

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>
14	7	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: The Record RE: Convention meeting- July 25, 1972. 7 pg.
14	7	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: "President Nixon- Now More Than Ever" instead of "President Nixon- Help Him Finish the Job." 1 pg.
14	7	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: L. Higby To: Gordon Strachan RE: Campaign slogan. 2 pg.
14	7	6/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: The Record RE: Haldeman meeting with Peter Dailey, Phil Joanou, Bob Taylor on June 2. 5 pg.

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14	7	6/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert M. Teeter To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Furthur study of slogan "President Nixon. Now More Than Ever." 3 pg.
14	7	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Wave II- National Telephone Survey. Page of handwritten notes attached. 2 pg.
14	7	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Wave II- National survey and New York study. 1 pg.
14	7	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Eight Christian Youths. 2 pg.
14	7	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Wave II campaign surveys- Teeter materials for Chapin. Two pages of handwritten notes attached. 15 pg.

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14	7	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: RNC Convention. 2 pg.
14	7	7/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: William Timmons To: H.R. Haldeman RE: '72 Convention personnel. 1 pg.
14	7	7/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: William E. Timmons RE: White House personnel attending the Republican National Convention. 2 pg.
14	7	7/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: William Timmons To: Clark MacGregor RE: '72 Convention. 3 pg.

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14	7	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: William E. Timmons To: Clark MacGregor and H.R. Haldeman RE: '72 Convention Rules Fights. 3 pg.
14	7	12/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: William E. Timmons To: Bob Dole RE: Do Committee recommendations. 3 pg.
14	7	12/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: William E. Timmons To: Bob Dole RE: DO Committee Recommendations. 6 pg.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE RECORD

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Convention Meeting - July 25, 1972

On July 25 at 2:30 p.m. Haldeman met with Chapin, Moore and Carruthers to discuss the status of Convention planning.

Goal of Convention:

Chapin described the goal of the Convention to be pursuit of the blue collar, laboring, common man worker-types, rather than a party for the fat-cat Republicans. Bob agreed and added that we should also be after youth, but the youth should be pursued as people not as "youth".

Gala

Chapin asked about the Gala on the Sunday night before the Convention and whether it should be Black Tie. All recommended to Bob that it not be Black Tie and Bob agreed that it should be changed from Black Tie to business suits. Even if Bill Timmons has to tell Beull Berenson that the First Family will not attend if the event is Black Tie, the event must be changed.

Telethon

Chapin opened by saying that no one likes telethons. Bob responded by saying that the Jackie Gleason Telethon would be a terrible idea because it wouldn't allow any of our Celebrities to be presented. Bob made the point that there were two purposes to a telethon: 1) to Showcase our

Celebrities, and 2) to raise money to show that the Republican Party is not in a fat-cat situation with its "\$10 million slush" fund. Carruthers was opposed to anything that smacks of a telethon because there is such a mess in terms of scheduling. As an alternative, Bob suggested a one hour "Ed Sullivan" type event -- that is, controlled and organized. Carruthers agreed saying that the show should be one hour and done on tape. Chapin will come back to Haldeman with a decision memorandum on whether to do a one hour television show. Included in the decision memorandum should be the reference to Bob Wood of CBS who suggested the availability of the Sunday night before the Convention at 9 or 10 p.m. The total cost would be \$500-600,000 including \$200,000 in time costs and \$300-400,000 in production.

Bob emphasized that the financial pitch on the telethon should be for funds under \$10 and emphasized that we (the Republicans) need the money. The possibility of using Jackie Gleason as the Master of Ceremonies to locate the event in Miami Beach was suggested and received favorably. The possible use of Gleason and Sinatra as well as someone like Sammy Davis was suggested. Also, Bob Hope joking with Bigg Crosby was suggested. Before submitting the decision memorandum, Chapin must check the one-half dozen top stars to find out whether the telethon should even be considered. This is to be in today by early afternoon.

#### Television and Problems at the Hall

Carruthers discussed four problems at the Hall. The first was credentials for TV people. Bob suggested five different color special passes for each session with time limits on them. The second problem concerned floor cameras. Carruthers will talk to Bill Timmons about increasing the number. Dick Herman has been resisting. The third problem concerned the lighting. Carruthers said additional money would be required to raise the commitment by Herman from \$5,000 to \$12,500. By adding this money, we are purchasing a degree of influence over the lighting at the Convention. We do not have complete control of the lighting in the Hall (a 100,000 decision and mistake). Carruthers will just have to continue negotiating with the networks. Carruthers said the fourth problem was TV coverage of outside activities. He said the nets won't cover some events such as the Youth event on Tuesday night

that we might want covered. Bob suggested that we obtain a mobile unit which Carruthers estimated would cost between \$30-40,000. Bob suggested that Chapin contact Clem Stone, who is building a mobile unit, and see if something could be worked out.

