target areas is the most important factor in a successful campaign. To insure the accomplishment of this goal, the Republican National Committee has refined a proven and dynamic approach to registration; an approach involving total mobilization of all working Republicans for a coordinated and targeted effort right to the grass-roots level.

TARGET '72: REGISTRATION uses well established registration procedures and applies them to the "blitz" techniques, proven so successful in effectively utilizing maximum manpower resources. The TARGET '72: REGISTRATION project is designed to attract new volunteers into an action program utilizing the "one-day" volunteer to supplement the regular workers for an all out effort to find and register every unregistered Republican. Organizational emphasis is placed upon establishing a TARGET '72 HEADQUARTERS for every 25 target precincts. TARGET '72 HEADQUARTERS are organized under the direction of the county TARGET '72 chairman, and are staffed to train, equip, assign and dispatch "one-day" volunteers on a registration "blitz" into every target precinct.

TARGET '72 SPECIAL BALLOTS

TARGET '72: SPECIAL BALLOTS. An integral part of any registration and voter turnout programs is assuring that those favorable voters who, for whatever reason, cannot vote at the polls on election day are properly voted through special ballots.

TARGET '72: SPECIAL BALLOTS is a program organized in conjunction with TARGET '72: REGISTRATION, and charged with the responsibility of insuring that the aged, military, student, traveling businessmen and other special voters are identified, registered and voted through special ballots. This program will concentrate on college campuses, aged homes, military bases and business to insure success.

TARGET '72 BALLOT SECURITY

TARGET '72: BALLOT SECURITY. The final task on election day is to insure the security of all favorable ballots cast for Republican candidates.

TARGET '72: BALLOT SECURITY is a special program designed to recruit, train, equip and dispatch from TARGET '72 HEADQUARTERS sufficient numbers of ballot security teams to insure that all target precincts and districts are protected. Organized under the county TARGET '72 chairman, TARGET '72: BALLOT SECURITY will depend heavily upon knowledge of the law, mobility and communications to protect the ballots in target areas. This can be provided through organization supplied by TARGET '72: BALLOT SECURITY experts.

TARGET '72 VOTER TURNOUT

TARGET '72: VOTER TURNOUT. The most important task on election day is to insure that every favorable registered voter goes to the polls and casts his ballot. Because this can be done only on Election Day, Voter Turnout is very adaptable to "blitz" techniques used in TARGET '72: REGISTRATION; utilizing a large number of volunteers in a one day effort to maximize Republican voter turnout.

TARGET '72: VOTER TURNOUT is organized around the highly successful "Victory Squad" program, mobilizing all volunteer and party workers to insure that every walkable TARGET '72 precinct has 2 to 4 volunteers walking the precinct from 2:00 p.m. until the polls close. This is a walking, not a telephone, operation.

TARGET '72: VOTER TURNOUT is organized around a TARGET '72 HEADQUARTERS for every 25 precincts. TARGET '72 HEADQUARTERS are organized under the direction of the County TARGET '72 chairman. Responsible for organizing and implementing the "Victory Squad", TARGET '72 HEADQUARTERS are staffed to train, equip, assign and dispatch "one-day" volunteers to walk target precincts, serve as drivers, poll watchers, runners, telephone clerks and baby-sitters with the objective of turning out the maximum Republican vote in the target precincts.

Charlie McWorter

2/11

- Wde to continue attending
- mtgs as member of WHS.
- into Campaign Year
- Esp at Nat'l Gov Conf
- A TOT pays + will continue
but shld be travel
privately.
- afraid of sit's that could be
embarrassing

on
agnew's
staff

➔ Cautious route: pull ties
fr/ Agnew's office

No pub anything Repul

Feb. 22, 3, 4 - Nat'l Gov's.

McW - will pull back fr/
agnew's staff but attend
privately - still enthusiastic

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

*H need it
see*

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 533-0320

February 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Coordinating Functions for the Campaign Operations

As the campaign moves from the planning stage to the operation phase, it is becoming evident that more extensive systems will be required to coordinate decision-making within the organization. This memorandum presents recommendations to achieve better coordination in three areas: planning, review of advertising materials, and recommendations submitted to you for approval.

Planning

Up to now, the formal planning has been limited to the New Hampshire and Florida Primary campaigns. In those cases, an overall planning document was produced which discussed the objectives of each campaign and the broad strategy which would be employed, based on the specific circumstances of each state. An operating schedule was included which showed the time relationship between the major planned activities. In addition, there was a brief summary of the projected costs of the major budgeted items. That planning document, however, was not adequate to fully describe the programs proposed for each state campaign. Separate and more detailed plans were submitted for telephone, direct mail and advertising. It was necessary for the campaign management to be given a series of presentations in order to review the total plan.

Furthermore, the procedure for approval of each of the program elements has not been consistent. The content of brochures, direct mail letters and telephone conversations have been developed by separate functional areas and separately carried by them to various persons for review and approval. We have not, up until now, ascertained from you the specific process of review which would be appropriate for the various forms of media communication.

The formalized planning and review procedure which I would recommend would draw together the detailed plans of each important functional area into one document which could then be presented for review and approval. This consolidation process would also include the step of assuring that the messages and graphics to be used in any medium would receive appropriate approval in a systematic way. The purpose of such a systematic planning function would not be to interpose another layer of management between those responsible for functional areas and the Campaign Director, but merely to serve as a coordinating point so that the plan of all functional areas could be communicated in a more organized fashion to decision makers. This process would also better enable us to set an overall theme and objectives for a given state campaign, and to assure that they are carried through in the planning of each functional area.

The areas which would be most important in overall planning would be Advertising, Direct Mail, Telephone, Polling, Surrogate Scheduling, State and National Press Plans, Voter Bloc Activities and State Campaign Activities.

We anticipate at this time that the plans will be submitted for each state where activities are planned in Primary Elections. For the General Election, the campaign will be under the umbrella of a national theme and strategy, but at least for the target states, a comprehensive plan, as discussed above, should be developed for review and approval. Most likely, it will be useful to extend that procedure to all the states. In addition, plans would be presented for overall committee activity during different time periods in the campaign as appropriate; for example, primaries, post-primary to convention; and post-convention.

Recommendations

That you approve the establishment of a formal planning and coordinating function within the Re-election Committee, having the responsibilities discussed above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

That you approve the assignment of these responsibilities to Bob Marik. If Bob is given this assignment, we will develop recommendations relating to his other current responsibilities to assure that he is able

to give first priority to planning and coordination.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Review of Advertising Materials

In establishing a formal review procedure for each type of communication or advertising material, three stages are contemplated. In the first stage, issue-oriented material would be reviewed for accuracy. Ed Harper of the Domestic Council Staff, John Lehman of the National Security Council Staff or ~~Gil Hecker~~^{Huebner} of the CEA would perform the review for each of their respective areas. If material, such as a description of Revenue Sharing, had already been reviewed for one purpose, it could be used for another without a second review of content.

The second stage would be a review of the communication in its final form by a media review board. The media review board would consist of Garment, Moore, Buchanan, Chapin and Miller, and we would recommend either Garment or Miller as the person to act as the Chairman of the group, and to be the official sign off. The media review board would review advertising copy, stories, billboards, and furnish ideas for television, radio, prints and all brochures, the Nixon Re-elect, and the entire direct mail and telephone programs. In addition, Bill Carruthers would review all film, ~~that includes the President.~~

Pictures of the President would be reviewed by Ollie Atkins, while pictures of the First Family would be reviewed by Connie Stuart. It would be Pete Dailey's responsibility to be sure that the review board or other appropriate individuals had signed off on all of the above advertising materials, and it would be Bob Morgan's responsibility to be sure that the review board had signed off on materials used for direct mail purposes.

The third stage would be a formal decision memorandum from me to you, with a copy to Mr. Haldeman.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 -

Recommendation

That you approve the formalized review procedure described above for all advertising materials.

Approve_____ Disapprove_____ Comment_____

Formal Decision-Making Process

You and I have already set up a system to cover decisions brought to you in three areas:

1. Policy matters
2. Expenditure of funds - including approval of budgets and specific expenditures of large sums already presented in overall budgets.
3. Hiring of key personnel

Under the system, when any division requires a decision from you, the Division Head prepares a memorandum in three copies: the original for you, one copy for Mr. Haldeman, and one copy for our office. Before the memorandum is presented to you, we staff it to assure that it represents no duplication or conflict with activities or policies elsewhere in the campaign organization.

The memorandum is then passed on to you. Where appropriate, a meeting is set up for the principal requesting the decision to meet with you personally. This coordinating function applies only to the three areas mentioned above, and not to other functions about which you might want to meet directly with people in the campaign organization.

The system has been operating for some time now, in all areas except the Political Division and Finance. The Finance area should remain separate. However, better coordination would result if all other divisions were under the same system.

CONFIDENTIAL

-- 5 -

Recommendation

That the Political Division be brought under the system, and that their decision memoranda be staffed by this office as described above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

CONFIDENTIAL

~~Rowland Elliott~~ - memo on few letters

~~News~~ ~~seen~~ in Trip memo

JSM ✓ CWC

Feb needs one sign off
for media if grip
doesn't meet

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

*H
need
see*

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

February 3, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THROUGH: JEB MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Financial Controls and Reporting Procedure;
Advertising Agency.

Attached is a document outlining general organizational and financial procedures for the Task Force Agency. As we discussed, it will be funded by advances from the Committee.

The procedures for withdrawing these advances and for a weekly accounting against internal budget are included. Funds will be recaptured by advertising media commissions earned later in the campaign.

PETER H. DAILEY
PD

CONFIDENTIAL

ORGANIZATION NOTES

NOVEMBER GROUP

Fee

Agency budget plus 5 percent (as November approaches adjusted to as close to actual as is possible and prudent) to be collected from Committee monthly against schedule which provides for financing of Agency operating costs.

Advertising Expenditures

All billings to Committee net of commissions and cash discount. Advance payment to Agency weekly on basis of Committee report (Exhibit A). Weekly reconciliation to Committee of funds advanced to those expended, also functions as request for advertising funds (Exhibit B).

Budgeted Expenses

Payroll (internal and billed); taxes re internal payroll; other taxes (occupancy, franchise, income, etc.); insurance; rent; travel (including fares); entertainment and business lunches; supplies, printing, stationery, and rentals; postage and messenger; telephone and telegraph; audit and legal; outside creative services; etc. Weekly report on budget vs. commitment/expended (Exhibit C).

Payroll - Internal

Pay by check every other Wednesday, payroll tax deductions only - no specials. Arrange for payroll check cashing at bank source. Contract payrolls to be amortized from start date through last normal November pay date.

Payroll Billed

Written arrangement with permanent employer (who assumes all employer role responsibility) re total compensation (including payroll tax and benefits surcharge, if any). Payment monthly against contract - no invoice required.

Approvals

All house expenses (including payrolls) to be approved by CFO or his assistant and where appropriate by CEO or Exec. V.P.

Expense Accounts

All expense accounts must have department head and CFO approval and must be in conformation with guidelines (Exhibit D). Prompt monthly reimbursement. Agency will procure travel for employee where appropriate (probably via travel agent).

Banking

Single bank in proximity of office (Chase preferable). Authorized signatories - CEO, Executive VP, CFO, CFO Assistant. One signature required. No line on credit required. Arrange for wire transfer of funds from DC.

Public Accountants

Should engage CPAs to audit records, prepare income tax returns; suggest Price Waterhouse.

Production

Job order system. Estimates to be issued for total anticipated costs before initial commitment is made. Purchase orders issued for all items with copies to Finance. Production control records (Exhibit E). Any talent hired for commercials to be employees of Talent & Residuals, or like--not of Agency).

Media

All commitments to be confirmed in writing in timely fashion showing details and estimated dollar costs. Copies to Finance.

Invoices

Initial financing via commitment report. Invoiced in summary form on vendor bill/adding machine tape back-up.

PJMbn
January 28, 1972

ADVERTISING COMMITTEE

STATUS REPORT

(in 000's)

Cumulative Billing	Future Commitments Payable by Committee on:		
	August	September	October
	7,14,21,28	4,11,18,25	2,9,16,23,30

Media

NWTV Time

NW Radio Time

Spot TV

Spot Radio

TV/Radio Production

Newspapers

Magazines

Outdoor/Car Cards

Print Production

Promotion Production

Miscellaneous

Total 416

NOTE: Estimated production payable in full when work starts on job.

To: Committee To Reelect The President

Advance Funds Request
And Reconciliation

Required by 8/19 per Adv. Commit. Status \$ 416,000.00

Excess advances over billing - last report \$ 340,082.16

Billings last week

Invoice #	Amount	
10	\$ 37,154.12	
11	9,071.08	
12, etc.	<u>86,222.00</u>	
Total	\$321,722.14	(321,722.14)

Excess advance over billing - forward \$428,360.02

NOVEMBER GROUP
 BUDGET STATUS REPORT
 WEEK ENDING (Thursday Date)
 (All Figures In 000' s)

	<u>Budget</u>	<u>Committed and/or</u> <u>Expended</u>		<u>Available</u>
		<u>Last</u> <u>Week</u>	<u>To</u> <u>Date</u>	
Audit and Legal				
Entertainment and Business Lunches				
Insurance				
Outside Creative Services				
Payroll (in- ternal and billed)				
Postage and Messenger				
Postage and Messenger				
Supplies, printing, stationery, and rentals				
Taxes re internal payroll				
Taxes, other (occupancy, franchise, income, etc)				
Telephone and Telegraph				
Travel (in- cluding fares)				

SUGGESTED

EXPENSE ACCOUNT GUIDELINES

All travel coach class - and pre-approved by Department Head

Use of auto - 12 cents per mile plus tolls and parking

Hotels - commercial rate

All expenditures \$10 or more require receipt

No cash advances

Monthly reimbursement of receipt supported expenses

Limited entertainment of vendors

Supper allowance (work 2 hours past closing or Sat/Sun/Holiday
exempt from overtime - actual expense supported by receipt;
non-exempt (or no receipt) - flat \$3.00

Travel to and from airport will be by airport limousine where
possible

P R O D U C T I O N C O N T R O L R E C O R D

Job #

Job Description

Start Date

Est. End Date

B i l l e d
Inv # Amt. P a i d

Total estimated cost

Revised costs

Commitments

<u>Purchase Order</u>	<u>Vendor Name</u>	<u>Check #</u>	<u>Amt.</u>
<u>Date</u> <u>#</u> <u>Amt.</u>			

Cumulative Billed/Uncommitted

" Committed/Unexpended

(To be reviewed weekly)

SOME AREAS REQUIRING DECISIONS

Personnel Practices

Working hours
Holidays
Pay for absences
Overtime pay policy (suggest $1\frac{1}{2}$ over 40 hours to non-exempt personnel only - heed Department of Labor requirements)
Supper money
Medical emergency procedures

Space

Floor plan
Security
No cash kept on hand - no safe needed

Stationery

Letterheads - Individual (?)
Invoice forms (? - could use letterheads)
Cards (?)
Supplies, Requisition procedures
Expense account - use stock form

Insurance

Risks to be covered?
Fidelity
Mysterious disappearance
Advertiser liability

Equipment

lease in all cases
typewriters
adding machines
duplicating equipment
postage meter (possible "reelect the President" imprint)

Telephone

Switchboard
Direct dialing system
Directory
Personal call rule

0

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 19, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is our weekly report.

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

bcc: ✓ Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

ADVERTISING

Incorporation papers for the task force agency have been prepared.

A proposed Creative Director will be interviewed by White House staff personnel on January 19.

Creative and promotion strategy plans have been developed and will be presented to the Strategy Group at the next meeting.

Promotion materials are being distributed to the states.

Direct mail copy for New Hampshire has been developed.

AGRICULTURE

Consultations and interviews for the selection of a man to head our field organization effort continued. The ideal candidate has not yet emerged.

Considerable time was spent in strategy discussions regarding the Smith-Melcher bill. (The bill raises farm price supports and establishes a grain reserve.) John Whitaker, Secretary Butz, Assistant Secretary Palmby, Hyde Murray, Yeutter and others spent more than an hour on the issue -- the conclusion being that every effort should be expended on killing the bill in the Senate Ag Committee.

This bill could have a devastating political impact in 1972. We have been receiving some telephone calls on the issue, and will initiate others during the coming week in order to assess the probable political consequences. As might be expected, the bill is strongly supported by the Farmers Union and NFO; strongly opposed by Farm Bureau.

Rural development will soon surface as a 1972 political issue, with everyone trying to get in on the act. The votes at stake are those in the nation's small towns. Depending upon how one defines "small", this encompasses perhaps 20 to 30 per cent of the nation's population.

If Senator Humphrey wins the Democratic nomination, rural development will be one of the key planks of his campaign platform. He already has held hearings around the country, and has introduced a bill on the subject. If at all possible, the Administration

should attempt to preempt this issue. An Administration bill is now in draft form, and will hopefully be introduced in January.

Secretary Butz had a most productive week on the campaign trail. He made five speeches in four days, three of them being major addresses to the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, National Wheat Growers Association, and the National Press Club.

John Foltz and Yeutter met during the week with Tom Evans of the Republican National Committee to establish a working relationship between the two entities. Tom was most gracious and offered the Committee's complete cooperation. Secretary Butz also had lunch with Tom and with Anne Armstrong.

Secretary Butz and Yeutter spent an hour discussing a host of issues. They plan to do this on an "as needed" basis from now through November.

Assistant Secretary Lyng and Yeutter discussed the California political situation as a follow up to Yeutter's December visit to that state.

BLACK LIAISON

During the week conferences were held with key black contacts with discussions centering around organization of a number of national citizens committees. Persons talked with represent black clergy, businessmen, professional athletes, and insurance men.

The Nixon Illinois State Chairman was briefed on the division's role and organization, and was given key contacts in the black community in his state. (We are following up on his request to recommend black candidates for a position on the state staff.)

Efforts to generate activity in Florida among blacks was initiated. In this connection, we discussed strategy with Dent, Brown, and Sexton's office.

Data was collected in connection with setting up briefing books on (1) black communities throughout the Nation, (2) list of key contacts by states, and (3) minority recipients of grants, loans, and contracts. (A need is to develop coordination with agencies on future grants and contracts to insure maximum benefits.)

We have been working with planners of the "Bob Brown Dinner" on January 30 to ensure meeting with a cross-section of persons coming in from around the Nation.

We brought a secretary on the staff and have received research assistance from a consultant.

We continue to work on finalizing a basic organizational strategy document for developing the black vote.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

We have received approval from all required points of contact of the names we have selected for Regional and State Chairmen of our Committee. Letters have been prepared and typed for Donald Kendall's signature asking these people to serve with us. Follow-up telephone calls and personal visits will be made to these state and regional people to assure their willingness to work with us.

Arrangements have been made for a meeting to be held February 23 in Washington of all state and regional people. At this meeting, we will instruct them in their job and give them organizing kits to assist them in organizing the metro areas in their region. Work has commenced on these organizing kits and is well along.

A further meeting was held with Warner Brothers' representatives. We will have a story outline in ten days on the movie intended to point up the importance of the businessman getting actively engaged in the campaign.

Finally, if we are able to keep our organizing and work schedule as planned, we will be in the field by April 15 with 200 cities organized, training our people in the "how to" of the job we are calling on them to do.

JEWISH LIAISON

Efforts to build political support for the re-election effort are continuing. Larry Goldberg spent two days in New York contacting key people in preparation for future efforts. An even more positive atmosphere could be built with the President meeting with some selected Jewish groups in order to take advantage of the better feeling which exists since the announcements and leaks on the Phantoms.

The decision of the court which struck down the New York statute on Parochial aid gives growing impetus for some type of federal aid to non-public schools. Two-thirds of the Jewish parochial school students are in New York and their schools are in even greater financial distress due to this decision.

LEGAL

We attended three conferences with Secretary Stans, John Dean, and others on the effects of the forthcoming Federal Election Reform Act on campaign fund raising and campaign activities administration, and advised the research section of the Florida primary election law. Advice was given regarding the tax liability of political committees. Six Republican lawyers in private practice were recruited for volunteer legal research work. Further advice was given to Hugh Sloan concerning the telephone billing guarantee procedure and advice was given to the youth section regarding the Hatch Act. We advised the direct mail section on procedures under the Florida and New Hampshire primary laws. We drafted an amendment to the charter of the Finance Committee for the Re-election of the President to empower same to deal in securities. We reviewed the contract for polling services with Decision Making Information, Inc.

POLITICAL

During the week we confirmed chairmen in Montana and North Dakota. Gaspard Deschamps, a cattle rancher and state senator, will be chairman in Montana, and John Rouzie, former state GOP chairman and banker, will be the chairman for North Dakota.

As of January 17 we have announced chairmen in 10 states, 11 are ready for announcement, and 16 are in the final stages of setting up; there are 14 states where we are working out problems.

PR/MEDIA

Assistant Press Secretary

Early last week Tom Girard helped with a response to the McCloskey people on their request as to what rules should be followed in New Hampshire. On Tuesday, he briefed Secretary Volpe and talked with Volpe's staff at DOT to prepare Volpe for his Thursday visit in New Hampshire. Overall, that visit

went well. Girard also met with Jack Kole of the Milwaukee Journal and columnist Charles Bartlett. On Thursday, he sat in with Magruder during an interview with Bob Semple of the New York Times and at lunch with Hal Bruno of Newsweek. Girard also met with Linda Hefner of the Philadelphia Bulletin. On Saturday, he joined Van Shumway, Bill Liss and Scott Peters in a daylong discussion of the radio - TV plans. Meantime, he continues to work out the details for the monitoring apparatus.

News Bureau

Art Amolsch worked closely with Dore, Girard and Shumway in planning the coordination which will be required among the communications units during the campaign. Amolsch also wrote a short speech for the Secretary of Transportation to use during his appearance at the grand opening of the New Hampshire Committee headquarters. He also wrote two press releases for that appearance as well as releases on the Nevada and Utah Committees. Working with suggestions from Bob Marik, he wrote the first and final drafts of the letter from Governor Dwinell to Robert Reno, McCloskey campaign manager in New Hampshire. Amolsch also researched the possibility of using editorial placement services to disseminate favorable editorial opinion during the campaign.

State Announcements

Illinois -- Ann Dore attended the press conference announcing the Illinois Committee for the Re-Election of the President on Monday, January 10. Following the press conference, Ann Dore met with Jean Mahon of the Martin Janis PR firm who will be working on the Illinois campaign for Tom Houser as the PR consultant.

Utah -- Ann Dore prepared the chairman for his announcement and the press package was put together by Amolsch working with the chairman.

Nevada -- Amolsch prepared the press package for the chairman, Cliff Young, and Ann Dore did the ground work. At the suggestion of Cliff Young, there was no formal press conference. Cliff worked with a local press consultant to arrange individual interviews during which he made the announcement. He personally talked with 3 TV stations, 2 radio, and 2 newspapers, all of which gave good coverage. The TV and radio stations taped interviews that were used on the evening news.

Colorado -- Ann worked closely with Governor Love's press secretary in arranging the press conference.

New Hampshire -- Ann worked with members of the press department as well as John Sias in New Hampshire and Secretary Volpe's office to arrange for media coverage and plans following the Secretary's appearance at the opening of the headquarters.

Miscellaneous -- Photos of all press conferences are being taken and given to Frank Leonard for use in campaign publications.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

Schedulers for Cabinet Members, senior White House staff members, and Agency Directors have been contacted and advised by telephone of the twenty-seven states that should be given priority when scheduling surrogate candidates.

The schedulers have also been told to inform their principals that when asked how well the President will do in the New Hampshire and Florida primaries, the response should be that we think he will get a "majority" of the votes. The schedulers were also asked to remind their principals that in 1968 when he ran unopposed in the New Hampshire primary, the President gained 79% of the vote. This year he has two challengers, one of whom has the support of a major New Hampshire newspaper, and they are expected to do well.

Tom Houser, Chairman of the Illinois Committee, and Warne Nunn, Executive Director of the Oregon Committee, met with Bart Porter and Curt Herge for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the program of the Spokesmen Resources Division.

Joe Horacek, Executive Director of the Celebrities for the President program, reports that he is making key contacts for entertainment and sports figures. Emphasis has been placed upon supporters of Youth for Nixon. Persons that have been contacted and will be prime contacts for celebrities are Francis Dale of Cincinnati, Chic Doherty of MCA Records, Robert Wood, President of CBS, Frank Rogers, and Cy Laughter.

WOMEN

Pat Hutar and Nancy Steorts visited New Hampshire January 12 and 13. Wednesday meetings were held with Governor Dwinell, who indicated that he was concentrating on delegate selection at the present time. He said that there would probably be four women elected as delegates this year. In 1968 there were no women delegates from New Hampshire, so this shows very favorable progress.

Roma Spaulding, Assistant Chairman, arranged a luncheon with approximately twenty-four women who represent almost all the key areas in New Hampshire. Pat Hutar explained to these women the importance of recruiting volunteers for the telephone operation which will be one of the main responsibilities of the volunteers.

Meetings were also held with Allan Walker, Executive Director. He said all ten counties have co-ordinators and 175 persons have been recruited to serve as co-ordinators in cities and towns. A county co-ordinator will appoint county chairmen from among prestigious community leaders.

When Pat Hutar asked about the door to door canvassing to get out the vote, Allan replied that it was very difficult to organize a door to door canvass. When pressed, he indicated that Youth for Nixon could handle this phase. He did not seem too concerned about precinct work. This would appear to be our real weakness. A comprehensive door to door canvass seems especially necessary since our candidate will not be campaigning in the state. Telephone and direct mail cannot replace personal calls on the voter. This information was reported to Harry Flemming, and he plans to send Al Kaupinen to New Hampshire to work with Allan on precinct organization.

We also discussed the use of volunteers in the door to door operation. Bob Marik is checking with Bob Morgan to see if the computer can print out precinct lists by street address for the Nixon supporters identified in the phone canvass. This would enable us to work at maximum efficiency in getting out the Nixon vote.

A dinner meeting was held with Mildred Perkins, National Committeewomen, and Vickie Zachos. Mildred said she felt cooperation between regular party workers and Nixon volunteers would be better than in 1968. She believes Nixon volunteers should operate a precinct canvass to get out the vote in addition to the coffees, telephoning, direct mail pieces, etc.

The opening of the first headquarters was held January 13 in Concord. Secretary Volpe was the key note speaker. Citizens from many parts of New Hampshire were present even though the weather was very foggy. Senator Cotton and Governor Peterson were present as well as many of the State Legislators. The presence of the youth added a delightful new dimension to the crowd and many of the young people came with posters which they had designed.

Secretary Volpe gave a very inspirational speech and made several personal references to President Nixon and the excellent record he has made.

Press coverage was good. The major networks were present as well as local press. Secretary Volpe also spoke at the Technical Institute in Concord as well as at Concord High School.

Senator Muskie, Representative McCloskey, and Representative Ashbrook were also in town on January 13. McCloskey and Ashbrook have been getting good coverage in the local newspapers. Recent editorials have been quite critical of President Nixon.

In Maine, we met for dinner with State Chairman Ned Harding and Co-Chairman Donna Tibbetts. Both Mr. Harding and Mrs. Tibbetts are held in high esteem for their 1968 effort. They will be announced officially in about ten days.

As in 1968, the northern section of the state will be covered by Mrs. Tibbetts; the southern portion will be covered by Mr. Harding. They plan to rely on the regular organization for a large part of the precinct work but will supplement with Nixon volunteers where necessary.

Mr. Harding said they will concentrate on communicating the President's outstanding record to the voters. Speakers will be brought in and given the broadest possible press and television coverage. Even though Secretary Maurice Stans was unable to fly in for a Thursday speech, his remarks were relayed by telephone to an audience drawn from all over the state.

There is concern that a Maine favorite son candidate would mean losing Maine for the President.

YOUTH

The formal kickoff for the youth campaign in New Hampshire will be Saturday, January 22. Expected are more than 200 young people who will participate in the formal office opening at Manchester

and then conduct a door to door voter registration drive.
Senator Weicker will be the speaker.

A test drive conducted last week in New Hampshire had these results:

Nixon	147
Muskie	56
Ashbrook	11
McCloskey	10
McGovern	10
Yorty	5
Undecided	213

Of the 147 supporting the President, 27 were unregistered.

At the formal opening of the campaign headquarters on January 13, we supplied many young people.

At our request, Harry F. McNaught, Indiana Boys Nation delegate, wrote all the other Boys Nation delegates. In his letter, McNaught said:

"What is the real nature of our President? was a question which I thought about a great deal. I set aside the significant but emotional thoughts of our visit to the White House and dug deeper into the black and white of Mr. Nixon's record, not only as President but as a public servant since his days as Congressman, Senator, and Vice-President."

"I found a man of character who is deeply patriotic to his country, not just in the sense of flagwaving, but patriotic in the sense of a firm belief in a people and their land."

"I found a man of action who has long advocated the right of 18-year-olds to vote and finally as President saw to its adoption as the 26th Amendment to the Constitution. His most recent moves in the area of our economy and in furthering our diplomatic relations with USSR and the People's Republic of China substantiate his record as a man of action on the domestic front as well as in foreign affairs."

Finally, and most importantly, I have found a commitment within myself to Mr. Nixon in his bid for re-election in 1972. I invite you to join with me and many others who support the President, not just on what I have presented in this letter to you, but on what you find in Mr. Nixon, using what I have said as a beginning."

"I am actively involved in President Nixon's re-election efforts and I hope you will also become involved and committed in electing a President in '72. Further, I hope you will find in that participation a greater interest and understanding of our system of government. If you are interested in doing so, please contact me as soon as possible. November 2, 1972 is only a primary, a convention, and a few speeches away!!!"

In February we will conduct mock elections on college campuses in New Hampshire. Florida's statewide college primary is scheduled for March 7.

Senator Dominick, representing the President, will address the student body at the University of Tennessee on January 26. Several Democrats will appear, but Dominick will open the forum.

Representative Frey will address the student body at the University of Tennessee on March 2. This will close out the series.

Peter Peterson will speak at the International Affairs Seminar at Kearney State College in Nebraska. This was originally a Presidential request.

Senator Brock will speak at the Hinckley Institute of the University of Utah.

Representative Sam Steiger will represent the President at Miami High School in Arizona. This was originally a Presidential request.

Representative Peyser will address the student body of the State University of New York at Albany in behalf of the President.

Secretary Richardson will address the student body at the University of Pennsylvania.

Denver Councilman Linden Blue represented the President at a convocation of the Colorado Student Lobby. (Originally a Presidential request.)

Don Rumsfeld is tentatively scheduled to meet with student groups from the University of New Hampshire at his February 18 speech to the UNH alumni.

Representative Frey will speak on behalf of the President to the Florida YR's on February 26. Ashbrook will speak to the group in the morning.

Representatives Kemp and Steiger will go to New Hampshire to meet with various groups of young people -- campus, high school and social events -- on the weekend of February 4-5.

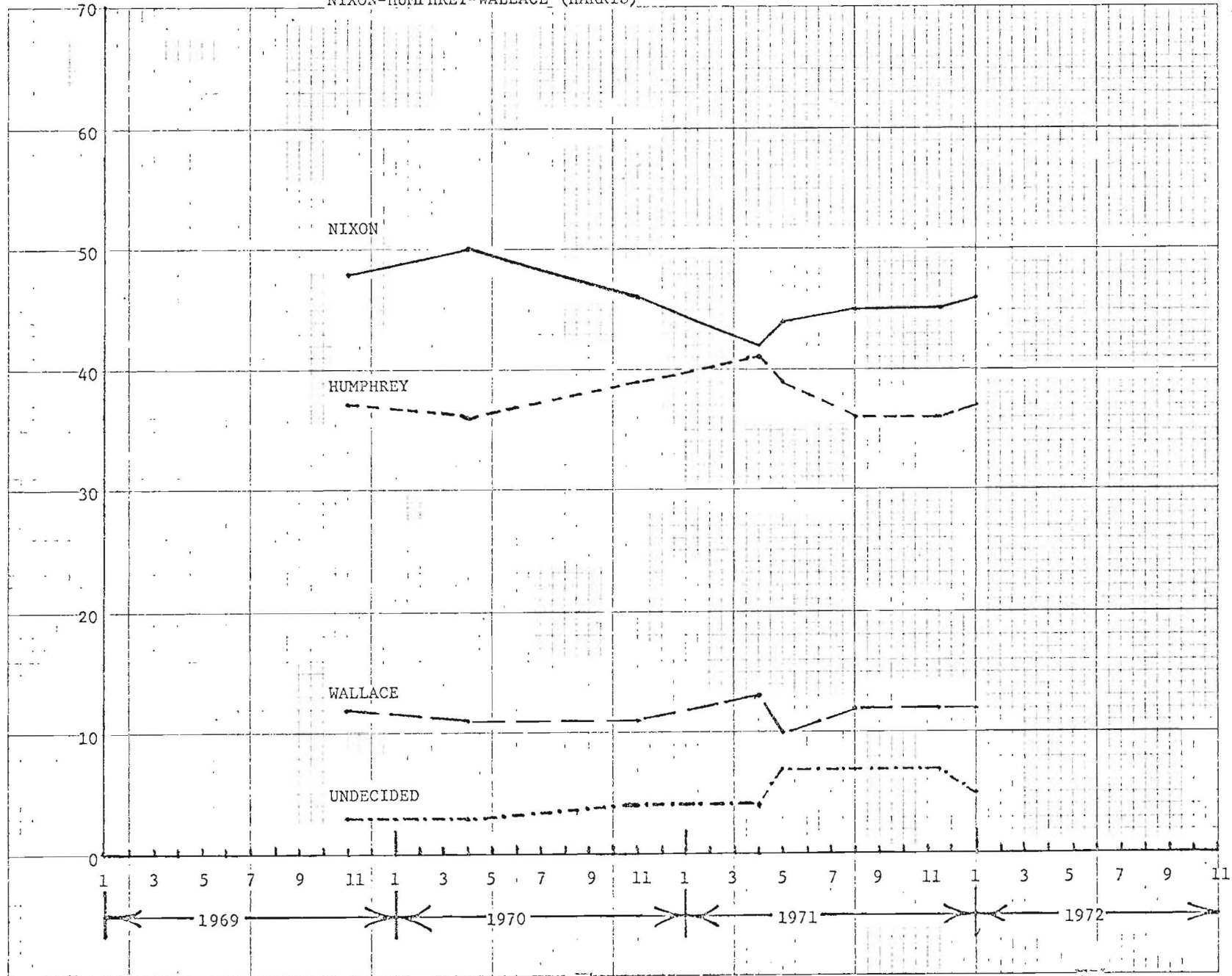
The President's letter to each of the "Friends of Richard Nixon" was dispatched this past week.

RESEARCH

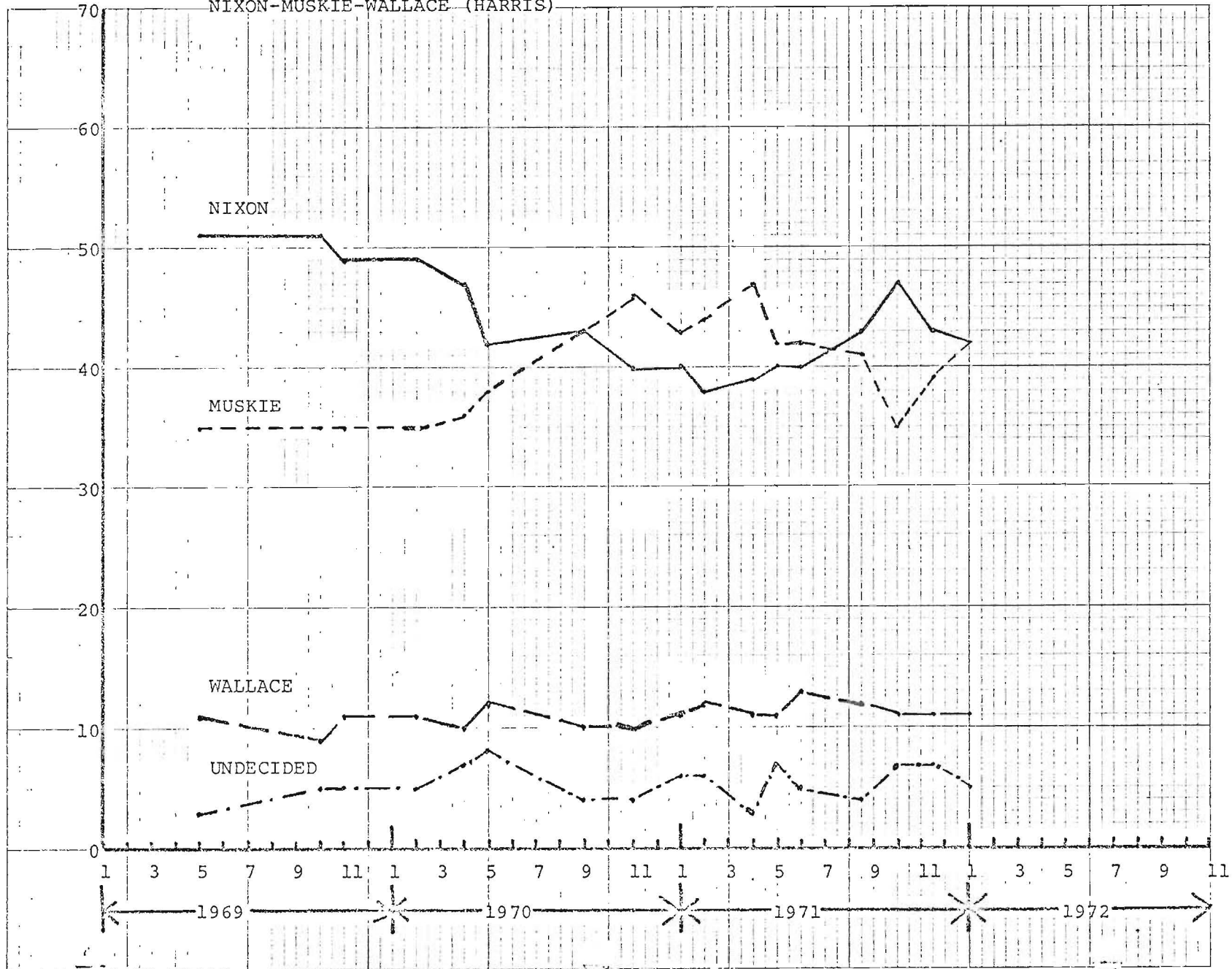
Since July, 1971, Nixon has been ahead of Muskie in the Harris polls. However, the two are now merging both at 42%, and Wallace is leveling off at 11%.