#### Democrats for the President

Bill Timmons arrived and Chapin asked what the Democratic event in Philadelphia was. Bob said that nothing was set and that it was merely offered as a possibility so that Mayor Rizzo could hold a rally in Philadelphia instead of having to appear before the Republican Convention. Another possibility that Bob mentioned was to have all the Democrats for the President meet at Connally's home in Texas and have a remote TV pickup there. Bob agreed to call Connally to review Democrats for the President participation at the Convention. In particular, Bob was going to check on Rizzo, Floyd McKissick and Charlton Heston with Connally. Connally would definitely run this entire Democrats for the President event. Bob suggested that all the Democrats for the President might want to be on one plane, arrive for 20 minutes at the Convention with Connally and then depart. Chapin asked whether the Democrats for the President would be doing any press conferences, and Bob said he would check with Connally.

#### Convention Program

Concerning the recommended program, the attached sheet which all had at the meeting was revised. Monday night remains the same, that is, a First Lady night. Tuesday night is changed so that the nomination, balloting and demonstration for President can occur. Then there is the possibility that the President will go to the Youth Rally between 9:30 and 10 p.m. Tuesday night. This information is to be kept in the strictest confidence. Bob told the group with special emphasis towards Timmons that if the possible Presidential participation in the Youth Rally leaked to anyone, it would not happen. At the Youth Rally it was decided that just hand-held lights and informal camera arrangements would be

made. Julie and Tricia would be used as a front and Carruthers will get into the Youth Rally format on a very low key basis. The second event on Tuesday night will be the Democrats for Nixon, with prime time for Connally at 10 or 10:30. Wednesday night will include the "Nixon, the Man" film, the Vice Presidential nomination, balloting and demonstration.

#### Vice President's Role

The Vice Presidential acceptance speech may lead to a Vice Presidential introduction of the President, followed by the President's acceptance speech. Bob will check with the President as to whether the Vice President should introduce him.

#### Eisenhower Participation

Chapin advised Bob that Mamie Eisenhower will not attend the Convention. Instead, a videotape will be prepared by Carruthers. David Eisenhower's participation is not important according to Bob, but Chapin will submit a decision memorandum on whether David Eisenhower should introduce the videotape of Mamie.

#### Convention Rules Changes

Concerning the July 24 memorandum from Bill Timmons regarding all the rules changes, that matter was postponed with Bob emphasizing to Timmons that a much larger group would have to get together and that Bob would be merely an observer rather than a participant.

#### Seconding Speeches

Concerning the seconding speeches for the President, it was agreed that either 15 at 40 seconds each or 10 at a longer time segment could be done so long as the limit of ten minutes was adhered to. Bob approved the concept of several seconding speeches but not the particular details. He asked

Chapin to have the writers prepare possible statements by all the seconders. Bob mentioned that the Mexican-American seconder should speak in Spanish as the Italian ethnic should speak in Italian. Asked whether Wally Hickel should second the President, Bill Timmons pointed out that he was a delegate on the floor from Alaska. Bob approved Hickel seconding the President if he were correctly scripted. Chapin was to check Stans on getting to Hickel.

#### Ann Armstrong's Role

Concerning Ann Armstrong's role, it was noted that although Dole should bring the gavel down opening the Convention on Monday morning, Ann Armstrong should be the person presiding on Monday evening. She should also handle many of the "non-substantive" aspects of the Convention.

#### Nomination of the Vice President

Bill Timmons will meet with Roy Goodearle and advise him that the program has been set and that the suggested people at this time are the young Mayor, possibly Chaffee, and a third person as yet undecided. Bob said the seconders should not be Javits or Percy.

#### Goldwater's Role

Concerning Goldwater's role, all agreed that he must be on the program. It was finally agreed that Goldwater might be the one to introduce Connally and the Democrats for Nixon with a sort of funny line about the difference between now and 1964. Also, it was noted that Alf Landon should be invited to the Convention and placed in a high visibility box. The point is to emphasize the difference between the Republicans who treat a former candidate well and the Democrats who screwed Johnson.

#### Introducer of the President

Bob agreed to check with the President as to who the introducer of the President should be as well as the introducer of the Vice President should be.

Miscellaneous

- 1) Paul Keyes - He should not be behind the Platform as Chapin at one time suggested. Instead, he should probably be at Miami Beach writing quips that can be fed to various people during the Convention.
- 2) Bill Timmons will have a plan of alternate programming, press conferences and caucus teams.
- 3) Timmons is having a problem with Ehrlichman and Rose regarding a list of spokesmen at the Platform but believes they can resolve the matter.
- 4) Reagan should not be the introducer of the President because he is Temporary Chairman.
- 5) Rockefeller will nominate the President and he is locked.
- 6) Bob said that Ed Brooks should not be the Moderator as that would be too obvious, but he should have a role in the panel of keynoters.
- 7) Concerning Dick Lugar, Bob mentioned that he should probably be included in the panel.
- 8) Concerning Governor Evans, there was general agreement that he might be useful because he will read a script given to him.
- 9) Bob noted that Bush cannot be used. Neither can Red Blount per Haldeman and Bob jabbed at Timmons for making such a stupid suggestion.
- 10) When Timmons mentioned that there were very few ethnics and women, Bob suggested that Timmons work directly with Balsano and Franklin to get this worked out.
- 11) Concerning the Heritage Gala on Sunday night, Bob suggested that Mrs. Nixon attend while the girls do the regular Gala.

RECOMMENDED PROGRAM

Monday

P.M.: Reagan/Keynote/  
Film

PN Tribute with  
Film

Tuesday

RN Nomination  
Balloting  
Demonstration

President to Youth  
Rally (just use  
hand lights, etc.  
Use Julie & Tricia  
as front.  
Carruthers into their  
format.

Wednesday

Nixon Film

VP Nomination  
Balloting  
Demonstration  
VP Acceptance Speech

VP Introduces RN

RN Acceptance Speech

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

"President Nixon - Now More Than Ever"  
instead of "President Nixon - Help  
Him Finish the Job"

A review of my notes of the June 2 meeting with the November Group and discussion with Peter Dailey regarding the selection of "President Nixon - Now More Than Ever", covered these points:

- 1) "Help Him Finish the Job" is a too-tired, hackneyed slogan which has been used by so many Judges and Congressmen;
- 2) "Help Him Finish the Job" was popular among those interviewed because it was so familiar to them from other campaigns;
- 3) The theme "Help Him Finish the Job" is implied and emphasized in all the creative advertising. Dailey says it will be one of the underlying, dominant creative themes; and
- 4) "Help Him Finish the Job" doesn't shorten well -- the result is "Nixon Help" instead of "Nixon Now".

GS/jb

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 25, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY L

Bob asked me to check with you --

What was the original reason we went against this slogan of "Help him finish the job"? There must have been some negatives he says, but is unaware of it.

7/26 Baileys -

- not a slogan, a creative theme, an implied state in everything we do
- too tired a slogan, used by Conroy + Judge's
- strong bland in all creative messages
- too hackneyed
- Does it admit well & Nixon Now / Nixon Help.

Polling May 26-28

	<u>Top</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Bottom</u>
President Nixon. Help Him Finish the Job	49%	29%	21%
President Nixon. Now More Than Ever	29	48	23
For Americas Future. Re-elect the President	28	50	22
Keep it Going. Re-elect the President	27	46	27
America Needs President Nixon	24	51	24
President Nixon. He's Turned it Around	21	18	61
Its Gotta Be Nixon	14	44	42

same

lower

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE RECORD

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Haldeman Meeting with  
Peter Dailey, Phil Joanou,  
Bob Taylor on June 2

At 11:30 on June 2 Bob met with the three top men from the November Group (Dailey, Joanou and Taylor) for a two hour discussion of the status of the campaign advertising and the documentary.

Dailey opened the meeting by informing Bob that the November Group now consisted of 25 advertising people based in New York with 5 here in the District. Dailey mentioned that the November Group had established its advertising and organizational credibility within the campaign and that in his opinion his relationship was smooth and amicable.

Dailey mentioned that he planned to control finances on a week by week basis as well as to challenge the developing interpretation of the law that requires the candidate's image and voice in the advertising. Dailey said this was their only hang-up with the law at the moment.

Phil Joanou turned the meeting over to Taylor to begin discussion of the creative strategy. Bob had read the creative strategy statement and had been through the large black book outlining their approach. Taylor made the following points:

- 1) The President is a man of action;
- 2) He has long-range vision and a master plan;
- 3) The President is a man who inherited a mess in 1968;
- 4) He has courage, decisiveness and dedication;

5) Issues -- Taylor posed the issue of whether the campaign should be run as a "man campaign" or whether as an "issue campaign". Bob indicated that he inclines toward the "man campaign" but believes that the issues should be used to sell a man. He does not believe you can get points only on the merits of the issues.

Most ads will not usually involve the President, rather people will be used to tell the President's story.

Bob also emphasized that the advertising men should not worry much about selling the President as a warm, lovable human being as this has been tried before, generally unsuccessfully. Rather use China trip pictures and don't become obsessed with personal profiles.

Bob also likes the use of video tape rather than film to give an appearance of immediacy. Dailey agreed.

The discussion shifted to the basic theme line for the campaign. Nine alternatives were offered. They are:

1) Re-elect the President. Bob mentioned that all the news referrals are to President Nixon which prompted Dailey to mention the second slogan,

2) Re-elect President Nixon. The third is,

3) It's Got to be Nixon. The fourth is,

4) President Nixon - He's Turned It Around. Bob was somewhat positive on this one.