The 9% spread between Nixon and Humphrey is identical to that recorded in the November Harris survey. Again Wallace's support is constant. Muskie has picked up ground, but Humphrey has not.

NIXON-HUMPHREY-WALLACE (HARRIS)



NIXON-MUSKIE-WALLACE (HARRIS)



January 17, 1972
6:00 p.m.

NEW HAMPSHIRE SPEAKING EVENTS PRIOR TO MARCH 7, 1972

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
January 13	Headquarters Grand Opening New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President, Concord	Sec. Volpe
January 21 and 22	Voter Registration Rally, Manchester	Sen. Weicker
January 29	New Hampshire State Bar Association, Concord	Sec. Richardson
February 4	New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President Fund-Raising Dinner, Concord	Sec. Morton
February 8	New Hampshire Clean Waters Association, Laconia	Mr. Ruckelshaus
February 8	Joint Session of New Hampshire Legislature	Mr. Ruckelshaus
February 9	North Conway & Conway Rotary Clubs Ladies Night Dinner, North Conway	Sen. Brock
February 12	Rockingham County Republican Dinner Dance, Pelham	Sec. Richardson
February 12	Coos County Republican Party Lincoln Day Dinner, Berlin	Sec. Richardson
February 12	Amherst Lincoln Day Dinner, Amherst, N.H.	Sec. Romney

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
February 15	Strafford County Republican Committee Lincoln Day Dinner, Dover	Mr. Finch (Invitation pending)
February 18	University of New Hampshire Annual Alumni Class Conclave, Durham	Mr. Rumsfeld
February 19	East Rockingham County Republican Party Dinner, Exeter	Sen. Baker
February 21	Cheshire County Republican Committee Lincoln Day Dinner, Keene	Mr. Finch
February 22	Business and Industry Association of New Hampshire Dinner, Concord	Mr. Flanigan
February 23	Chamber of Commerce Dinner, Manchester	Mr. Klein
February 23	Nashua Chamber of Commerce Annual Dinner, Nashua	Sec. Volpe
February 24	New Hampshire Council on World Affairs Evening Forum on U.S. Foreign Affairs, Manchester	Mr. Droge (Invitation pending)
February 26	St. Anselms College Student Body, Manchester	Sen. Brock
February 28, 29 or March 1, 2	University of New Hampshire Student Body, Durham	Mr. Finch (Invitation pending)
March 3	New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President Rally, Manchester	Two spokesmen and a celebrity (Planning stage)
Open date	Plymouth State College Student Body	Sen. Percy (Invitation pending)

January 17, 1972
5:30 p.m.

FLORIDA SPEAKING EVENTS PRIOR
TO MARCH 14, 1972

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
January 21	Chamber of Commerce Dinner, Sarasota	Mr. Klein
January 22	National Highway Safety Leaders Womens Group, Orlando	Sec. Volpe
January 29	State Convention of Florida Jaycees, Daytona Beach	Vice President
January 31	Race Relations Institute, Patrick AFB	Sec. Laird
February 3	University of Florida, Gainesville	Sen. Goldwater
February 4	Palm Beach County Fund Raising Dinner, Palm Beach	Mrs. Mitchell
February 7	Elephant Forum, Miami	Cong. Ford
February 10	Civics Club Luncheon, Ft. Meyers	Sen. Gurney
February 10	Lincoln Day Dinner, Collier County, Naples	Sen. Gurney
February 11	Central Florida District Rotary Club Luncheon, Disneyworld	Sen. Gurney
February 11	Dade County Lincoln Day Dinner, Miami	Sen. Brock
February 12	Lake County Republican Executive Committee Lincoln Day Dinner, Leesburg	Sen. Gurney
February 13	Citrus County Lincoln Day Brunch, Crystal River	Sen. Gurney

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
February 14	Volusia County Lincoln Day Luncheon, DeLand	Sen. Gurney
February 14	Seminole County Lincoln Day Dinner, Sanford	Sen. Gurney
February 19	Key West County Lincoln Day Dinner, Key West	Sen. Gurney
February 21	South Broward County Lincoln Day Dinner	Sen. Gurney
February 24	Republican State Executive Committee Legislature Appreciation Dinner, Tallahassee	Sec. Morton (Invitation pending)
February 24	Florida State University Student Body, Tallahassee	Sec. Morton (Invitation pending)
February 26	Florida Engineering Society Annual Banquet, Miami	Sec. Romney
February 26	Indian River County Lincoln Day Dinner, Vero Beach	Sen. Gurney
March 5	American Friends of Hebrew University, Miami	Sec. Richardson
March 6 or 7	Ft. Meyers Fund Raising Dinner, Ft. Meyers	
March 6	Elephant Forum, Miami	Vice President (Invitation pending)
March 6	North Broward County Lincoln Day Dinner, Cocoa Beach	Sen. Dole (Invitation pending)
March 9	Republican Fund Raiser, Tampa	Sen. Goldwater
March 11	Jaycees Awards Banquet, St. Petersburg	Sen. Gurney

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 24, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Florida Primary Plan
Direct Mail/Presidential Commitment Program

This is an expansion of the Florida Direct Mail program described in the January 14, 1972 memorandum. The plan which follows has been discussed and agreed to by Tommy Thomas in a meeting last week in Tallahassee.

The overall Florida Primary objectives are to:

1. Integrate the volunteers generated by the direct mail effort into a cohesive organization to conduct a personal drive in the primary to get out the vote for President Nixon.
2. Maximize the number of voters for President Nixon on March 14.
3. Develop the volunteer organization so that it remains as a working group of trained people for the general election campaign.

The Direct Mail objectives are:

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

Description of the Program

Direct mail ensemble - 3rd class bulk Universal Indicia with
an address correction requested

Personalized computer letter with dual volunteer cards
Window mailing envelope
Re-elect the President window sticker
Business reply envelope

The Republican lists in Florida are being generated by purchasing them directly from the top 10 counties. The top 10 counties represent 80% of the registered Republican voters. Securing the lists from the counties is our alternative course of action. The registration list promised was not delivered and all efforts to secure it have not brought results.

The mailings are scheduled to go out by county based on when they come in. Each county's computer tape will come in with a different computer tape format and will have to be converted to the Committee's standard format. Several counties only supply print outs and have to be converted to magnetic tape. The mailings should start being mailed the 2nd week in February and continue until completed.

The proposed personalized computer letter is shown in Tab A. The volunteer card is a dual card as shown in Tab B. Both the top and bottom portions have the volunteer's name and address. The top portion going to the county chairman will have a place for the telephone number. The card will be attached to the bottom of the letter.

The Response System

1. The volunteer tears off the dual card, fills it out and sends it in the Business Reply Envelope.
2. The state committee receives the card and does three things:
 - A. Tears the card in half.
 - B. Sends the top half to the county if the volunteer personally wants to participate in the campaign and sends the bottom portion to the Data Center.
 - C. Records the money donated, keeps the top half for the state's finance committee, and sends the bottom half to the Data Center.

The Data Center puts the volunteer on magnetic tape and codes the name for personally volunteering or giving a monetary contribution (specific dollar amount). The names of the people contributing money would be duplicated and a tape with the amount would be sent to the Committee's financial group for future fund raising. The other volunteers are kept on tape for future follow up, print outs by city or county could be generated for organization purposes or personal letters for other get-out-the-vote projects.

The county chairman would call the volunteers and ask them to come into the county headquarters to pick up their Presidential Commitment kit. They would naturally be sold on the person to person program, and hopefully participate more enthusiastically this way.

The Presidential Commitment kit consists of 10 Presidential Commitment cards as shown in Tab C, 11 issue brochures (in the process of being printed), and a print out of the 10 Republicans in their zip code to contact. A script will be printed on one side of the envelope as shown in Tab D. The volunteer will contact the 10 Republicans on his list, get a commitment and call them two days before the election to remind them to vote. The county chairman or his designate will call the volunteer to follow up on his contacts and assist him if necessary. Once the volunteer gets a commitment he tears off the bottom half of the commitment card and sends it to the county so they will have a record of the volunteer's action.

The instruction sheet to be enclosed in the kit is shown in Tab E. A complete systems diagram of the program is attached as shown in Tab F.

Recommendation

That you approve the integrated Volunteer Presidential Commitment Program which includes a planned effort to use the volunteers down to the zip code level.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

TAB A

DATE

Dear Mr. Forte:

There is a time when you have to stand up and be counted. For Florida Republicans that time is now, in the Presidential Primary on March 14th.

President Richard Nixon is a bold, courageous and effective leader. He has proven himself to be the right man for these difficult times.

America needs President Nixon -- and he needs you. Please complete the attached volunteer card and send it in today. Let us show him, and America, our tremendous support.

Sincerely,

L.B. Thomas

P.S. See you at the polls on March 14th.

This is the bottom of the Florida letter. The name and address typed in would come from the computer. The name in the right-hand portion of the top card can be cut and used as a label to mail the Presidential Commitment kit to the volunteer. There would be a red and blue border around the volunteer card tying the two cards together.

TEAR HERE

Volunteer Card

Telephone _____

Signature _____

I want to personally support President Nixon for re-election by participating in the campaign. Please contact me right away!

I can't personally participate in the campaign but I want to show my support with a contribution of \$_____.

INSTRUCTIONS: *Please fill out this volunteer card, fold it in half and insert it in the business reply envelope and mail today.*

PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT CARD

Name

Address

City State ZIP

Telephone Number

The person's name on this card is committed to vote for the President. I will follow-up to see that they vote.

Ten of these cards will fit in the Presidential Commitment kit. The bottom card has a place for a stamp on the reverse side and either the volunteer or the county chairman will address it with the county's address. The card will be on bristol stock to qualify as a postcard.

Volunteer's Name

KEEP THIS CARD

Volunteer's Telephone No.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT CARD

Name

Address

City State ZIP

Telephone Number

The person's name on this card is committed to vote for the President. I will follow-up to see that they vote.

Volunteer's Name

**SEND THIS
CARD BACK**

Volunteer's Telephone No.

PRESIDENTIAL COMMITMENT PROGRAM

CANVASS KIT

/INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CANVASSER/

- / / Know name of person being canvassed and call him by his name
- / / Be friendly
- / / Do not argue or get into a long discussion
- / / Do not refer to the opposition
- / / Wear a Re-elect the President button
- / / Don't pretend knowledge
- / / Account for every person on your list
- / / Retain card and return copy to local headquarters

1

/PLEASE USE THIS CONVERSATION/

Good (morning, afternoon, evening), Mr., Mrs., Miss _____.
My name is _____. I'm calling you on behalf of
the Committee for the Re-election of the President. May we
have your commitment to vote for President Nixon.

/If No/

Thank you for
your time. It
was nice talking
to you. Goodbye.

/If Undecided/

We want you to know that we
think President Nixon has
proven to be the right man
for the job. Your vote is
important to his re-election.

/If Yes/

We want to remind
you that the
Republican primary
is on Tuesday,
March 14th.

/Offer Brochure/

We certainly do thank you
for your time (Mr., Mrs.,
Miss) _____.
Goodbye.

/Offer Brochure/

FLORIDA COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
P.O. Box 311
Tallahassee, Florida 32302

L. B. THOMAS
Primary Campaign Coordinator

MEMORANDUM FOR: PRESIDENTIAL VOLUNTEER
FROM: TOMMY THOMAS
SUBJECT: Presidential Commitment Program

First, thank you for volunteering to actively participate in the Presidential Commitment Program. Our goal in the primary is to get out as many registered Republicans as we can to help show our support for the President's re-election.

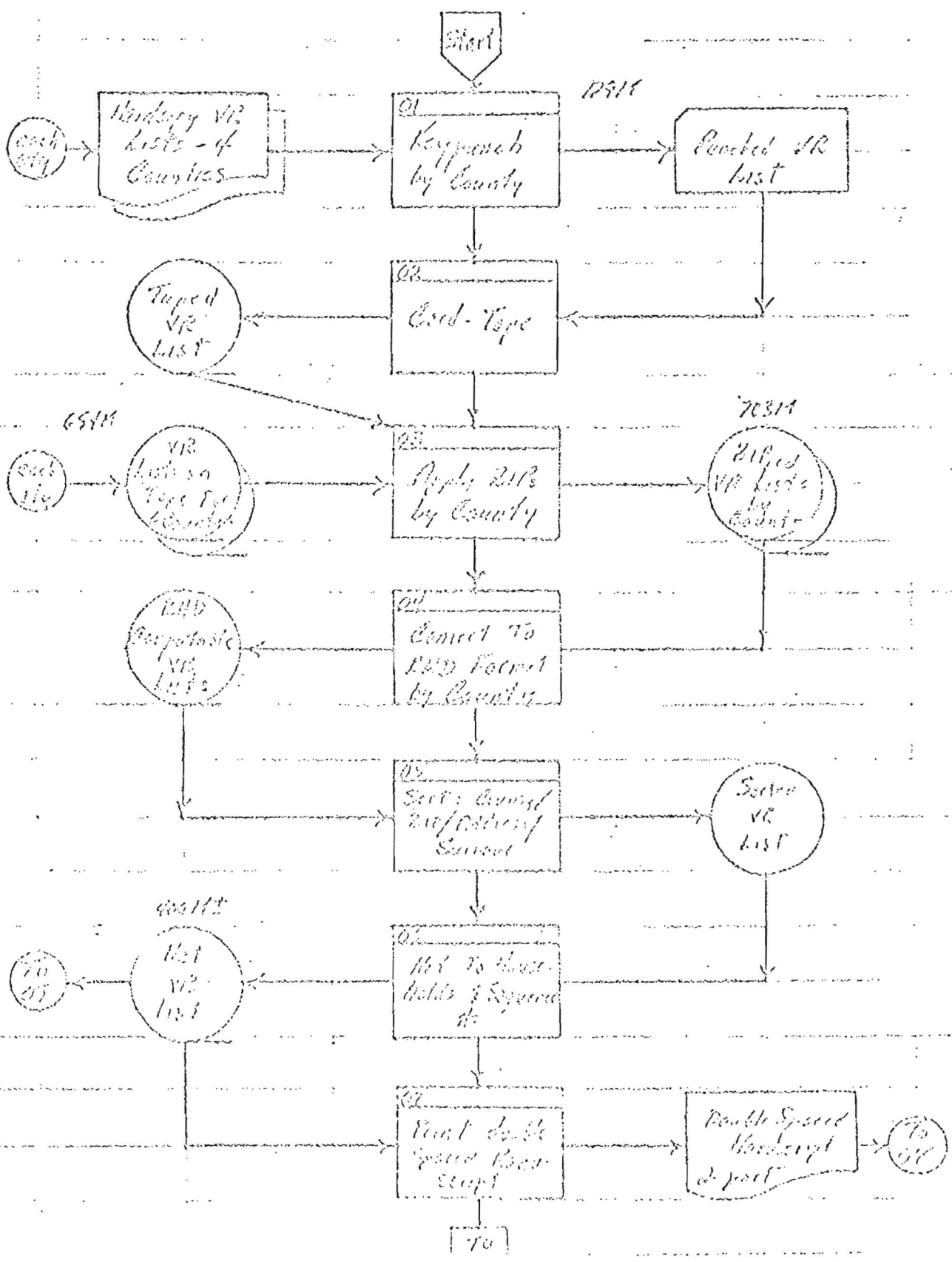
In this kit you will find 10 Presidential Commitment cards, 11 issue brochures (one for yourself) and a list of 10 registered Republicans living close to you in your zip code area. This is how this personal program works:

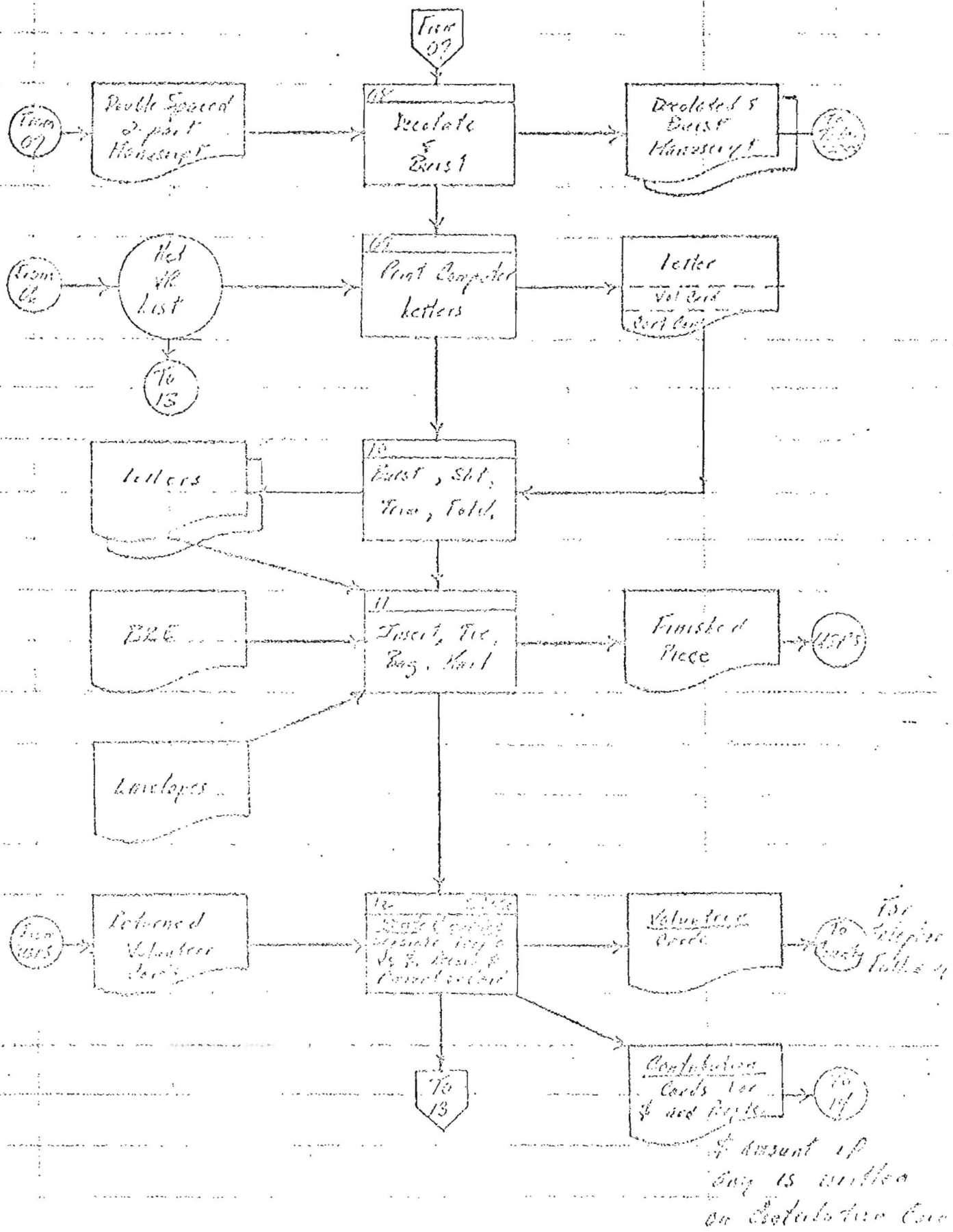
1. Personally, or by phone, contact each name on the list and ask them to commit their vote for President Nixon. Use the conversation shown in the instruction printed on the canvass kit. For those who do not plan to vote for the President, thank them for their time and go on to the next name.
- 2.A. Fill out the name, address and telephone number of each committed voter on both the top and bottom portions of the card.
B. Fill out your name and telephone number on the bottom portion of the card.
3. Tear the card in half keeping the top half so you can call again three days before the election to remind them to vote. Stamp and send in the bottom portion to your county headquarters.
4. Call your county coordinator on Monday, March 13th to tell us how well you did.