5) Keep It Going, Re-Elect the President. Bob opposed this one because the opposition would use inflation, the War, etc., because "it" is too easily used against us. The sixth suggestion was,

6) President Nixon - Help Him Finish the Job

7) For America's Future Re-Elect the President, while the eighth was

8) America Needs Nixon or America Needs President Nixon. Bob believes these are too standard as campaign themes. The ninth suggestion was

9) President Nixon - Now More Than Ever which can be abbreviated to Nixon Now. Bob thought these slogans were good and should be considered the top candidate.

Taylor next reviewed the research on the campaign theme which was somewhat indecisive.

Taylor then shifted to the 60-second TV ads which he showed on boards. The first concerned China and Bob's comments were that:

- 1) These should be no toast to Mao picture;
- 2) There should be no picture of drink or toasting with Chou;
- 3) And there should be no troop review. Rather, the President's handshake with Chou should be emphasized along with the great differences between the countries. Also, footage of the President hard at work.

The second ad concerned 1968 problems which Haldeman thought was good.

The discussion shifted to the advantage of 60-seconds, and Dailey mentioned that both networks are pushing the candidates toward 5-minute spots because there is an outstanding rate that the networks are preparing for this type of spot. Dailey is not too happy about the 5-minute spots because the issues become rather boring. In any event, Dailey will have both 30-seconds and ID spots in reserve for use should the negotiations with the networks over the 60s and 5-minute spots change. Bob agreed with Dailey that for the 5-minute spots it would be better to use existing footage and edit it rather than try to create footage. For example, on the environment a 5-minute spot could open with Ruckelshaus, cut to existing Nixon footage with Ruckelshaus' voice over, and then Ruckelshaus close.

The next ad concerned bureaucracy. Bob suggested that they might want to use the community disaster like the L.A. earthquake as well as the West Virginia mine disaster as an example of how the President has streamlined Government. Bob also suggested that on the bureaucracy subject, there would be

pretty good chance that Connally would be available after the Democratic Convention to do commercials and discuss his role on the Ash Commission.

On the Older American ad, Bob suggested that they drop the language on "take off fixed incomes" as this would scare older Americans.

On the Vietnam ad using the chart of troops in Vietnam, Bob thought that the President's Inauguration should be made more obvious and that the years should be added at the bottom to emphasize the increase in troops pre-RN.

The negative ads on McGovern were considered very effective by Bob. The back and forth routine on amnesty, abortion and pot were particularly effective. Bob suggested that other negative ads might want to include McGovern's voice as well as other Democratic comments on McGovern. He thought an especially effective spokesman would be a non-candidate's voice like Mansfield.

Generally, Bob thought the types of ads presented were fine and that they make the points necessary. Bob directed Dailey to develop a program to utilize the "Nixon Now" chant for possible use in rallies.

Bob also suggested that Dailey obtain some footage of the Polish reception for advertisements in the Chicago area.

Although Bob was aware that Chapin did not want to discuss the documentary, Bob asked Chapin to join the group as he wanted to cover the notes that he had made on the documentary materials submitted by Chapin. It was Bob's view that the documentary on Pat Nixon was good, but suggested that there be more footage of the President and Mrs. Nixon together to emphasize the partnership point. He also questioned whether the suggested interview with Mrs. Nixon would be as effective as with a third party who could say better things about her.

Concerning The Presidential Years documentary, Bob thought that the theme of a man of thought and planning was too passive and suggested instead the use of courage and leadership, etc., to stimulate interest.

Concerning the Keogh script, the discussion of the war should make the point that the number of troops was escalating until Richard Nixon became President. The emphasis must be that Vietnam could have been much worse and that they may want to pick up the line that he would be a great President but couldn't get elected, so as to drop the "loser" language.

As to the roadblocks, Bob told him that he didn't think they should use the President alone in frustration because it makes him look ineffective. Instead, use the signing ceremony for the eighteen year old vote. There is some excellent footage of a Mexican girl crying that should be used. He also thought that footage of the phone call to the Moon was better than the footage of the President greeting the astronauts. More emphasis should be placed on the vision aspect, that is, so much remains to be done and the continuing challenges, instead of failure, frustration and disappointment. SALT should be used not as a solution but as a start.

Concerning the documentary, Portrait of a Man, Bob originally thought that it was a bad idea to use anecdotes, insights or reminiscences, but as he read the script he was coming around more to accept that theory. Dwight made the argument that we should at least try a long-term, Paul Keyes-type interview with the President on film as it would be worth the risk and was part of Wolper's suggestion. Bob indicated that it might be possible to do this with the President before the trip to California or out in California.