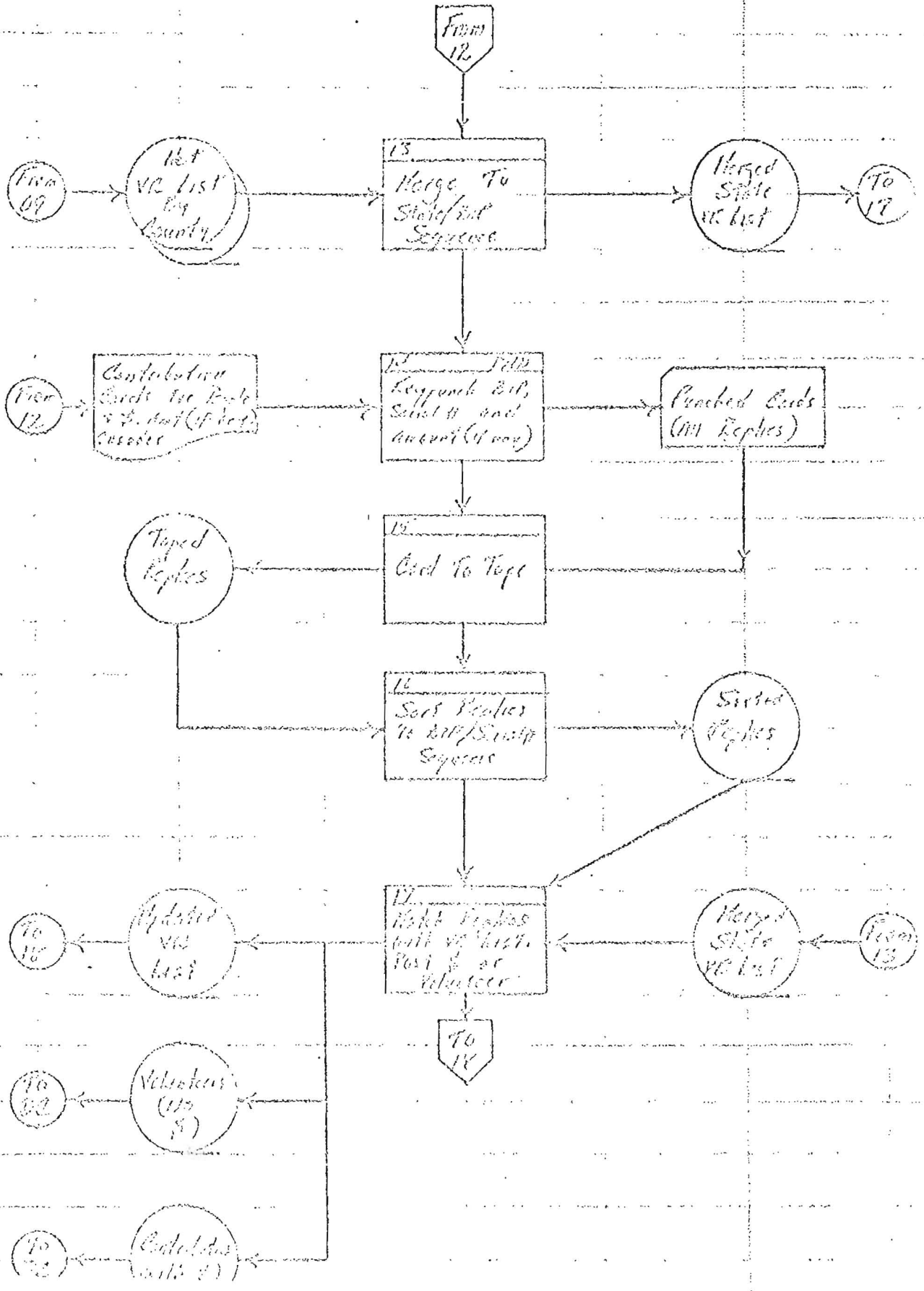
I know the President will appreciate your active participation in Florida's Presidential Commitment Program.

P.S. Let's really get out a big Primary vote for the President on March 14th.

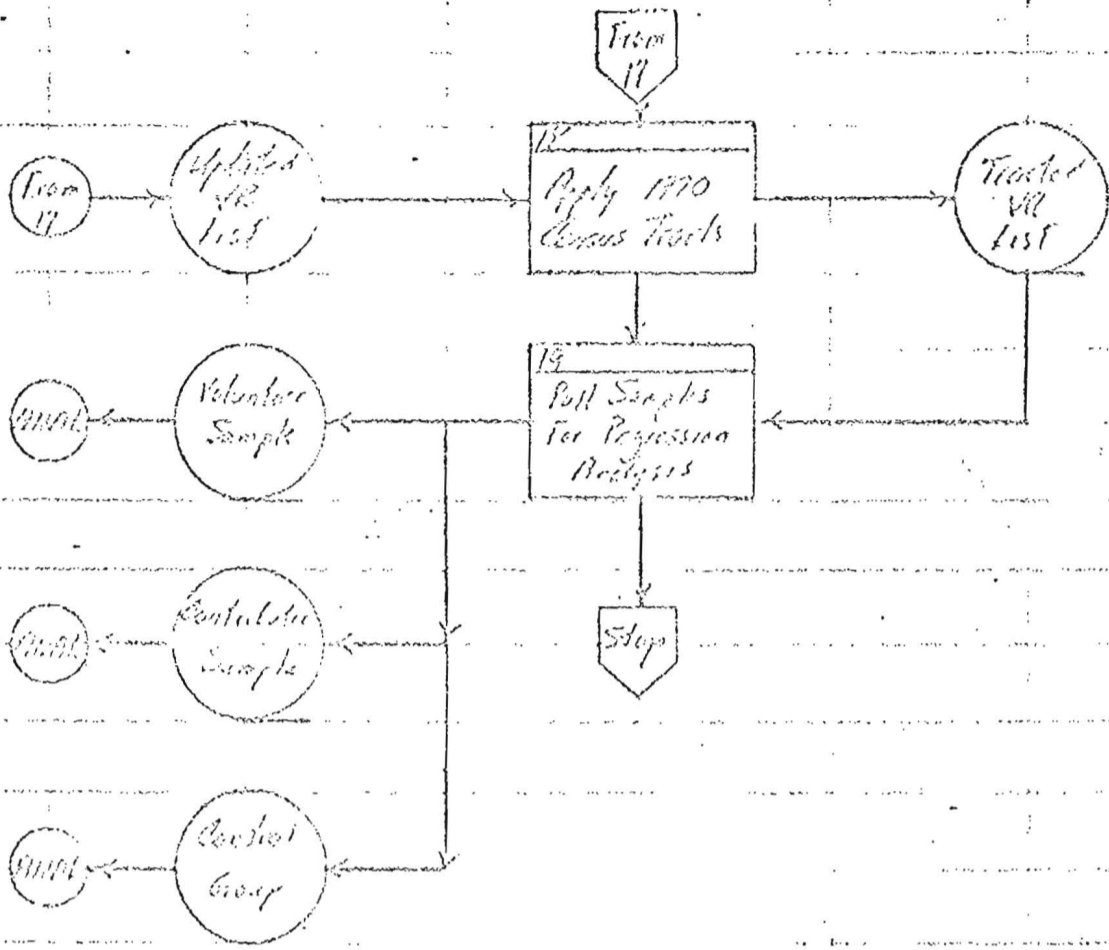
Citation
Florida Plan
H. H. H. H.
Page 1 of 1







Source: Citation
Florida Ploa
By: H. H. H. H.
Date: 4/24/54



COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 20, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Computer Mapping Project

An integral part of the "target voter" strategy in 1972 will be to geographically locate the Democrat and Independent voters who are most likely to support the President, so that mass media, direct mail, telephone and precinct walkers can be focused on areas where those people are most heavily concentrated.

Recent developments in computer technology, along with the availability of 1970 census data, have made it possible to display current demographic and voter behavior information in the form of computer maps. A sample (of Los Angeles County) is attached as Tab A. This type of format allows rapid analysis of data which would otherwise have to be presented in lengthy tabular form.

After the computer software has been adopted to our particular requirements, the maps should cost about \$25-\$50 each. We will have the ability to generate such maps for all metropolitan areas in the target states. Some development work, however, is necessary on a one-time basis before the map project can begin. We have identified a vendor, Survey Research Services, Inc., in Texas, who is technically capable of producing the maps, using UCC computers. Dick Stone, the President, is a former Research Director of the Washington State Republican Party and a reliable Republican.

The specific objectives of the development project are given in Tab B. Briefly, the objectives are to develop the necessary computer software to produce prototype maps of New Hampshire, for use in the primary campaign, and to determine the least expensive computer configuration for producing the maps. The total cost of the project would be less than \$5,000. The budget is given in Tab C.

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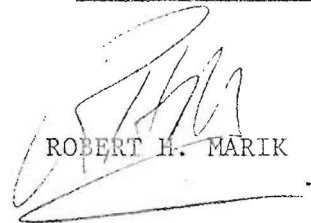
- 2 -

We would like authorization to commit up to \$5,000 for this project in order to proceed on the map development and have maps available for use in New Hampshire. That primary will also serve as a test to determine exactly how the maps can be used in a campaign situation.

Recommendation

That you approve a budget commitment of up to \$5,000 to carry out the pilot project to develop a computer mapping capability for use in the campaign.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____


ROBERT H. MARIK

cc: Jeb S. Magruder

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FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF DATA POINT VALUES IN EACH LEVEL
 LEVEL
 SYMBOLS
 FREQ. 157 156 157 154 155
 ABSOLUTE RANGE RANGE IN NUMBER OF LEVELS ONLY
 MINIMUM 10000.00 10000.00 10000.00 10000.00 10000.00
 MAXIMUM 20000.00 20000.00 20000.00 20000.00 20000.00
 RANGE 10000.00 10000.00 10000.00 10000.00 10000.00
 RANGE 158 157 158 157 157
 RANGE 20000.00 20000.00 20000.00 20000.00 20000.00
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VENTURA COUNTY

PACIFIC OCEAN

MEDIAN VALUE OF OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS

KERN COUNTY

NORTHERN PART OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

SIX MILES

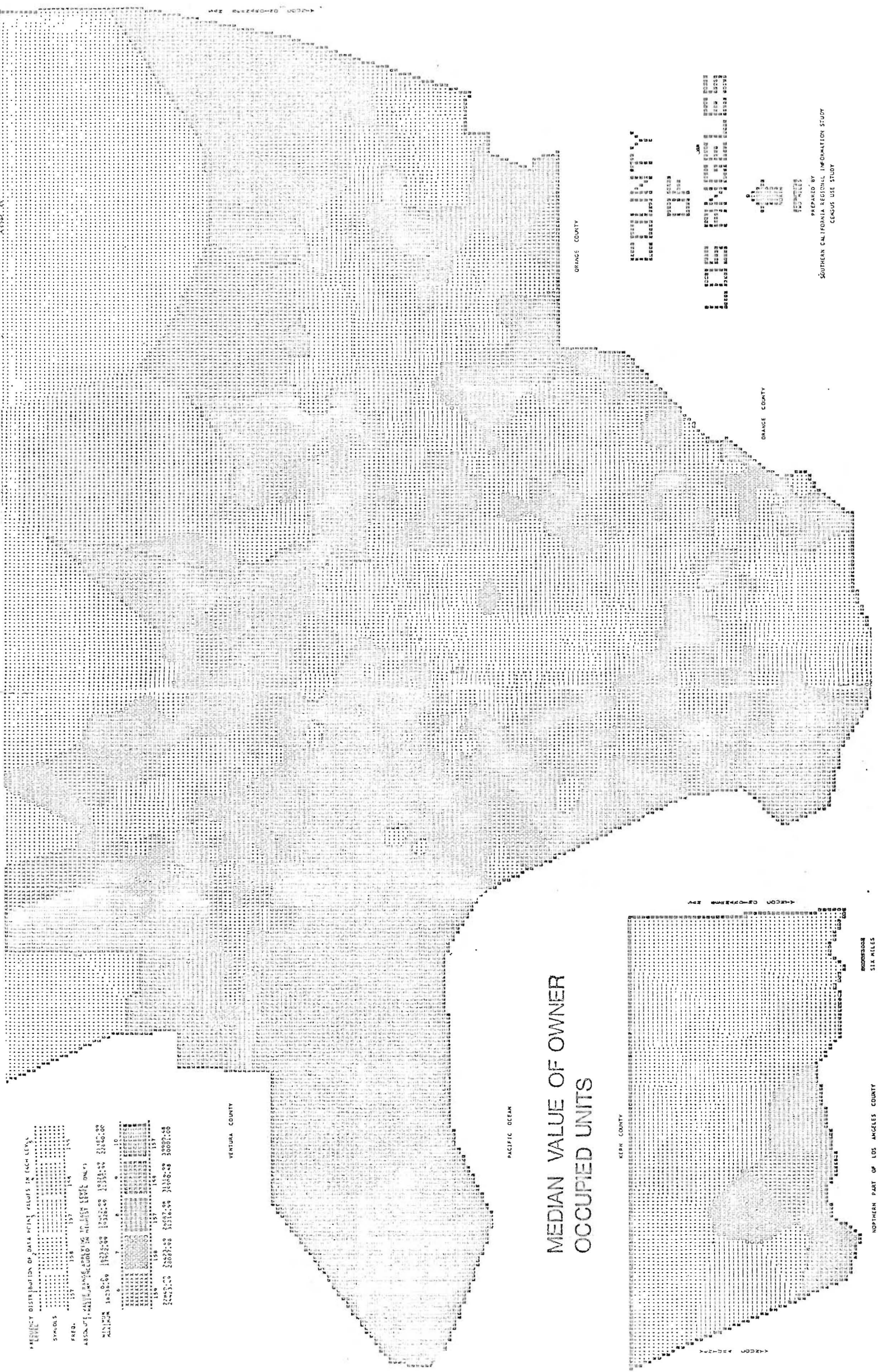
ORANGE COUNTY

ORANGE COUNTY

ORANGE COUNTY

ORANGE COUNTY

PREPARED BY
 SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA REGIONAL INFORMATION STUDY
 CENSUS USE STUDY



SPECIFICATIONS FOR PILOT PROJECT

The pilot project will be a systematic, organized attempt to answer several basic questions concerning the total mapping project. The pilot project should, therefore, allow the contractor to discover the best methods and procedures which will achieve the stated goals of the pilot project. With this in mind, only the beginning and ending points are defined. The exact procedures of how to optimumly get from one to the other is the purpose of this pilot project.

Goals of the Pilot Project:

1. To discover what computer configuration will produce the maps at the lowest per map cost.
2. To discover whether it is better to produce the final maps on on line or off line.
3. To maximize the operation of the SYMAP program in relation to the demands of the total project and the computer system to be used in the final project.
4. To revise the government software, if necessary, so as to efficiently produce mapping files on primate machine systems.
5. To determine the relative advantages of producing the final maps at a central operation or at several locations.
6. To attempt to develop cost estimate curves for maps of various sizes, shapes, complexities, and details.

Detailed Objectives of the Pilot Project

The goals of the pilot project assume that several specific operations will be achieved. These are discussed in more detail in this section.

First, the SYMAP program will have to be modified in at least two ways. The core storage allocated to COMMON will have to be maximized. This will have the benefit of both reducing the execution time, and also increasing the size of maps that can be produced. The logic of this suggests that machines with very large core storage should be used; however, there may will be a sharp tradeoff between reduced execution times and actual per map costs because of the larger CPU charges of larger machines. At this time we must assume that this is a real possibility. The pilot project should seek to discover the machine configuration which achieves the lowest per map cost, and then optimize the execution of SYMAP on this machine system.

In addition, the SYMAP program will have to be modified slightly to produce maps in the form that is desired. By introducing different parameters into the program's electives, the size of the final map can be altered to achieve large maps of an entire urban area, or maps at the exact size and scale of the final printed metropolitan maps produced by the Census Bureau. The latter size will probably be used most during the project. The key to the shadings of the maps needs to be printed immediately below the first strip of the map.

Also, the upper left corner of these maps needs to be fixed in one of two alternate locations, depending upon which form of the GPO maps are being matched. These two modifications will allow a standard size of paper (17" X 16") to be used, and thus minimize the clerical work required to put the maps in their final form.

If the advantages of producing the final maps off line outweigh the advantages of producing them on line, a review of the capabilities of various off line printers needs to be made. This review may suggest that various changes need to be made in the print file created by SYMAP. One alternative that might be explored is whether the off line printer can be fitted with a special print chain or type bar which will eliminate the need for overprinting. This would produce maps with more uniform shadings and higher quality lines. Doing this, however, would require a modification of the print routine in the SYMAP program and in the construction of the print file. One major problem with this is that it would require that the off line printer would be a dedicated system for map production and other standard printing jobs such as printing mailing labels, vote analyses, or demographic analyses. Clearly, this would be a decision which would need more thought to determine whether it is realistic and economically feasible.

PROPOSED BUDGET - PILOT PROJECT FOR COMPUTER MAPS

Program modifications to existing SYMAP program	\$1,600
Test of various computer configurations to determine the configuration which will produce maps at the least cost. (16 maps)	\$2,000
Production of computer maps for New Hampshire (39 maps)	<u>\$1,400</u>
	\$5,000 =====

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 14, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN STRATEGY GROUP

The following are the subjects covered by the Campaign Strategy Group this week:

Polling. Bob Teeter reported that the New Hampshire and Wisconsin baseline surveys had been completed. The Florida results will be completed within the next few days.

In New Hampshire, we are in "reasonably good shape." Nothing was found in the polls which is in conflict with what we plan to do. The results are "encouraging," for both the Primary and the General Election. There is no bloc of voters who are alienated from the President. The poll was taken in late December, before Representative Ashbrook announced his candidacy. A telephone survey will be taken in early February, and perhaps again in late February, to monitor any trends which may develop.

In Wisconsin, the President is in good shape. However, this is very early data, and the awareness of the opposition is very low. A telephone survey is planned for the weekend after the New Hampshire primary.

Direct Mail. Because there will be no appearances by the candidate in New Hampshire, and limited use of mass media, a great deal of emphasis will be placed on the use of direct mail to reach the voters. Bob Morgan, who will manage the direct mail for the committee, made an informal presentation of the plan for New Hampshire and Florida. In summary, the plan is as follows:

Three Mailings to Republicans. (93,000 households)

FIRST MAILING

<u>Description of Mailing</u>	<u>Comments</u>
7-1/4" x 10-1/2" completely personalized letter (by computer) signed by Governor Lane Dwinell.	The Strategy Group's reaction to the initial approach placed more emphasis to the volunteer response.

<u>Description of Mailing</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Window sticker. (Facsimile of the campaign button.)	Changes were made to reflect this thinking. At the suggestion of the New Hampshire Committee, a line will be placed on the volunteer card to encourage financial contributions.
3-1/4" volunteer card attached to the letter.	
Business Reply Envelope.	
Window envelope (address correction requested.)	
Universal 3rd class bulk indicia. (Address corrections difficult to obtain with first-class mailing.)	

SECOND MAILING

7-1/4" x 6-3/4" completely personalized computer letter.	This was changed from 3rd class bulk to 1st class mailing, to create an image of quality.
Window envelope.	
1st class stamp.	
Issue brochure.	

THIRD MAILING

7-1/4" x 6-3/4" completely personalized computer letter.	This will be sent 1st class to insure delivery by March 3, as well as to create a quality image to the voter.
Window envelope.	
1st class stamp.	
Sample ballot with pledged delegates marked.	

Independents. The original plan proposed mailings only to Republicans. It was the opinion of the Strategy Group that Independents should also be included, since they have the option to vote in the Republican primary. In all, there are about 125,000 Independents in the state (an estimated 70,000 households.) At most, 15%, or about 20,000 may vote in the Republican Primary. Over 100,000 of the 160,000 Republicans are expected to vote. Whereas a Republican mailing list already existed in the state, the registered Independents will have to be compiled from township clerk lists. Volunteers from the New Hampshire Committee will be used, and the addresses will be collected on a priority basis from towns where the President received his greatest support in 1968. The Independents will receive two mailings--the 2nd and 3rd shown for the registered Republicans.

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

Testing. The techniques proposed for the New Hampshire mail program represent the best that is known from both the commercial and political worlds. However, controlled tests will be made to attempt to verify the assumptions and to determine the effect of direct mail on the voting results. They will include variations on the number of mailings as well as comparing personalized (computer letter) vs. non-personalized (offset letter.) It is proposed to test in about 10% of the voting districts. If direct mail affects the vote by as much as 5%, the tests will cause a one-half of one percent variance in the final totals. That degree of influence was deemed acceptable by the group for the purpose involved.

The Florida Primary.

There are about 730,000 registered Republicans in Florida. There will be three mailings for certain, and if possible, a 4th mailing. The concepts will cross-validate the New Hampshire efforts as well as to offer additional opportunities for testing variables.

The Florida Campaign.

The general strategy for the Florida Primary was reviewed. Because the Republicans are largely conservative, every effort will be made to involve leading state conservatives and to have them publicly proclaim their support for the President. It was suggested that former

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State Chairman, Bill Murfin, now with the SBA in New Orleans, could be used to approach the Republican leaders whom Tommy Thomas does not know well.

Direct mail will once again be used as an important communications media. A letter co-signed by Cramer and Gurney would be effective in uniting two large factions behind the President. A letter signed by Senator Goldwater or Governor Reagan would be extremely persuasive. Great care must be taken with regard to former Governor Kirk and Harold Carswell, to avoid a negative impact on the campaign.

Tommy Thomas will be most useful in dealing with the press and with leading politicians in the state. There will probably be less organizational activity than in New Hampshire. It will be focused primarily on Get-Out-The-Vote operations near Election Day. The telephone canvass activity, of the type used in New Hampshire, is proposed to be done with professional operators, because sufficient volunteers are not expected to be available.

Approximately 80% of the registered Republicans are located in ten counties, so that first priority will be given to the regions of the state where the concentration is the greatest. (Tabs A and B.)

Recent Public Exposure of the First Family.

The recent appearance of the President with Dan Rather was reviewed in the context of the themes to be projected during the campaign.

The press coverage of Mrs. Nixon's trip to Africa was thought to be very positive. Her very favorable standing with the American people will be a great asset during the campaign.

The Public Relations Function of the Re-election Committee.

Cliff Miller reviewed the progress in organizing the public relations area and building the staff. A preliminary organization chart is attached (Tab C). Final decisions in some cases have not yet been made.

Miscellaneous.

Harry Dent discussed the possible appointment of a Black woman judge to the Federal bench in North Carolina. He stated that many of the


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- 5 -

leading state politicians favor the appointment, but all facets of the situation must be evaluated carefully.

It was suggested that spokesmen such as John Connally, Harry Dent and John Ehrlichman, are particularly effective in presenting the human side of the President and the personal characteristics and strengths which he brings to the office. Harry Dent was asked to prepare some speech material based on this view of the man which is too infrequently presented to the public.

JEB S. MAGRUDER



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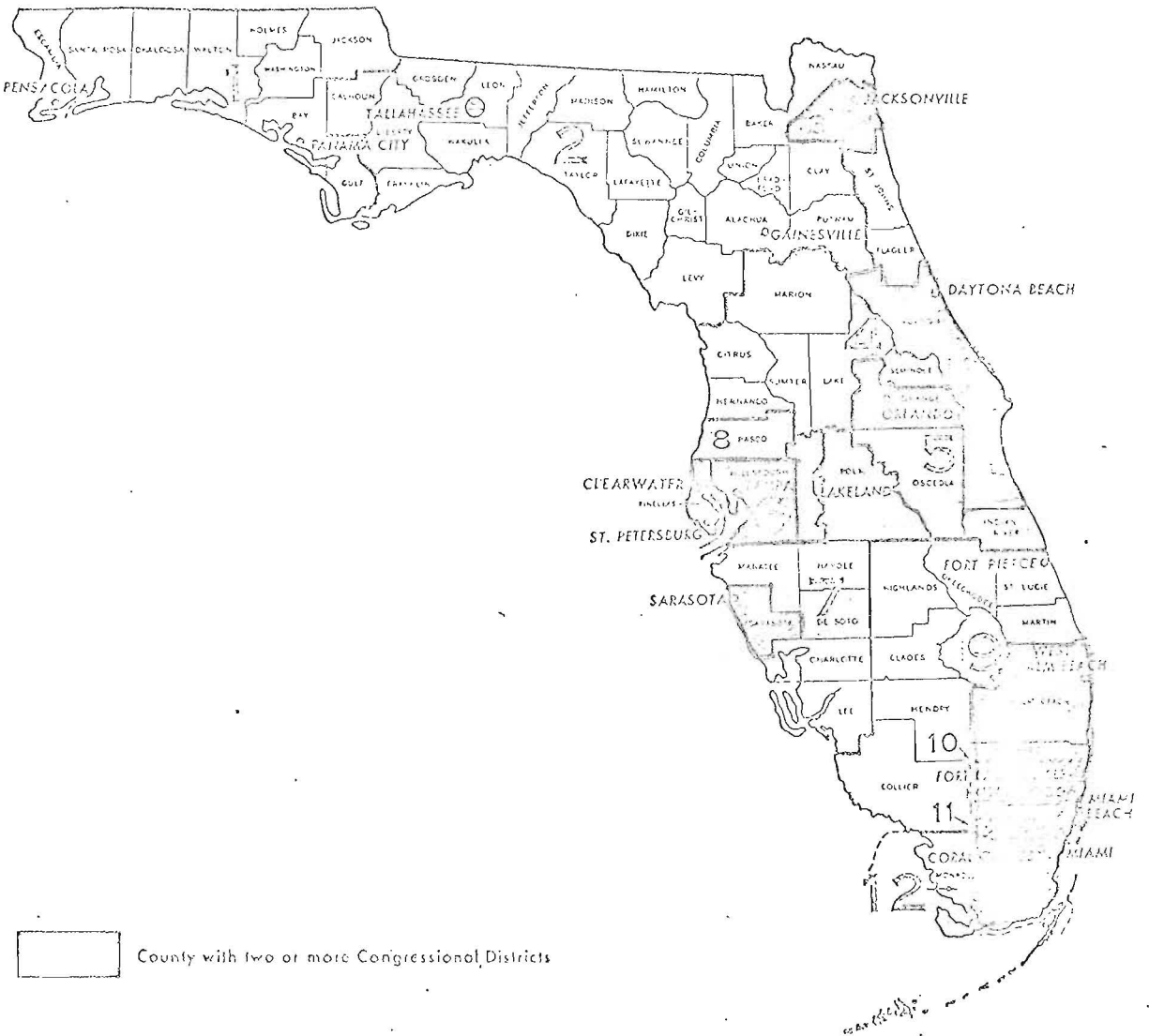
KEY COUNTIES AND KEY PRECINCTS

1969 (Where The Votes Are To Win)
 Republican
 Registration

	Reg.	% State	Pcts.
1. Pinellas	121,895	19%	220
2. Broward	95,166	15%	220
3. Dade	72,019	11%	327
4. Palm Beach	50,442	8%	114
5. Orange	37,590	6%	116
6. Brevard	30,277	5%	69
7. Sarasota	30,146	5%	41
8. Hillsborough	27,230	4%	114
9. Volusia	22,365	4%	86
10. Duval	21,489	3%	190
	493,947	80%	1,497
11. Manatee	14,673	2%	37
12. Polk	14,181	2%	91
13. Lee	13,091	2%	51
14. Pasco	10,441	2%	34
15. Seminole	7,580	1%	33
	553,913	89%	1,743
16. Lake	7,127	1%	42
17. Escambia	6,767	1%	103
18. Charlotte	5,466	1%	18
19. St. Lucie	4,492	.5%	18
20. Alachua	4,411	.5%	34
	582,176	93%	1,958
21. Indian River	4,221	.5%	17
22. Collier	4,153	.5%	19
23. Marion	3,665	.5%	35
24. Leon	3,496	.5%	25
25. Martin	3,449	.5%	17
	601,160	96%	2,071
26. Osceola	3,147	.5%	15
27. Okaloosa	2,448	.4%	26
28. Highlands	2,256	.4%	15
29. Bay	1,987	.3%	36
30. Monroe	1,804	.3%	23
	612,802	98%	2,186

Map of Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Cities
(12 Districts)

LOCATIONS OF THE TEN COUNTIES CONTAINING 80% OF THE REGISTERED REPUBLICANS

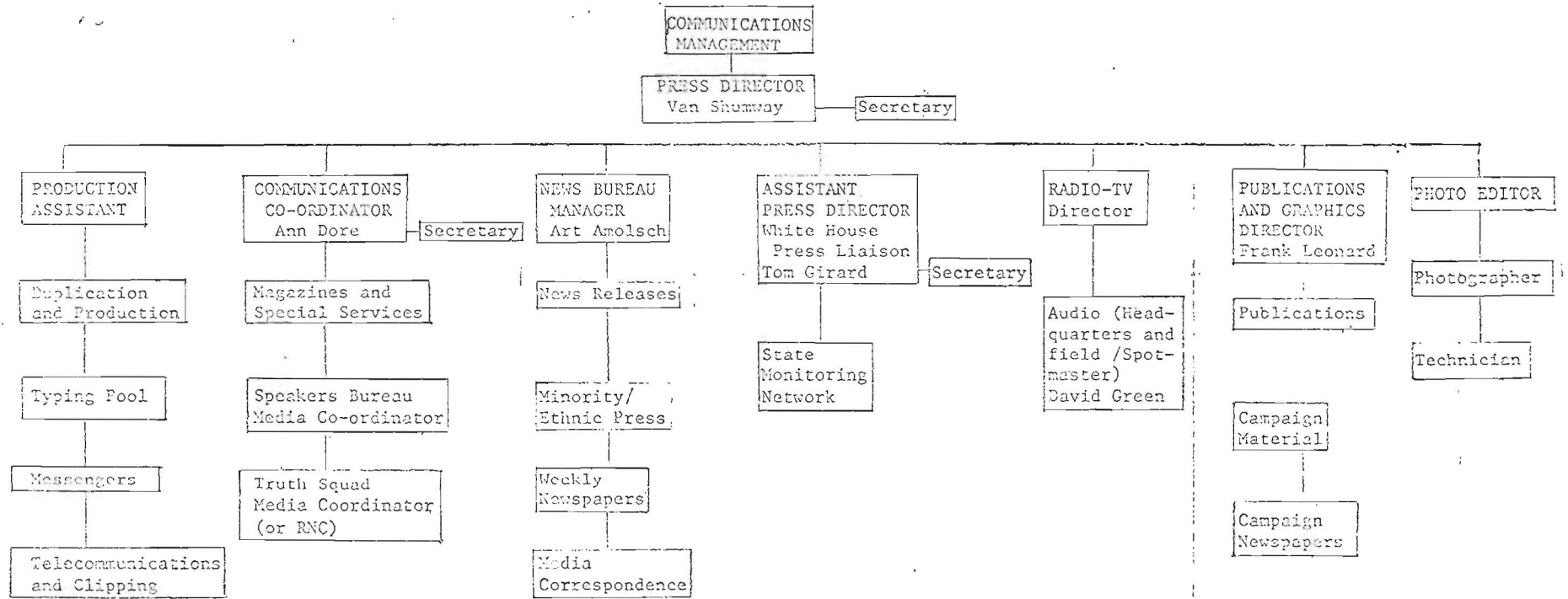


County with two or more Congressional Districts

Districts Established August 2, 1967

ORGANIZATION CHART -- CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATIONS OFFICE

TAB C



COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 6, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Representative Ashbrook's Direct Mail Campaign

During the past few weeks, The Richard A. Viguerie Company, a leading political direct mail house, has been under intense pressure from the Ashbrook people to commence voter registration and fund raising mailings on behalf of the Congressman's candidacy. This pressure has been focused particularly on Viguerie himself, who is something of a conservative ideologue and who was keenly disappointed in losing the Nixon campaign fund-raising contract to Walter Weintz and Company, Incorporated, which is the RNFC's consultant in direct mail.

My contact with the firm, Steve Winchell, its Vice President, has been arguing against taking the Ashbrook contract, and has even hinted at resigning should one be signed. However, this morning he told me that Viguerie made the decision last night to go ahead, and that contracts were now being prepared.

The firm would do two series of mailings: the first would be to the conservative contributors file which the company has been building since the early '60s and which was the basis for the successful Goldwater, Rafferty, Carter, and Reagan fund raising efforts. There are over 3 million conservative contributors on this list, and only Viguerie has the list. These mailings will be anti-Nixon in tone.

The second series of mailings would involve voter solicitation appeals to every registered voter in New Hampshire and Florida.

Due to the damage such mailings could cause, we have been trying to get the firm not to accept the Ashbrook account. Although I have told Winchell that there will be Nixon vote solicitation mailings

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CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

available to Viguerie if it did not participate in the Ashbrook campaign, Richard Viguerie himself is more moved by ideological arguments than good business sense, and so far this tack has no effect.

However, it is proposed that we get two or three prominent conservative leaders now in the President's camp, who have used Viguerie before, to call Richard Viguerie and ask him not to accept the Ashbrook account. The most influential, of course, would be Senator Goldwater who was responsible for the beginnings of the 3 million name list. Also, Senator Thurmond and Max Rafferty, both former Viguerie clients, could call the company's president.

Recommendations:

1. That Jeb Magruder ask Senator Goldwater to call.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. That Harry Dent ask Senator Thurmond to call.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

3. That Lyn Nofziger ask Max Rafferty to call.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

✓ bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 19, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Office Space for Advertising Agency

T. W. Evans put us in touch with a prominent New York realtor who I have been working with in attempting to find suitable space for our advertising agency in New York. I have been to New York twice to inspect several possible locations.

We now recommend that we lease the entire 27th floor of the office building at 909 Third Avenue for \$12,000 per month for ten months, February 1 to December 1, 1972. This price includes partitioning, carpeting, draperies, cleaning, electricity, and all furniture (desks, files, chairs, etc.). The space consists of 25,000 square feet which is adequate for all our needs through November and would also accommodate our New York State Committee for the Re-Election of the President for two or three months until it gets in high gear.

Permission is therefore requested to enter into a lease for this space at a total cost of \$120,000.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached for your information is the write up which appeared on Tuesday, January 25, in the President's news summary describing the youth and celebrities who appeared at Senator Brock's press conference for the President.

Also attached is a summary of a briefing by Daniel Yankelovich. It is important to note that his perspective does not fit completely with the information which we have derived on our own. We would consider the "revolutionary" characteristics of youth to be less dramatic.

JEB S. MAGRUDER



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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Yankelovich Presentation on College Youth

Ken Rietz met last week with Daniel Yankelovich who has taken yearly polls of college youth since 1967. In his polls Yankelovich has found two "revolutions" going on simultaneously:

- 1) The Social Revolution - changing values on money, sex authority, how one lives, etc.
- 2) The Radical Political Revolution - a steady swing in sentiment during the 1960's in support of radical, even violent change. The Radical Political Revolution culminated in the violence around Cambodia and Kent State incidents. By 1970 the "revolution" had taken a "step backward" and Yankelovich's prognosis is that it will continue to retreat. They are no more happy with the way things are than they were before, but there has been a great turning inward, a return to private concerns that has superceded an involvement with public affairs.

The Social Revolution "marches steadily on" with a potentially massive impact on the politics of the future. Less and less do the college young find anything worth fighting a war over - extra-marital relations, abortion, homosexuality and casual pre-marital relations are less and less seen as morally wrong (sexual concerns are an area of massive change - almost an exact reversal of the percentages of 20 years ago). Two thirds of the college young in 1968 affirmed that, yes, hard work always pays off. By 1971 it was down to 39%.

Here, too, is another dramatic shift that Yankelovich predicts a charismatic leader will politically capitalize on in the next 2-5 years, the breakdown of the "work bargain" - work loyalty in exchange for straight economic benefits. Now they ask for more than money or a job with prestige. They ask for a satisfying job, a job that is "worthwhile," meaningful, and so on.

College youth have a very Marxian outlook as to how the country is going - 58% now say our country is democratic in name only as compared to 58% in 1968 who disagreed with that. 51% say the "real" power in the country lies in the giant corporations and 26% more say "financial institutions," a very similar idea. 10% say the power is in the hands of the general public and 26% say it is in the hands of the President.

While college youth have, according to Yankelovich, a radical perception of the society and how it works, they are essentially moderate in their prescription for change and conservative in their underlying beliefs and values. Most say work within the system. As Yankelovich remarked, this is a very unique outlook. They oppose institutions of all kinds but feel the necessity of working for change from within.