The meeting concluded at 1:30, and after they had left Bob mentioned to me that he did not want to show all the advertising to the Ehrlichman political group now but rather wait until further down the line. At that point he would plan on telling them what the campaign advertising is to be and just as a final check against any giant negatives that had not been thought of.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 20, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN

ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By *Empire* NARS, Date 1-14-80

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER *R. M. Teeter*

SUBJECT:

Further Study of Slogan "President  
Nixon. Now more than ever."

We were requested to conduct further research on the slogan, "President Nixon. Now more than ever." to determine whether the slogan was understandable and not too sophisticated in the context of other competing slogans. To study this question two group sessions were conducted in Detroit with ticket-splitters, over 35 years of age, with middle incomes, and non-college. At each session we discussed several slogans including those used by McGovern and Wallace in the primaries. This memorandum will outline the results of the research.

In both of the groups the slogan was understood to refer to unfinished work in progress. The groups pictured the President's past record and looked to the future. This slogan embodied the concept of "help him finish the job." The slogan was not interpreted by anyone as anti-McGovern.

The statement also contained a sense of urgency not perceived with the other slogans. The use of the word "now" seemed to express this urgency. Also, the slogan had a certain emotional appeal which the other slogans did not seem to possess. In discussing the slogans, both groups stated that the words "we need" Nixon were mentally added to the phrase "Now more than ever."

Each group responded favorably to the various ways the slogan was presented for banners, buttons, and bumper stickers except the groups did not like the manner of execution for the outdoor billboard proposal. With regard to the materials, the groups readily understood the connection between the contraction "Nixon. Now" with the longer version. The shortness of "Nixon. Now" has very strong appeal to lower middle class ticket-splitters. They view it as simple, direct, and easy to understand. Regarding the outdoor proposal, the groups did not like the use of a black background and the reproduction of the President's picture. Apparently because of the color and the picture the groups felt the outdoor proposal portrayed the President as sinister. Nevertheless, the concept of using the slogan in the outdoor medium was readily accepted.

In general, the groups responded well to the slogan, "Now more than ever." Every person in the group seemed to be able to give the statement some personal meaning. The slogan did clearly communicate its message. It is important to note that the participants generally ranked the slogan between the other alternatives studied. Our earlier study showed that "Now more than ever." ranked behind the statement, "Help him finish the job." Comparatively, however, the slogan under consideration expressed more urgency and emotional appeal and also clearly embodied the concept of "finish the job." If other ideas which convey the unfinished job are merged with "Now more than ever," the result should be a powerful communication device. To answer the original question raised, we see no reason to reject the slogan as not being understandable and too sophisticated.

CONFIDENTIAL

SELECTED VERBATIM COMMENTS

It has emotional appeal.

We need him more than ever.

He's done a good job before and things aren't getting any better, so we still need him.

He's been good and we still need him to finish the job.

We need him more now than we needed him before.

He's started so many things and he would like to follow through.

It's perfectly clear. It's not a complete thought, but it's clear.

It starts you thinking more. Starts your imagination thinking over things he has done, has not done, will do, or will not do . . . of his past record.

I like the word "now" because we need to take action now.

It means we need him more than ever. He ain't going to do anything in the next four years anyway.

I think there's more in it than "now more than ever" because there are the things . . . that he's planning for the future and why change horses in the middle of the stream when the trouble's still there.

We do need him if he will finish the job he started.

I think that's assuring. It's saying stick with what you know. You don't know what you're going to get if you don't have Nixon. I think it's reassuring in that way, -- that we know what we have and can go from there.

Really, it doesn't matter too much to me what the slogan is. The name -- when I see the name I conjure up my own thoughts about what the man is, what he has done, what he stands for. Any slogan that's put after his name or any other name, really doesn't mean that much to me because the old saying "paper lies still, you can put anything on it."

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Wave II - National Telephone Survey

You asked why the Wave II National Survey was conducted by telephone instead of by the personal interview technique used for Wave I.

Discussion with Bob Teeter, Jeb Magruder, and Harry O'Neill (ORC) disclosed the following. The decision to conduct a telephone national survey was made on Teeter's strong recommendation to John Mitchell around May 20. The decision was reached orally and was not covered in memoranda that you or I received. Magruder recalled that there had been consideration given to the possibility of no national survey because of the importance of the key states and the cost of a national personal interview study.

When Magruder returns from Dallas tomorrow, he will check John Mitchell to determine if the Magruder/Teeter recollection of the decision corresponds with Mitchell's.

Harry O'Neill of ORC told me that he was advised by Teeter on May 25 that the national survey would be done by telephone instead of personal interview because of budget limitations.

GS/jb

H.

- G check + discover when pollsters conducted Nat'l survey by telephone instead of personal interviews from from sts w/ pers interviews oversample

Tetter  
Baham

O'Neill - Thur, May 25.