Politically, roughly 30% are considered "alienated" - ready to leave the country. Vietnam is still a key issue and the "single worst thing" that could happen to the President on campus is to have the belief on election day that the U.S. is remaining in Vietnam only to support the Saigon government. A key point here is that Yankelovich believes Vietnam (still tied in the campus mind to cold war policies) has been a mental block precluding the college youth from viewing as a new foreign policy the various international initiatives of the President. These young people have not separated the new efforts in Vietnam from past policies.

Fully 88% say they intend to vote. "Justice" and the "environment" are very emotional issues, code words that should be big on campus during the campaign, and the college young will probably vote more as a block than any other segment of the youth vote. Yankelovich does not expect the youth vote to roughly break even (only if Humphrey is the nominee does he expect this) and he believes the youth vote could well make the decisive difference.

He briefly noted that there are no more dramatic differences anywhere in the electorate than between college and non-college young people. Indeed there is far more difference between them than between the generations or races. The non-college values are changing much more slowly, though they are changing. Law and order is a major issue among them and the "psychology" around the fear of street crime he predicts will be a major issue in 1972 - much bigger than in 1968 or 1970.

JEB S. MACRUDER



UPI reports the GOP unveiled its show piece in their youth drive -- an array of 40 young celebrities from beauty queens, olympic stars to S. Carolina's 21-year-old legislator, who said she would thank RN "for all the young people of America" for his "backbone and initiative, for the peace talks, winding down the war and Court appointments" if he were present. Rep. Brock claimed there had never been an array like the young GOP committee in all political history, noting they will "actively participate in the campaign." Brock cited 350 "first time voters" who canvased 10,000 N. H. homes for RN over the weekend.... AP led a story: "Hoping not to be outdone by the Dems in the bid for the youth vote this year, Repubs unveiled their star-studded Committee of Young Voters for RN. Professional football players, olympic athletes, TV stars and leaders of numerous young people's groups were present."

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

January 31, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Cancellation of Appearance
by Senator Scott
in New Hampshire

Attached is the information you requested on the cancellation of the invitation to Senator Scott to appear before the Nashua Chamber of Commerce dinner in New Hampshire.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc: JSM working
JSM chron
JSM subject
HLP chron
HLP subject
JCH

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

January 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER
SUBJECT: Senator Scott

Bar

On Tuesday, January 11, 1972, we were advised by Allan Walker that the sponsors of the Nashua Chamber of Commerce dinner on February 23, 1972 had decided that Senator Scott was not an acceptable speaker. (We had been told by Allan on Monday, January 10th, that Senator Scott was acceptable and the Senator's office was advised accordingly by Ernie Minor on Monday, January 10.) On Tuesday, we were told that the only individuals that would be acceptable were: (1) Sec. Volpe, (2) Sec. Connally, or (3) Sen. Kennedy. We obtained a commitment from Sec. Volpe to speak at the event on Wednesday, January 12th, and immediately got in touch with Ernie Minor and asked him to advise Senator Scott. Curt Herge and I discussed the problem with Ernie on Wednesday, January 12th, twice over the telephone and once in the office.

On Monday, January 17th, we were advised that Senator Scott had announced to the press in Pennsylvania that he was scheduled to speak at this event. The announcement was made to the press on January 15th or 16th. We immediately got in touch with Ernie, who confessed that he had not had an opportunity to advise the Senator's office of the cancellation. He did so that afternoon (January 17). On January 28th, Curt discussed the matter with the Senator's A.A., Martin Hamburger. Hamburger confirmed that Ernie did not get in touch with him until January 17th. Curt then asked whether the Senator had agreed to accept an invitation to another New Hampshire event that we had asked Ernie to relay to the Senator on the morning of January 27th. Mr. Hamburger said he had not heard of the invitation and was pleased to take the information from Curt.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

January 31, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: New Hampshire Rally

Attached for your information is a report which was written for Ken Rietz by George Gorton, his college coordinator who arranged the rally, which he describes in his report. The rally at which Senator Weicker spoke took place on Saturday, January 22.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1/26/72

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TO: KEN RIETZ
FROM: GEORGE GORTON
SUBJECT: NEW HAMPSHIRE "YOUNG VOTERS" RALLY

Over 350 "Young Voters for the President" were at the rally, cheering enthusiastically. Casual observers brought the crowd to well over 400, as was reported by the press. We blocked one street and infringed heavily on another, the main street in town. The crowd looked very good.

Expenses included the cost of six buses (we cancelled one), two kegs of beer and some cokes, sound equipment and other minor costs. We put up 200 people in 2 dorms at New Hampshire College. They slept on the floor and there was no cost involved.

Workers were distributed to five of the largest cities in New Hampshire. They rang 10,803 door bells, contacting 5,574 people, 1,816 of which were for the President. Only 234 of those for the President were not registered to vote. We have addressed envelopes to the pro-Nixon unregistered, and compiled a list of names and addresses of the 2,391 undecided. A graph of the statistics is attached.

A particular problem area was the media. The New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President was handling the media for this event. They did not seem to take it seriously. Their media man tried to be co-operative, but obviously had too many other things to do. The press release went out late (the Thursday night before the Saturday morning event), and much of the media had not received it Friday afternoon. On Friday morning, I volunteered to call some of the media, and the N.H. Committee's media man, John Sias, gave me a list of 10 people to call. I called them and volunteered for more. At 4:10 p.m., John called back and gave me 10 more to call, including the big press from

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Boston (Globe, Traveler, WRLA, etc.). The response from these was: "We didn't get your release and its awfully late to be calling." The N.H. Committee to Re-elect the President didn't seem to be uncooperative so much as just too busy to be bothered with youth.

Attached are clippings we have found so far on the event. In addition it was on RKO radio, Boston, and was filmed for a documentary on National Education T.V.

Miscellaneous benefits at the rally include: Great public relations with locals, i.e. "its nice to see young people working for Nixon," and "youth can't be all bad." Our youth demoralized the McCloskey headquarters in Concord. It developed credibility for the idea that youth support the president. It increased morale among local troops.

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(202) 333-0920

February 4, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached for your information are samples of the first mailings in New Hampshire which were received in Republican homes on the 2nd and 3rd of February.

JEB S. MACRUDER



Attachments

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Re-elect the President

© 1972
Paid For By
Finance Committee
To Re-elect
President Nixon

**Re-elect
the
President**

© 1972
Paid For By
Finance Committee
To Re-elect
President Nixon

Re-elect the President

© 1972
Paid For By
Finance Committee
To Re-elect
President Nixon

NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

Lane Dwinell—*Chairman*
Mrs. Bedford Spaulding—*Assistant Chairman*
G. Allan Walker, Jr.—*Executive Director*

Mr. & Mrs. G. Faulkner
Star Route
Goshen, NH 03752

00011

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Faulkner:

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

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

Sincerely,



Lane Dwinell

Volunteer Card

Mr. & Mrs. G. Faulkner
Star Route
Goshen, NH 03752

**I WANT TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT
IN THIS WAY:**

- I want to do telephone campaigning.*
- I want to do door to door campaigning.*
- I want to work in a Headquarter office.*
- I cannot personally volunteer but my contribution of \$_____ is enclosed.*

Telephone_____

Signature_____

NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

Lane Dwinell—*Chairman*
Mrs. Bedford Spaulding—*Assistant Chairman*
G. Allan Walker, Jr.—*Executive Director*

Dear Fellow Republican:

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

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

Sincerely,



Lane Dwinell

Volunteer Card

**I WANT TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT
IN THIS WAY:**

- I want to do telephone campaigning.*
- I want to do door to door campaigning.*
- I want to work in a Headquarter office.*
- I cannot personally volunteer but my contribution of \$_____ is enclosed.*

Telephone _____

Signature _____

NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

Lane Dwinell—*Chairman*
Mrs. Bedford Spaulding—*Assistant Chairman*
G. Allan Walker, Jr.—*Executive Director*

Mr. & Mrs. L. J. Collins
Georges Mills, NH 03751

00027

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Collins:

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

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

Sincerely,



Lane Dwinell

Volunteer Card

Mr. & Mrs. L. J. Collins
Georges Mills, NH 03751

**I WANT TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT
IN THIS WAY:**

Telephone _____

Signature _____

- I want to do telephone campaigning.
- I want to do door to door campaigning.
- I want to work in a Headquarter office.
- I cannot personally volunteer but my contribution of \$_____ is enclosed.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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February 4, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: New York State

As you may recall, Bob Marik met last summer in Syracuse, New York with the people who were working on reapportionment with Speaker Perry Duryea. Last week, members of Mr. Duryea's political staff came to Washington to discuss with our committee avenues of mutual cooperation for the 1972 campaign. The people attending from New York were Henry Mund, Dick Scolaro, Charlie Webb, Jim Threatte and Lynn Mueller. Together, the function of this group is to develop a strategy for the Republican party to retain a legislative majority in New York in 1972.

They applied a statewide program in 1968 and 1970, and feel that they have been instrumental in maintaining a Republican majority. At the state level, they develop plans for the campaign in each Assembly district; provide demographic and past voter data; advise on public relations and advertising; and in cases of marginal Assembly districts, provide a campaign manager to execute the strategy which has been developed.

Their visit in Washington had been scheduled with Governor Rockefeller's knowledge and approval. Out of our discussions together, five areas of possible cooperation emerged:

1. Polling - They have engaged Bob Teeter to do the polling within the Assembly districts. Therefore, it should not be difficult to analyze our respective polling plans and to determine if there are areas where our efforts could be combined and the costs shared.

2. Direct Mail - Their plans for direct mail are very much along the lines that we have been developing, which are to identify the target voter demographically and then to be able to communicate with him by name and address. Bob Morgan, who is handling our direct mail, will be talking with his counterpart in New York about the possibility of sharing the cost of developing the mail list of all voters in the state to whom we might want to send direct mail.

3. Demographics - The reapportionment project in New York and the data base that was developed to achieve it, has been one of the most impressive efforts of its kind in the country. Their data and analysis capabilities represent the best information we have on the State of New York. Therefore, we are very interested in having access to that information and proposals are being developed to accomplish that.

4. Political Strategy in the State Campaign - Because this group has been active in two legislative campaigns across the state, and because they have exhaustively analyzed the voting behavior in the state in the process of reapportioning, they are uniquely qualified to understand where the voters are who will support the President and what would be the best approach to use with those voters. Their advice on matters such as locations for candidate appearances and events featuring other spokesmen, as well as the target groups for advertising and direct mail, could be extremely valuable.

5. Get-Out-The-Vote operations - To a very large degree, the same type of voter who will support a Republican candidate for the New York State Legislature will also support the President. In the State Legislative races, there will be about 30 or 35 districts which are marginal and which will receive the greatest emphasis from Perry Duryea's organization. These efforts will particularly focus on identifying all of the voters who will support the Republican candidate and to get out every one of those votes possible on Election Day. With an effort of that intensity in those Assembly districts, it would appear that there would be little benefit in our attempting to organize an overlapping get-out-the-vote mechanism for the President. Our most efficient strategy may be to assign such activities to the legislative group and to focus the work of Governor Rockefeller's organization in the remaining areas of the state.

Some of the areas of cooperation discussed above, such as polling, direct mail lists and demographics, would not be expected to be in conflict with the operations of Governor Rockefeller's state Nixon organization. Others, such as advice on campaign strategy and get-out-the-vote operations in marginal districts, would relate directly to the Governor's programs.

Although the group told us that they had carefully cleared their discussions with the Governor beforehand, I thought that you might deem it appropriate to check with the Governor more directly before

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- 3 -

we went any further in developing specific recommendations for cooperation between the Duryea group and our own.

Recommendation

That you contact Governor Rockefeller, or I contact an appropriate member of the Governor's staff, to fully explain the nature of our discussions with the Duryea group and to determine what sensitivities the Governor might have about that group's being closely involved in the Presidential campaign in New York State.

Attorney General contact Governor Rockefeller _____

Jeb Magruder contact member of Governor's staff _____

(After contact with Governor Rockefeller) proceed to develop specific recommendations for coordination with the Duryea group in the areas discussed above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

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January 31, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is a copy of Tom Korologos' memorandum to Clark MacGregor concerning the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee's prospects for the Republican Senate races.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR
THROUGH: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *BT*
FROM: TOM C. KOROLOGOS *TOMK*
SUBJECT: 1972 Senate Election Prospects

The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee has drawn up a rather interesting list of 1972 GOP Senate prospects which we thought might be of interest. .

1. Good chance of Democrats winning the seat (at least they plan to concentrate on these, send in money and manpower):

Miller
Mundt
Pearson
Curtis

2. Fair chance of Democrats winning, but not likely:

Allott
Cooper
Griffin
Hatfield

3. No chance of Democrats winning:

Baker	Hansen
Boggs	Smith
Brooke	Stevens
Case	Thurmond
Percy	Jordan's seat
Tower	

The Democratic Committee also lists the Democratic Senate seats as follows:

1. Good chance of Republicans winning:

Pell

2. Fair chance of Republicans winning:

Randolph

cont'd

Sparkman
Anderson's seat
Harris' seat
McIntyre

3. No chance of Republicans winning:

Eastland
Ellender
Gambrell
Jordan of North Carolina
McClellan
Metcalf
Mondale
Spong

I do not necessarily agree with the list but thought
you should know the opponents' views.

cc: H. R. Haldeman
Harry Dent
Jeb Magruder

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
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January 28, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Campaign Strategy Group

Three major areas were covered in the meetings of the Campaign Strategy Group this week: a review of the advertising program; the proposed Youth poster being developed by Ken Reitz; and strategy for entering primaries where the President is not required by law to be on the ballot.

Advertising

The advertising and promotional program being developed for the primary and pre-convention period is based on three principals:

1. To avoid slogans that are vulnerable to current events. For example, over emphasis on the theme of Peace in a slogan at this time could weaken that theme if major fighting broke out in Vietnam or elsewhere in the world before the summer.
2. To avoid slogans tied to a fixed point in time. Slogans which reflect the state of conditions at the present time with regard to world events or the economy, might be obsolete due to subsequent events between now and the General Campaign. In many areas, such as Vietnam and the economy, it is likely that the public's perception of conditions will be more favorable in the late summer than it is at the present time.
3. To avoid slogans which, in themselves, will provide targets for the Democrats in the primaries. We want to minimize the degree to which the Democratic contenders are running against the President in the primaries, and maximize the degree to which they are running against each other.

For the reasons outlined above, it is felt that the current slogan "Re-elect the President" is highly appropriate for the pre-convention period.

Proposals for three areas of advertising were presented.

1. Promotional materials (brochures, buttons and bumper stickers). See Tab A for a detailed outline.

2. Design of letterhead. Several letterhead designs were presented. The Strategy Group recommended the adoption of two of the designs for correspondence letterhead, and one for news releases.

In reviewing the letterhead question, a strong sentiment surfaced that the name of the campaign organization should be changed to COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT. A separate decision memorandum will be submitted on that point.

3. Creative Strategy. This area encompasses media advertising, primarily television, radio and newspapers. The strategy is outlined in more detail in Tab B. It reflects the thinking that has been developed in the Strategy Group over the past several meetings.

In the New Hampshire and Florida primaries, the advertising will follow the theme of "man in the street" statements of support of the President. These commercials will reflect people from all walks of life, interested in a variety of issues. The commercial for New Hampshire will be filmed in that state this week.

During the discussion of the total advertising strategy, several other ideas were mentioned. There is a book of pictures coming out soon on the First Family. It may be possible to obtain that in paperback in time to sell in Campaign Headquarters in the Fall.

Within a few days after the China trip, there will be a Bantam book published, covering the event. That also might be made a part of the promotional materials handled in campaign headquarters. The suggestion was also made that an article of clothing, such as a tee-shirt, bearing the campaign slogan, might be appropriate.

Now that campaign promotional materials are being developed in quantity, it is necessary that a systematic and complete review procedure be established to assure that all photographs of the President and promotional text be approved by the appropriate people. Such a system will be established as quickly as possible.

Youth Poster

In an earlier Strategy Group meeting on December 27th, Ken Reitz presented a plan for printing and selling a series of posters during the campaign. There would be a central poster, highlighting the President and the campaign theme. Other posters, reflecting separate issues, would be designed to fit around the central poster, if one desired to display them together. Working with a poster vendor, Ken incorporated some of the comments of the Group at the first meeting. At this week's meeting, a three-dimensional model of the central poster was presented. The group had several suggestions as to the specific selection of photographs to be used in the poster. Arrangements will be made for the White House photographer to see the model so that he can make more specific suggestions as to what photos will be best to use. When the design is finalized and the poster produced, it was suggested that recycled paper be used, and that the poster should be sold rather than given away. The primary market will be young voters. There are no plans for producing the poster in time for the New Hampshire and Florida primaries.

Strategy in Non-mandatory Primaries (Tab C)

Harry Flemming presented an analysis of primary races where the President's name does not automatically appear on the ballot. In four states (Indiana, North Carolina, New Mexico and South Dakota) the delegates are pledged to the winner of the Presidential preference primary. Because the decision has been made not to have favorite sons stand in for the President, it will be necessary to list the President on the ballot if those delegates are to go to the convention pledged to his nomination. Our campaign efforts in the primaries would probably be minimal except in cases where greater activity would build a better organization for the general campaign. All of these four primaries are in May and June.

There are five other primaries where Presidential candidates are not listed by pledged delegate slates. These slates must be accepted in writing by each candidate. The states, with the primary dates in parentheses, are:

Rhode Island	(April 11th) - may be shifted to May 23rd.
Massachusetts	(April 25th)
District of Columbia	(May 2nd)
Ohio	(May 2nd)
California	(June 6th)

Similarly, in these states, it would be useful for us to have some activity in the primaries to test the campaign organizations at an early date. Further, campaign funds spent during the primaries are not included in the quotas fixed under the new Campaign Spending Law for the general election.

The guidelines that the Strategy Group felt should be followed are that in those states where the primary is binding on the delegates, either the name of the President or a pledged delegate slate, whichever is appropriate, should be on the ballot. We should operate whatever primary campaign is necessary to win decisively and is constructive toward developing an organization for the general election. Where the delegate selection is non-binding, we should have no activity, because to do otherwise could be seen as contrary to the President's expressed intention of no active campaigning before the convention.

Miscellaneous

Harry Dent and Fred LaRue voiced their opinions that Wallace is not likely to run on the American Independent Party ticket in the general election. This judgement is based on several factors. Tom Turnipseed, Wallace's polling advisor in the national campaign in 1968, has since left the Governor's staff and is now in South Carolina, where he has a close relationship with the Republican party. Among Wallace's staff, there appears to be no strong voices urging him to mount another national campaign. They may be concerned that another unsuccessful effort could endanger the Governor's chances for re-election for a second term. In his last election in Alabama, he won by only a narrow margin.

In addition, the campaign funds collected in 1968 have been spent and Wallace's finances are at a low level. If Wallace were to do well in Florida so that major sources of funds open up again, he may run in the Fall. However, the thinking now is that the probability is lower than most people believe.

Harry Dent feels that if the President takes a stand on bussing, Wallace will have lost the only leverage issue that remains to him. Whether Wallace runs or not, it is possible that bussing may be the most important issue in the 1972 campaign. The Richmond decision may reach the Nixon Supreme Court before November. If that decision

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- 5 -

is supported by the President's new appointments, it may cause significant reaction among conservative voters. The new school year will be starting during the height of the general campaign. Therefore, any local crises relating to bussing will almost automatically become part of the campaign rhetoric. It is also possible that by that time, concern over Vietnam and the economy will have abated to the point where the public is ready to focus on a new issue.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

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COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

PROMOTION MATERIALS

A

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

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

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

This document concentrates on the pre-convention materials.

Objectives

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

Theme

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

This theme serves to:

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

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

Recommended Materials

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

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

Summary

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

COST ESTIMATESMaterials Production

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

CONFIDENTIALCREATIVE STRATEGY STATEMENTCommittee to Re-Elect the PresidentJanuary 12, 1971

B

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

THE SITUATION

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

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

CREATIVE OBJECTIVES

The creative objectives in the primary states will be to:

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

CREATIVE STRATEGY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 21, 1972

TO ATTORNEY GENERAL JOHN MITCHELL
 FROM HARRY FLEMING
 SUBJECT PRIMARY RACES

The following is a recommendation of the strategy that we should follow in the 20 states conducting primaries in 1972. For reasons of affidavit or tradition, we have committed the President to enter the following:

NEW HAMPSHIRE	March 7
FLORIDA	March 14
WISCONSIN	April 4
TENNESSEE	May 4
NEBRASKA	May 9
MARYLAND	May 16
OREGON	May 23

There are four states which have Presidential Preference Primaries that directly affect the commitment of the delegates elected. They are:

INDIANA	May 2
---------	-------

Results of the preferential primary are binding on delegates for the first ballot.

NORTH CAROLINA	May 6
----------------	-------

The effects of the preferential primary are binding on the delegates for the first ballot. Further, any candidate receiving 15% or more of the state's primary vote receives a proportionate share of the delegates.

NEW MEXICO	June 6
------------	--------

The effect of the preferential primary is binding on the delegates for the first ballot. Delegates shall be allotted to the two top candidates in proportion to the vote they received in the primary.

SOUTH DAKOTA

June 6

The effect of the preferential primary has been construed in the past to bind the delegates for three ballots. However, the recent Attorney General's opinion seems to indicate that this is a moral obligation only (this could make an interesting fight at the convention).

RECOMMENDATION -- That we initiate a program for these states and enter these primaries.

Five states elect pledged delegates states. They are:

RHODE ISLAND	April 11
MASSACHUSETTS	April 25
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	May 2
OHIO	May 2
CALIFORNIA	June 6

RECOMMENDATION -- That we work closely with each of these state organizations, carefully select the delegates and that the President sign off in the appropriate manner so as to guarantee pledged delegates from these states.

Three states conduct primaries which are purely advisory and have no binding effect on the delegates to the National Convention. They are:

ILLINOIS	March 21
PENNSYLVANIA	April 25
WEST VIRGINIA	May 9

RECOMMENDATION -- That we do not enter any of these states, as it would involve an unnecessary expense on our part with no real benefit resulting.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By EP WARS, Date 1-29-72

January 28, 1972

see

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

For your information, Paul Jones, our Executive Director of the Black Vote, has been in contact with Ben Holman and he feels that we can definitely benefit from his involvement. Jones informs me that he will be having further discussions with Ben Holman concerning the role which he might play.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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needn't
see

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

February 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Wire Services

As Cliff Miller and Jeb Magruder have discussed with you, we are building up speed in the information area, primarily for two purposes:

1. To allow us to respond quickly to partisan attacks on The President from the other side when the need arises.
2. To begin to establish a twice daily news report for top campaign staff.

For those purposes and in line with the comprehensive communication memorandum developed late last year, we have ordered and have installed three teletype machines in the press section. They are the UPI National A Wire and City Wire and the AP National A Wire. The cost of the AP A Wire, which is difficult to obtain because it generally is restricted to the media and to government bureaus, is costing us \$100 a week. Because of my long-time ties with UPI, however, I was able to cut a deal that will give us both of their wires for a total of \$3,000 for the entire campaign, which works out to about \$45 a week per wire.

Later, as we get well developed in the audio-video area, we will need the UPI Radio Wire, which forms the basis for a clear majority of broadcast news reports around the Nation. But that is at least a month away.

DEVAN L. SHUMWAY

bcc: Mr. Magruder
Mr. Miller
Mr. Odle

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
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(202) 333-0920

February 3, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Youth Citizenship Fund

Attached is a memorandum from Ken Rietz regarding the reorganization of the Youth Citizenship Fund organization. It would seem that we would have an opportunity to make some inroads with this group.

With your approval, I will authorize Ken to begin working with their Director of Field Operations.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

January 31, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

KEN RIETZ *WR*

The Youth Citizenship Fund, an organization formed to register young people, has just undergone a major organizational change. The executive director has been replaced because he was becoming too political. They feared an investigation by IRS.

In the reorganization, YCF has hired one of our people to be (interviewed on his own after I told him about the job) director of field operations. He will decide in which counties they will conduct registration efforts and then be charged with carrying them out. This will allow us to pretty well decide when YCF should be active.

Since YCF concentrates on non-college young voters, it would seem we can now get them active whenever it would benefit us.

*H
needn't
see*

February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Director of the Transient Vote

As you remember, you had requested a report on the Transient Voter which was prepared and forwarded to you in October. One of the people who helped to put the report together was Richard McAdoo.

We have interviewed several candidates for the position of Executive Director for the Transient Vote, and McAdoo appears to be the best. Dick has met with Fred Malek, Ed DeBolt, Bart Porter, Peter Flanigan, and me. He worked in this area in the '68 campaign, reporting to Ray Bliss at the RNC.

McAdoo is currently with Security Pacific Bank in Los Angeles, and he is more than willing to take a leave of absence and join our staff.

It is recommended that an appointment be set up for me to bring McAdoo in to see you.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

JSM:HLP:nlv

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

*H
Needn't
see*

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February 4, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Governor Reagan's announcement that he was accepting the Chairmanship of the campaign in California was made at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles. All networks and both wire services were present. California State officials and Party representatives present were: Lt. Governor Reinecke, Attorney General Younger, Comptroller Flournoy, National Committeewoman Eleanor Ring, National Committeeman Tom Reed, State Chairman Livermore, and two representatives of the Republican leadership in the State Legislature.

The Governor read his prepared statement (attached at Tab A) in which he announced the selection of Len Firestone as Finance Chairman; Lyn Nofziger as Executive Director; and Gordon Luce who will also serve as his special assistant in the campaign working with the campaign leadership at all levels.

The questions were relatively easy and the Governor fielded them marvelously.

He particularly hit hard at Muskie. When a reporter asked how the Governor felt about the latest Vietnam peace proposal the Governor said the American people ought to really get behind the President now and say that we are united in our support of his peace plan. He also said that Senator Muskie "might have at least given the Government of North Vietnam the chance to reply" before Muskie rejected the proposal.

The Governor said that if the Democrats make the war in Vietnam an issue in the election they will do so at their own peril. "It's their baby," he said.

CONFIDENTIAL

When he was asked about the Ashbrook challenge he described that as part of the political process, but added that he was not "in sympathy" with those who carry their objections to the point of entering the primary elections against the President.

The Governor was asked if he intended to work for the renomination of Vice President Agnew. He replied that in this situation the President gives an indication of his wishes, but Reagan said "Spiro Agnew is my personal choice" and when he was asked if he would accept the Vice Presidency the Governor replied with a flat "no."

To a question about George Wallace the Governor said, "I'm happy to say that since he has entered into the Democratic primaries he is somebody else's problem not ours."

The one area of disagreement which developed was welfare but the Governor handled himself expertly. He said in reply to a reporter's questions which indicated a disagreement between him and the President on welfare that there are "a great many areas of agreement."

The coverage was exceptionally heavy and I think we should be very pleased.

Van Shumway attended the press conference and this report comes directly from him. He reported that he was quite pleased with the event. Van also is working to get a major attack on Muskie inserted into Reagan's speech tonight to the California Newspaper Publishers Association.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

FOR RELEASE, 11:00 AM, PST, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4:

CONTACT: Lyn Nofziger
(213)670-8111

LOS ANGELES, February 4 -- Ronald Reagan disclosed today that he will head the campaign in California to re-elect President Nixon.

Reagan also announced that industrialist Leonard Firestone will be Mr. Nixon's Finance Chairman for the state.

The Governor made the announcements in a press conference at the Century Plaza Hotel, flanked by other of the state's leading Republican figures.

Reagan said the presence of the group reflected the fact that the Republican Party in California is unified behind the President.

On the platform with Reagan -- or sending messages of support -- were Firestone, Lt. Governor Ed Reinecke, State Treasurer Ivy Baker Priest, State Comptroller Houston Flournoy, Attorney General Evelle Younger, Putnam Livermore, State Chairman; Gordon Luce, State Vice Chairman; Mrs. Eleanor Ring, National Committeewoman; Thomas C. Reed, National Committeeman; Ralph Rosedale, President of the County Chairmen's Association; Bob Monagan, GOP leader in the State Assembly; John Stull, GOP Caucus Chairman in the Assembly; Fred Marler, Senate GOP leader and John Harmer, Senate GOP Caucus leader.

Reagan said that Luce will also serve as his special assistant in the campaign working with the campaign leadership at all levels. He said the Nixon campaign committee, to be known as the California Committee to Re-Elect the President, will work closely with the Central Committee in the areas of registration and getting-out-the-vote. He said the Committee will begin to function immediately.

(more)

"This is not just another election," the Governor said. "This is an election that will match a solid and consistent performer against a group of politicians who have been on every side of almost every issue.

"This will match the man who has wound down the war, reformed the draft, balanced the Supreme Court and come to grips with the hard, knotty problems of inflation and unemployment against those who are known more for their destructive criticisms than for any worthwhile accomplishments."

Reagan also disclosed that Lyn Nofziger, Deputy Chairman of the Republican National Committee, will leave the Committee to serve as Executive Director of the California campaign.

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN

February 4, 1972

I'm sure that none of you is really surprised as to why we are here today. There has been a lot of talk in recent months about the upcoming Presidential campaign, and about the roles various people will play in it.

From the very first I have felt that the Republican governor of California should head the re-election campaign of the Republican President. Therefore, I am announcing today that I have accepted the chairmanship of the campaign in California to re-elect the President.

We have met here today -- my friends here on the platform and I -- to discuss the campaign for the re-election of President Nixon and its proposed leadership.

I am pleased that they also are in this campaign and have pledged themselves to an all-out effort for the President's re-election. I think you can judge by those present just how broad the President's support is in California.

Beyond those here I have received, literally thousands of pledges of support for the President from all over the state and from a few persons who could not be here today.

One person in particular I am sorry cannot be here. That is my good friend, Leonard Firestone, who has agreed to serve as State Finance Chairman for the campaign.

As most of you know, Len has been one of the outstanding leaders of the Republican Party in California for many years.

In order to put a campaign together it is obvious that we need more than

(more)

just a chairman and a finance chairman. Therefore I am asking Gordon Luce to directly assist me in this campaign.

Gordon, of course, is a former member of my cabinet and now is the President of San Diego Federal Savings & Loan. He will be helping in his capacity as a private citizen and will work with the campaign leadership at all levels.

Finally, I want to announce that Lyn Nofziger, who has been working at the Republican National Committee, will serve as Executive Director of the campaign.

The Committee will be known as the California Committee to Re-Elect the President and as such it will seek the vote not only of Republicans but also Democrats and Independents. Nevertheless, we hope to work closely with the State and County Republican organizations especially in the areas of registration and getting-out-the-vote.

Finally, we hope to have a full fledged headquarters opened by March 1st. We will let you know when that opens.

Now before I open this up to questions I want to predict that Richard Nixon can carry California and can be re-elected. One thing about this election -- it is not just another election -- it is an election that will match a solid and consistent performer -- Richard Nixon -- against a group of politicians who have been on every side of almost every issue in the last few years. This will match the man who has wound down the war, reformed the draft, balanced the Supreme Court and come to grips with the hard, knotty problems of inflation and unemployment against those who are known more for their destructive criticisms than for any worthwhile accomplishments. I think the American people know that, and that is why I think Richard Nixon will be re-elected.

February 10, 1972
6:00 p.m.

NEW HAMPSHIRE SPEAKING EVENTS PRIOR TO MARCH 7, 1972

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
January 13	Headquarters Grand Opening New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President, Concord	Sec. Volpe
January 21 and 22	Voter Registration Rally, Manchester	Sen. Weicker
January 29	New Hampshire State Bar Association, Concord	Sec. Richardson
January 31	Testamonial Dinner for Sen. Cotton, Lebanon	Sen. Scott
February 4	New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President Fund Raising Dinner, Concord	Sec. Morton
February 4	Claremont High School Student Body, Claremont	Sec. Morton
February 4 and 5	Keene State College, Franklin Pierce College, New Hampshire College and St. Anselms College	Cong. Kemp Cong. Steiger
February 8	New Hampshire College Student Body, Manchester	Mr. Ruckelshaus
February 8	New Hampshire Clean Waters Association, Laconia	Mr. Ruckelshaus
February 8	University of New Hampshire and Plymouth State	Mr. Droge
February 9	Dover High School and Central High School	Mr. Droge
February 9	Joint Session of New Hampshire Legislature	Mr. Ruckelshaus

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
February 9	North Conway and Conway Rotary Clubs Ladies Night Dinner, North Conway	Sen. Brock
February 12	Rockingham County Republican Dinner Dance, Pelham	Sec. Romney
February 12	Coos County Republican Party Lincoln Day Dinner, Berlin	Sec. Richardson
February 12	Amherst Lincoln Day Dinner, Amherst	Sec. Romney
February 15	Strafford County Republican Committee Lincoln Day Dinner, Dover	Sen. Packwood
February 18	Grafton County Republican Committee Lincoln Day Dinner, Woodsville	Mr. Dent
February 18	University of New Hampshire Annual Alumni Class Conclave and Student Body, Durham	Mr. Rumsfeld
February 18	New Hampshire Business School, Durham	Mr. Rumsfeld
February 19	East Rockingham County Republican Party Dinner, Exeter	Sen. Baker Mr. Buddy Ebsen
February 21	Cheshire County Republican Committee Lincoln Day Dinner, Keene	Mr. Finch
February 21	Dartmouth College Student Body, Hanover	Mr. Finch
February 22	Business and Industry Association of New Hampshire Dinner, Concord	Mr. Flanigan
February 23	Nashua Chamber of Commerce Annual Dinner, Nashua	Sec. Volpe

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
February 23	Chamber of Commerce Dinner, Manchester	Mr. Klein
February 25	Kearsarge High School	Cong. Biester
March 3	Appreciation Day (Statewide campaigning and evening rally)	Sec. Richardson Sec. Volpe Gov. Rockefeller Gov. Peterson Gov. Meskill
		Sen. Cotton Sen. Scott Sen. Weicker Sen. Brock Sen. Cook
		Cong. Wyman Cong. Cleveland Cong. Ford Cong. Morse Cong. Steele

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Handwritten:
H. R. H. H.
see

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(202) 333-0920

February 3, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Political Issues Group Meeting
Thursday, February 3, 1972

Those invited to attend the meeting were:

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

Those in attendance were:

Anne Armstrong	Tom Evans
Bob Brown	Roy Goodearle
Harry Dent	John Lehman
Senator Pete Dominick	Van Shumway

Mr. Caspar Weinberger, Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget, briefly presented some talking points on the budget. Following the budget discussions, two additional topics were discussed: recent peace initiatives, and the next two months of efforts at fund raising.

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Budget Deficit

The major criticisms will inevitably be related to the budget deficit. Though Mr. Weinberger explained that there were a number of significant reasons which required that the Administration accept a larger deficit this year, nevertheless, such a deficit violates many of the principles to which the Administration is committed and Mr. Weinberger expects that there will be further severe criticism. Mr. Weinberger outlined several important arguments with which to respond to political problems related to the budget deficit.

Though the Administration did not want to accept a deficit, unemployment was even less acceptable. In explaining the budget deficit it is important to note that we have not abdicated responsibility for controlling inflation since we are using the fiscal tools which are available. Additionally, the current budget is required only by the special circumstances of a year in which it is important to stimulate employment and the economy. The President is totally committed to the concept of the full employment budget which would be balanced under 4% unemployment. This point Mr. Weinberger feels might be made more strongly than it has been thus far.

There are, additionally, several points which should be made about the current budget. The programs which have been increased are programs with significant political appeal: the fight against crime and drug abuse, the increase in social security benefits, and environmental programs. All are programs which are important priorities and have broad appeal. Also, many older programs which contribute to increases in the total budget expenditures are beyond the control of the Administration. Finally, of those expenditures which the Administration could control, the annual percentage of increases in expenditures has been decreased from 9% annually at the end of the Johnson Administration to 4% this year.

On the revenue side, there were lost tax revenues from the two tax cuts which have taken place in the past four years. Had they been restored, they would have practically made up the difference and caused a balanced budget.

Budgetary Priorities

There are several topics which are reflected in the budget which might also be stressed in speaking with Republican audiences. Defense expenditures for strategic research and development have been sharply increased despite the fact that the de-escalation of the Vietnam War and increases

in the HEW budget have put human resources expenditures above that of the military. Other topics include the decrease in the federal work force of more than 4% since the President took office. And, the budget also shows that the Administration has not eliminated its commitment to the space program since that is being funded at 3.2 billion for the next year.

Related Topics

Finally, there are two related topics which may cause difficulty this spring. The withholding tax increase, combined with the fact that withholding schedules have been set too low during the past year, will mean that sizable taxes will hit many Americans on April 15. Secondly, provisions of some legislation will add to the impression that the Administration is holding back vast sums of appropriated monies. In fact, this Administration's record is better than that of previous administrations though the impression of the general public may be otherwise.

Foreign Policy

After Weinberger's briefing, several questions concerning the aid plan to North Vietnam were addressed to John Lehman of the National Security Council staff. In answer to the question why offer aid to North Vietnam there is the argument that the proposal is only part of the total package of peace initiatives. The actual offer for aid to North Vietnam has not actually been extended at this time. It is part of the total plan, an inducement for settlement. The concept of the offer is to provide a Marshall plan for Indo-China to aid in recovery should the North Vietnamese come to Paris to actually negotiate a settlement.

Fund Raising

The final discussion of the meeting concerned the difficulties raised by overlapping fund raising activities. Senator Dominick explained his difficulty in attracting supporters to his March 8 fund raising dinner since there are simultaneous efforts being conducted by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. The RNC representatives also expressed some difficulty in raising funds and pointed out that there were going to be inevitable conflicts due to the 60 days provision of the new fund raising law.

HARRY S. DENT

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

February 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Planning Mechanism for the Republican National Convention

Bill Timmons has suggested, and we concur in his thinking, that a planning session be set up on a regular bi-weekly basis (10:00 a.m. Monday at 1701) whereby all planning for the convention can be done in an organized and efficient manner. Various firm recommendations from these sessions regarding the convention would then be presented to you for approval.