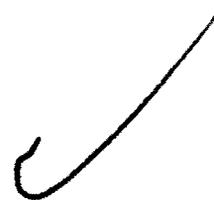
- When Tetter signed contracts, they cut costs + firmed up
- Wave I - personal + brand new sample. not a composite plus oversample
- \$52,750 for NJ, Conn<sup>(S)</sup> + Calif

Tetter - made beef wanted only as a benchmark; only 4 who do one at all.

- JM made decision - but only decision who to conduct a Nat'l at all - not by memo
- Strong recommen by Tetter that only telephone.

- Almost didn't do Nat'l survey

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON



ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Wave II -- National Survey  
and New York Study

The National Survey part of Wave II was conducted by telephone June 16-26. The National Survey is not a sum of the individual states' surveys plus an over-sample. Hence, the two-week delay in New York results to await the effect of McGovern's primary campaign in New York did not delay the results of the National Survey.

You have already received the New York trial heat results for RN-McGovern (49-42-9). The trial heats with Wallace and the entire New York survey results are scheduled to arrive July 28, according to Teeter.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Eight Christian Youths

To answer the questions raised in the attached memorandum, Ken Riets reports that:

1) It is true that MacGregor did not meet with the Eight Christian Youths at 9:30 a.m. because MacGregor attended the Cabinet meeting. Instead Ken Riets met with them from 9-11:30 a.m.)

2) MacGregor met with the group at 11:30 a.m., then took them to lunch at the Executive Mess. Lunch lasted until 1:45 p.m. Both Senator Brock and Congressman Steiger attended the luncheon with MacGregor, Riets, and Lea Jablonsky, Mitchell's former secretary;

3) The specific follow-up is:

- (a) All Eight are sending lists of contacts who will work for us in key states;
- (b) Suggested youth events for spokesmen are being prepared by the Eight;
- (c) The 175,000 young church leader list will be forwarded with the Eight's recommendations on the 100-200 key leaders. Simultaneously, the Eight will recommend the best approach to the 175,000 -- whether by letter, telephone call, or personal contact;
- (d) The most helpful individual will be Harry Williams, Billy Graham's man;

- (e) The Campus Crusade group, especially Josh McDowell and Paul Esbelman, will also be very helpful;
- (f) The Youth for Christ foursome, which is older and somewhat challenged by the Campus Crusade group, will be less helpful;
- (g) Riets characterizes his follow-up as top priority, though nothing will appear publicly yet because of the desire to avoid any publicity at this time; and
- (h) The contacts from here will be Ken Riets personally and Lea Jablonsky.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Wave II Campaign Surveys -  
Tester Materials for Chapin

Bob Tester discussed schedule opportunities based on the Wave II results with Chapin, Parker, and Walker today. He did not give any specific trial heat or other figures to this group.

Tester prepared the attached summary material for Chapin/Parker, but will not give them the materials without your express approval. The materials list the importance of each of the issues within the state by media markets. For example, Vietnam is 6% more important in Mobile/Meridian (54) than in Montgomery (48). The second column, under "RN" shows the percentage that rates the President favorably on his handling of the issue. For example, 53% of the people in the Dothan area give the President a positive rating on his handling of Vietnam, while 38% give him a negative rating.

The ratings (A, B, C, D, E) by state and media market reflect the President's comparative polling strength against McGovern in certain media markets. For example, the President is "doing pretty well" (A) in Los Angeles, "fairly well" (B) in San Diego, and "poorly" in Chico-Redding (E).

These Tester materials coupled with demographic maps showing areas of high ticket splitter locations in the key states will show Chapin/Parker which issues to emphasize in what areas.

Recommendation:

That Chapin/Parker receive copies of the attached materials.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

GS/jb

7/25-

Chapin, Parker, Teeter, Walker  
Concentrate in areas of hi-ticket  
splitting; higher incomes, higher educ, 25-45  
Party appeal a real anti-  
Ticket splitting map of Ill.  
Couple hrs to go thru maps of  
T-S strength + vote location  
Recomm go into area of hi T-S.

→ Copy - T-S for Parker

Won't go to rallies but would  
listen to debate + Man in Arena

Sheet for each state -

- DC thru Bureau, C wants  
copies + Teeter believes needs it
- Who to convert B to A or E to E.

Teeter - shore up strong areas now,  
Go to Media Mt of highest # of potential  
Pa - if one trip to Pitts; if 2 go to Phil  
Early travel must be substantive,  
incl ant to Pitts + wave  
by McG this camp must have  
central, hopeful theme - not  
yet erupt to say things have improved.

The 2 big issues are UN + Inflation  
Cal - biggest issues - UN, (Taxes, Inflation, Un)  
A, B, C, D - Cal is B.