Bill Timmons, Dick Herman, and Jeb Magruder would be the permanent members of this group. Rob Odle would be the staff man for it. Other appropriate people from the White House, RNC, Congress, etc., would be asked to attend the meetings based on the subject matter for each meeting.

A suggested calendar for making the key decisions is attached.

Recommendation:

That you approve the general concept of a regular planning session every other Monday as outlined in the attached calendar.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Prior to the first meeting February 28 Bill Timmons feels it will be necessary to formally "anoint" Rep. John Rhodes as Temporary Chairman of the Platform Committee. Rhodes, as you know, has been cleared and approved by the President, Vice President, Ehrlichman, Dole, Gov. Milliken, Gov. Williams, Rep. Ford, Sen. Scott, and Bryce Harlow.

It is suggested that a meeting be held for this purpose in your office, or, if you felt a more informal setting would be appropriate, we could meet for a lunch or dinner. Present would be Rhodes, Dole, Ehrlichman, Harlow, Timmons, Herman, and Magruder.

CONFIDENTIAL

February 5, 1972

The purpose of this meeting would be to discuss platform personnel, operating procedures, timing, and goals.

Recommendation:

That a meeting be held in your office to formally commission Rhodes as platform chairman:

Option A: Timmons would ask Dole to call this meeting and act as host.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Option B: Magruder would extend invitations to the meeting in your name.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

✓ bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

1972 CONVENTION DECISION CALENDAR

1. Monday,
February 28 SELECTION OF TEMPORARY PLATFORM COMMITTEE
To be announced by Dole on Wednesday,
March 1, at meeting of RNC and the GOP
National Leadership Conference.
Invited: Dole, Rhodes, Ehrlichman, Harlow

2. Monday,
March 13 TENTATIVE DETERMINATION ON CAMPAIGN LOGIS-
TICS, ARRANGEMENTS AND BUDGET
No public announcement required but contracts
may be let based on decision.

3. Monday,
March 27 TENTATIVE APPROVAL OF PROGRAM, THEME AND
TIMING (NOT PERSONNEL)
No public announcement required.
Invited: Flanigan, Moore, Cooperman

4. Monday,
April 10 OPEN

5. Monday,
April 24 REVIEW 1ST DRAFT OF PLATFORM
No public announcement required.
Invited: Dole, Rhodes, Ehrlichman, Harlow

6. Monday,
May 8 REVIEW POSSIBLE CREDENTIALS AND RULES
PROBLEMS
No public announcement required.
Invited: Cramer, Dole

7. Monday,
May 22 FINAL DETERMINATION ON CAMPAIGN LOGISTICS,
ARRANGEMENTS AND BUDGET
No public announcement required.

8. Monday,
June 5 SELECTION OF CAMPAIGN FLOOR LEADER AND
DEPUTY FLOOR LEADER; DETERMINATION OF
CONVENTION FLOOR OPERATIONS
To be announced by Mitchell before June 26.

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9. Monday, June 19 SELECTION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN, PERMANENT CHAIRMAN, KEYNOTERS, PARLIAMENTARIAN, SECRETARY, CHIEF READING CLERK
To be announced by Dole on June 26 at a meeting of the full Arrangements Committee.
10. Monday, July 3 FINAL APPROVAL OF OFFICIAL PROGRAM; INDIVIDUALS WHO APPEAR, TIMING ETC.
To be announced by Dole before July 15 when printing starts.
11. Monday, July 17 SELECTION OF NOMINATOR, SECONDEES, INTRODUCER, COMMITTEES TO NOTIFY AND ESCORT FOR BOTH PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT
To be announced by Mitchell as politics requires or held as surprise for impact.
- and
12. Monday, July 17 DETERMINE PARTICIPATION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT IN CONVENTION EVENTS
No public announcement required.
13. Monday, July 31 REVIEW FINAL DRAFT OF PLATFORM; UPDATE BRIEFING ON CREDENTIALS AND RULES PROBLEMS
No announcement required.
-
- Friday, August 4 ADVANCE PARTY FOR LOGISTICS ARRIVE SAN DIEGO
- Friday, August 11 KEY CAMPAIGN DIRECTORS AND ADDITIONAL SUPPORT PERSONNEL ARRIVE SAN DIEGO
- Friday, August 18 MITCHELL, CAMPAIGN AND WHITE HOUSE STAFF, DELEGATES ARRIVE SAN DIEGO

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

February 5, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: San Diego Office

In the attached memorandum, Bill Timmons suggests that this Committee open an office in San Diego to coordinate our activities there and help us get ready for the August convention. The office and necessary personnel would cost no more than \$10,000.

An "executive director" of the office would be necessary for three months beginning June 1. Chick Cudlip has indicated he would like to have this position, and Chick is agreeable to Timmons if he is the man you want.

If, however, it made no difference to you who was selected as executive director, Bill would probably select someone who had proven talents in the logistical area.

Recommendation:

That a San Diego office be opened March 1 at a total budget of \$10,000.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

That the executive director be:

Chick Cudlip _____

Someone who Bill Timmons would select with your approval _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

✓ bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

January 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: WILLIAM TIMMONS *BT*
SUBJECT: San Diego Office

As a proposal, what do you think of opening a campaign office in San Diego? The main function will be to coordinate our activities with the National Committee Office, Civic Committee Office and California GOP Host Committee office -- all of which is functioning.

The Office and personnel would be paid by your Committee but supervised by Gordon Luce and provide service for me.

The Youth Division has already hired Mike O'Donnell in San Diego and he could work out of this facility. We'd need a secretary and Ann Ramsey is interested in the position. Attached is her resume. She has worked for Lee Nunn and Herb Kalmbach who, I believe, will endorse her.

In the summer we could beef up the office with Chick Cudlip as our man on the scene. There follows a budget recommendation.

SAN DIEGO OFFICE

- One secretary for six months (March 1 through August) at \$500.00	\$3,000
- One executive director for three months (June 1 through August) at \$1,000	\$3,000
- Office expenses: rent, telephone, utilities, rentals for six months at \$500	\$3,000
- Contingencies	<u>\$1,000</u>
TOTAL:	\$10,000

RESUME

NAME: Ann Milne Ramsay

ADDRESS: 290 Polhemus Avenue
Atherton, California 94025

P. O. Box 243
Moose, Wyoming 83012

TELEPHONE: (California Address) 415-366-1355

(Wyoming Address) 307-733-2203

{ Wash, DC #
296-7829

DATE OF BIRTH: March 22, 1944

MARITAL STATUS: Single

EDUCATION:

Castilleja School, Palo Alto, California
1948-1961

Activities: President of Sophomore Class
President of Senior Class
Student Council and Executive Committee
Honor Roll and Honorable Mention for
Academic Achievement
Athletic Teams

Pine Manor Junior College, Wellesley, Massachusetts
1961-1962

Activities: Dean's List and High Honor Academic
Achievement Award
Tennis Team

Transferred to Occidental College, Los Angeles, California
Was graduated in June, 1965 with a major in Political Science

BUSINESS COLLEGE:

Business Instruction School
475 Melville Avenue
Palo Alto, California

TYPING SPEED: 75 words per minute

SHORTHAND SPEED: 90-100 words per minute

BUSINESS EXPERIENCE:

October 23, 1971 to December 9, 1971 - Secretary, Office of Donald Rumsfeld, Director, Cost of Living Council, New Federal Office Building, Washington, D. C. I resigned from this job on December 9, 1971.

January 20, 1971 to March 31, 1971 - Secretary to Lee R. Nunn, Dinner Director, Republican Kick Off '72 Dinner held on March 24, 1971 in Washington, D. C.

November 17, 1970 to January 8, 1971 - Arrangements Secretary for the 1971 Governor's Inaugural Committee in Sacramento, California. The Program was under the direction of Mr. Holmes Tuttle, Los Angeles, California.

January 5, 1970 to May 12, 1970 - Secretary to Lee R. Nunn, Dinner Director, Republican Senate-House Majority Dinner held on March 11, 1970 in Washington, D. C.

August 27, 1968 to November 11, 1968 - Office of the Nixon-Agnew Finance Committee, New York City; secretary to Leland M. Kaiser, an Executive Vice Chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee.

From September, 1967 to August, 1968 I worked on several projects including the San Mateo College Bond Drive (Executive Secretary) and again served as Mr. Kaiser's secretary while his permanent secretary was on vacation.

May 1, 1967 to September 4, 1967 - Office of Leland M. Kaiser, San Francisco, California, with the exception of the period from June 12 through July 6. While in Mr. Kaiser's office, I acted as his personal secretary while his permanent secretary was on an extended vacation. During the balance of the time, I acted as secretary for the "Citizens For A Residence For California Governors" project, of which Mr. Kaiser was Finance Chairman.

Between June 12 and June 30, I was granted a leave of absence to work as a secretary in the Office of Governor Stanley K. Hathaway of Wyoming on the arrangements for the Republican Governors' Conference at the Jackson Lake Lodge. During the Conference, I served as one of two secretaries to the Governors.

January 1, 1967 to March 7, 1967 - Executive Secretary for the San Mateo School Bond Committee, San Mateo, California. (The School Bond Election was held on March 7, 1967.)

January 1, 1966 to August 15, 1966 - Receptionist and Secretary in the Office of the late Congressman J. Arthur Younger in Washington, D. C.; September 1, 1966 to November 8, 1966 - Managed the Campaign Headquarters Office for Congressman Younger; November 9, 1966 to December 31, 1966 - Secretary in District Office of Congressman Younger in San Mateo, California.

REFERENCES:

Mrs. Glenn Carroll, 1315 Bel Aire Road, San Mateo, California 94402
Miss Irene Dynes, 720 Seneca, Palo Alto, California
Mr. and Mrs. Leland M. Kaiser, 82 Elena Avenue, Atherton, California 94025
P. O. Box 9, La Quinta, California 92253
Mr. Herbert Kalmbach, 550 Newport Center Drive, Newport Beach, California
Mr. and Mrs. Lee R. Nunn, Rt. 1, Cave City, Kentucky 42127
Committee for the Re-election of the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20006

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

January 11, 1972

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

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Alex Armendaris -- Candidate
for Spanish-Speaking Director

Attached is a resume on Alex Armendaris, along with a brief think piece Alex put together for our discussion and review.

Alex is currently a Consultant at OEO, engaged in reviewing OEO programs directed at urban and rural Spanish-Speaking communities in the United States. Prior to this, he has been quite active in several political campaigns.

He has held interviews with Bart Porter, Bill Marumoto (White House staff), Bob Finch, Fred Malek, Chuck Colson, and me. All reports are extremely positive and Alex appears to be our man. We strongly recommend that he be brought on as our Spanish-Speaking director.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you agree to see Alex Armendaris as soon as your schedule permits.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

254-7990
OFFICE

ALEX ARMENDARIS

HOME ADDRESS : 210 Wakewa
South Bend, Indiana 46617
219 232 6804

PERSONAL : Born April 25, 1930 Chicago, Illinois
Height 5'9" Weight 160 lbs. Health good
Married

EDUCATION : St. Phillip High School, Chicago, 1944-48
Chicago Technical College, Chicago, 1948-50
Bryant Stratton Business College,
Chicago, 1954-55

MILITARY : U.S. Navy Communications Specialist, 1950-54

LANGUAGE : Spanish

BUSINESS
EXPERIENCE : Remington Rand, 1950-66 (with Naval leave)
Positions: Assistant Manager, Chicago office;
Manager, Madison, Wisconsin, office;
Manager, South Bend, Indiana, office
Achievements: Each move represented a
promotion to a more extensive territory.

Wheelabrator Corporation, Mishawaka, Indiana
1966-68
Position: Assistant Corporate Public
Relations -- Environmental and Pollution
Control Information Director and Industrial
Market Analyst; Industrial Market Research
Achievements: initiated and successfully
completed marketing studies; developed
environmental-information program which
informed corporate executives of various
legislative and corporate positions on
environmental pollution

Al Bagley and Associates, South Bend,
Indiana, 1968-70
Position: Account executive in charge of
marketing and management division
Achievements: Promoted to Vice President
of company

Campaign Management Services, Inc.,
1970 - May 1971
Position: Originator of the company, a
Management Consultant firm
Achievements: see attached

President's National Advisory Council
on Minority Business Enterprises,
Washington, D.C., June 1971 - August 1971
Position: Consultant

Achievements: successfully completed an
intensive study of Spanish-speaking
communities in the United States with
regard to their response to various
federal agencies engaged in minority
enterprise activities. The program
operated from the perspective of testing
government sensitivity to Spanish-
speaking minorities by engaging in a study
which included in-depth visits to seventeen
(17) major cities' government-subsidized
delivery systems in order to analyze
problems, failures, and successes of the
various minority enterprises. Counseling
and advising the Council in order that it
become more responsive to such communities
was required.

Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.
September 1971 - present

Position: Consultant

Achievements: currently engaged in reviewing
OEO programs directed at urban and rural
Spanish-speaking communities of the
United States in order to analyze their
effectiveness and make appropriate
recommendations

ALEX ARMENDARIS --Political Experience

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CLIENT</u>	<u>CAPACITY</u>	<u>OFFICE & TYPE OF ELECTION</u>	<u>ELECTED</u>
1971	Jack Nevius	Campaign Manager	Congressional Race, District of Columbia	NO
1970	Jack F. Kemp	Campaign Manager and Consultant	39th Congressional District New York; General	YES
1969	South Bend Model City Program	Consultant	Organization of Program for City of South Bend	In operation
1969	Donald Lukens	Campaign Manager and Consultant	Governor of Ohio Direct Primary	NO
1969	Rep. City Councilmen	Consultant	Councilmanic Redistricting, City of South Bend	Plan adopted
1968	Nixon for President Committee	Indiana Political Liaison	President; General	YES
1968	Richard Nixon	Sub-Headquarters Dir.	South Carolina Delegation Republican National Convention	YES
1968	R.J. Andrae	Campaign Manager and Consultant	St. Joseph County Auditor; Primary	YES
1968	D.M. Barrett	Campaign Manager	3rd Congressional District, Indiana; Primary	NO
1968	Will Erwin	Consultant and Director 3rd Congressional District EDP System	3rd Congressional District, Indiana, General	NO
1968	St. Joseph County, Ind. candidates	Campaign Director	All Rep. Offices; General	Republican control

continued

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CLIENT</u>	<u>CAPACITY</u>	<u>OFFICE & TYPE OF ELECTION</u>	<u>ELECTED</u>
1967	Lloyd M. Allen	Campaign Manager	Mayor of South Bend; General	YES
1966	Elmer Sokol	Campaign Manager and Consultant	Sheriff, St. Joseph County, Indiana; General	YES
1966	Robert Ehlers	Campaign Manager	3rd Congressional District, Indiana, General	NO

ALEX ARMENDARIS
Political offices held

Director, South Bend Young Republicans, 1960

Executive Vice President, South Bend Young Republicans, 1961

Third District Chairman, Indiana Young Republican Federation, 1962

Executive Director, Indiana Young Republican Federation, 1963

Chairman, Indiana Young Republican Federation, 1964-66

de facto Member Republican State Central Committee, 1964 -66

Vice Chairman, National Federation of Young Republicans, 1965-67

Chosen Young Republican of the Year in South Bend, 1962 -63

SPANISH SPEAKING FOR NIXON -

Alex Armendaris - December 17, 1971

A special campaign effort directed to Spanish Speaking voters in the coming election can prove to be very profitable for the Nixon campaign. It is my opinion, however, that it will take careful planning, starting immediately.

The basic premise held by some, that Nixon can win the Spanish Speaking vote, is pure folly, if that means that even a slight majority of the Spanish Speaking vote will be on the Republican side. It is, however, possible to make a significant gain for Nixon on the Spanish Speaking vote which is normally counted on by Democrats. To accomplish the breakthrough, we must adopt a plan designed to take the right message to the right place.

An analysis of available data should be adequate preparation to design a campaign plan on how to appeal to the Spanish Speaking vote.

The Spanish Speaking population can be narrowed down to a specific group that is most likely to vote for Richard Nixon. Specially designed appeals would be carried out by public officials, prominent citizens and others supporting Richard Nixon. Those carrying the appeals to the voters would be carefully chosen for receptiveness. All major speeches in behalf of or supporting the President, appealing to Spanish Speaking voters, would be cleared for sensitivity and effect to the group being addressed. Areas of "responsive groups" would be identified well in advance to insure planned appearances.

In short, we would be conducting the best possible campaign by communicating specially designed messages to selected audiences, who we feel are prepared to receive these messages.

A study that I have proposed to OEO, "Study of Value Structure Among Several Spanish-American Cultural Subgroups", will yield valuable information to make Federal anti-poverty programs more effective in meeting the needs of the Spanish-speaking poor. Beyond providing information for anti-poverty administrators, however, the results of this study can be of immense value to help us design a campaign strategy capable of capturing the Spanish Speaking vote in 1972.

Generally speaking, there are two types of survey research: one measures the superficial or surface attitudes, the other attempts to probe and identify the "value structure" of an individual. In the context of this project, the difference between these two types of survey research is most crucial.

Survey research to capture surface attitudes will be unreliable in terms of predicting the voting behavior next November, which is too far removed in time. Moreover, that type of survey would tend to yield unreliable information, since the questions are usually phrased in terms of simplified "either-or" hypothetical propositions which tend to influence the outcome of the survey.

The survey I have recommended is designed to probe deeper and identify the "value structure", thus producing results which more accurately reflect Spanish Speaking persons' longer lasting opinions and orientations. This survey data will be extremely valuable to us because it will more effectively indicate voter behavior next November.

The "Spanish Speaking Survey" that I have proposed is not a political survey. It is a survey designed to identify the "value structure" of the Spanish Speaking American. The information gathered in the survey will be of vital importance to the campaign because it will allow us to identify those issues with which the Spanish Speaking voter identifies. Hence, we can zero in on the themes which occupy the Spanish Speaking voter's mind. Then, we can phrase arguments in a manner which will strike a sympathetic cord in the voter and influence the behavior of the voter where it counts: at the polls.

Briefly stated, the approach would be as follows. The survey would seek to discover deep-rooted and enduring values in each subgroup (Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc.) of the Spanish Speaking. Once these values are identified, a campaign strategy can be constructed in which we would direct the thrust of the campaign (in selected Spanish Speaking communities) toward identifying with the same value structure as those in that area. Thus, the first part of our approach is two-phased: first to identify the values and second to communicate effectively President Nixon's values or at least his articulated position as being the same as the target vote.

The effective impact of value-based messages is enhanced by presenting images, policies, and programs related to the basic action-oriented community desires and by couching these messages in the vocabulary and favorite phrases of the target group. The personal value information generated from this survey will come complete with the detailed language in which the target group actually voiced its own value orientations.

In concert with this overall approach, it is an intention to systematically locate and identify the prime areas wherein our appeals should be made. With the use of the 1970 census data, and with the electoral objectives in mind, we can develop a profile of key Spanish Speaking areas with the proper formula. In this way, we can concentrate this special campaign effort on those areas where a slight shift in voting patterns can affect the outcome of the election.

By working from an identified value structure and special campaign appeals specifically designed to the desires, expectations, and hopes of the selected Spanish-American groups of interest, this plan will succeed.