## Tester

Ex

54 = % who said VN w/in  
Top 3 probs - (most  
imp prob in deciding  
how to vote)

74 - % who put RN in top  
~~3~~ 4 of 10 in handling

20 - % who put RN in  
bottom 4 of 10 in  
handling

---

Ex - do crime event in  
S. Diego in Cal  
- Only VN significant  
VN SF on Cal Chart

Note Data - same break by  
area + prob

---

Open to go thru maps + charts  
of st + issues + location  
w/ Parker

OVERALL RATING: A

June 13-26, 1972  
804 Interviews

ALABAMA

	A Mobile/ Meridian		A Montgomery		A Dothan		A Columbus, Ga.		A Huntsville/ Chattanooga		A Birmingham		A Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	54	74 23	48	75 22	55	53 38	44	77 21	49	75 22	50	81 19	50	75 22
Inflation	27	50 48	14	62 32	22	47 43	27	58 38	24	55 42	26	58 41	24	56 41
Drugs	34	59 36	35	78 18	41	70 23	46	71 27	44	62 35	41	70 26	39	68 28
Crime	43	51 47	34	67 30	32	53 40	36	56 42	24	56 41	29	69 28	31	62 25
Unemployment	20	59 38	14	63 33	13	51 43	23	69 29	24	57 39	18	68 28	19	63 23
Taxes	16	41 55	33	63 33	30	49 45	20	50 48	18	60 38	28	55 44	26	54 44
Race	30	45 52	26	60 32	33	49 40	23	58 40	13	62 34	22	66 31	23	60 26
Foreign Policy	5	74 23	5	84 8	7	68 13	14	77 17	16	84 9	11	85 13	11	81 23
Environment	4	66 30	10	72 22	4	70 17	16	63 33	11	71 26	12	70 25	10	70 26
General Unrest	7	55 40	12	68 23	8	60 32	8	65 31	12	66 29	9	68 29	9	55 20
Welfare	11	58 38	16	73 23	8	47 45	10	60 35	15	64 33	12	68 29	13	55 22
Health Care	7	80 15	11	80 14	4	62 30	8	73 23	8	84 14	11	82 15	8	80 26
Nat'l. Defense	11	77 19	10	80 13	17	77 11	10	83 10	20	80 15	16	87 9	16	82 23
Bussing	28	27 71	14	59 37	10	36 57	12	31 67	17	41 55	15	48 47	17	43 33

OVERALL RATING: B

CALIFORNIA

June 12-17, 1977  
1,000 Interviews

	B San Diego		A Los Angeles		A Santa Barb/ Santa Maria		A Salinas/Visalia		A Fresno		D San Francisco		E Chico/Wedding		B Sacramento/ Stockton		B Total	
	Imp.	ES	Imp.	ES	Imp.	ES	Imp.	ES	Imp.	ES	Imp.	ES	Imp.	ES	Imp.	ES	Imp.	ES
Vietnam	58	53	52	64	42	70	57	67	54	70	61	49	54	50	55	61	54	60
Inflation	18	55	39	47	30	52	27	58	24	45	25	36	27	32	18	45	28	45
Drugs	23	63	20	54	24	70	30	55	24	33	15	46	27	38	26	59	20	53
Crime	33	58	18	57	21	45	18	42	24	45	17	47	15	44	23	52	20	53
Unemployment	18	56	29	47	36	45	30	45	18	55	29	39	54	32	47	42	30	45
Taxes	27	47	28	46	33	58	36	42	18	48	30	57	12	35	32	39	29	44
Race	10	61	11	62	12	64	12	61	15	70	14	51	30	62	16	55	13	59
Foreign Policy	14	81	20	79	27	91	15	85	12	88	15	71	15	68	17	79	18	78
Environment	14	53	23	48	15	61	21	67	15	70	25	50	12	56	14	55	21	51
General Unrest	19	31	15	52	12	52	12	45	9	67	17	41	9	35	14	50	15	48
Welfare	16	59	14	53	15	67	18	58	15	61	8	51	12	32	8	48	13	53
Health Care	13	66	10	66	0	70	3	73	21	64	11	58	12	50	13	61	10	63
Nat'l. Defense	32	70	20	76	30	76	18	88	27	79	21	70	15	56	14	80	22	74
Running	5	47	3	54	0	52	0	70	3	48	4	46	3	38	8	59	4	52
		48		41		42		21		42		47		47		38		42

OVERALL RATING: A

CONNECTICUTJune 11-20, 1972  
615 Interviews

	A New York		A Hartford		A Providence		A Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	54	73 27	60	60 40	48	75 21	57	64 35
Inflation	25	45 52	36	39 60	32	52 45	33	41 56
Drugs	30	55 38	24	49 46	17	52 34	25	51 42
Crime	30	55 41	31	44 51	20	54 38	24	48 47
Unemployment	26	45 49	34	40 57	32	50 38	33	42 53
Taxes	27	48 46	25	42 55	27	52 38	25	44 51
Race	12	57 36	18	57 39	11	59 34	16	57 38
Foreign Policy	20	85 8	16	77 18	20	75 11	17	79 15
Environment	14	61 32	20	58 37	20	52 34	18	58 36
General Unrest	13	59 33	9	50 46	18	57 29	12	53 41
Welfare	14	48 46	11	46 48	11	52 38	13	47 46
Health Care	8	66 24	6	65 30	6	54 32	7	64 28
Nat'l. Defense	17	80 13	14	72 22	23	79 11	16	75 19
Bussing	5	50 39	3	51 38	5	45 39	3	50 38

OVERALL RATING: A

ILLINOISJune 13-23, 1972  
800 Interviews

	A Rockford/ Davenport		D St. Louis		A Paducah/ Springfield		A Chicago		A Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	65	72 26	63	56 40	51	74 24	59	59 39	60	63 35
Inflation	40	63 36	23	31 67	28	57 41	31	44 55	31	47 52
Drugs	20	69 26	30	54 41	38	64 33	26	52 47	27	56 42
Crime	23	63 35	29	47 51	20	59 35	24	50 49	25	52 45
Unemployment	25	72 28	35	39 60	24	60 38	29	44 54	28	49 49
Taxes	36	64 36	24	44 53	41	61 37	32	42 57	34	48 51
Race	13	74 26	29	49 50	19	62 35	21	50 48	21	54 44
Foreign Policy	24	90 10	10	67 31	13	84 11	16	75 24	16	78 21
Environment	14	79 21	14	54 44	11	70 26	16	49 49	16	56 42
General Unrest	13	67 33	15	43 53	15	64 33	10	48 51	11	52 47
Welfare	4	78 21	13	46 50	12	66 28	8	53 46	9	52 41
Health Care	6	83 15	3	54 40	6	81 15	10	64 35	9	68 30
Nat'l Defense	15	90 8	7	73 26	17	87 10	11	73 25	13	77 21
Bussing	3	54 40	5	37 57	4	53 43	3	49 49	4	49 48

OVERALL RATING: B

MARYLAND

June 13-23, 1972  
600 Interviews

	<u>B</u> <u>Baltimore</u>		<u>A</u> <u>Salisbury</u>		<u>A</u> <u>Washington</u>		<u>B</u> <u>Total</u>	
	<u>Imp.</u>	<u>RN</u>	<u>Imp.</u>	<u>RN</u>	<u>Imp.</u>	<u>RN</u>	<u>Imp.</u>	<u>RN</u>
Vietnam	47	66 33	58	58 42	55	70 29	51	67 32
Inflation	25	49 50	16	67 33	45	44 54	32	48 51
Drugs	40	52 45	50	74 26	22	62 34	33	57 40
Crime	40	44 55	16	53 47	36	61 37	37	50 48
Unemployment	22	53 46	12	75 20	19	52 46	21	54 45
Taxes	28	45 54	20	54 46	28	53 44	28	48 49
Race	21	60 30	20	75 25	14	63 34	17	62 36
Foreign Policy	11	77 19	12	83 17	11	86 12	10	81 17
Environment	14	60 36	12	92 8	24	55 43	17	60 37
General Unrest	9	59 30	8	67 29	10	62 35	9	60 37
Welfare	15	54 44	20	58 38	8	57 40	12	55 42
Health Care	10	70 27	12	75 25	7	65 31	9	68 29
National Defense	11	76 20	16	83 13	15	85 12	13	80 17
Bussing	7	58 39	16	62 38	7	53 43	7	56 40

OVERALL RATING: C

MICHIGAN

June 13-30, 1972  
800 Interviews

	D Detroit		A Lansing		B Flint-Sag. Bay City		B Grand Rapids Kalamazoo/Chicago		C Traverse City		A Marquette Green Bay		C Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	52	53 46	50	59 38	60	58 37	48	65 34	68	51 43	74	67 33	53	56 42
Inflation	24	41 58	43	50 50	17	55 41	26	50 48	27	27 68	31	41 29	25	43 55
Drugs	30	49 49	19	74 26	19	53 41	26	61 33	25	59 55	10	74 26	27	54 43
Crime	27	44 54	29	48 52	29	42 54	23	48 48	6	43 51	20	52 48	25	45 52
Unemployment	33	41 57	22	58 42	26	53 41	28	53 45	41	27 65	33	63 33	31	45 52
Taxes	34	39 60	45	53 47	43	43 54	23	47 52	44	41 54	24	52 48	34	42 57
Race	21	50 47	31	58 42	23	61 34	19	55 40	7	45 49	10	67 30	21	53 44
Foreign Policy	9	80 19	6	91 9	7	82 11	8	77 17	11	70 24	17	89 11	9	80 17
Environment	11	63 34	6	75 25	17	56 39	20	68 28	7	59 35	21	44 44	13	63 33
General Unrest	23	56 43	6	73 27	13	55 42	18	59 37	7	41 51	3	70 26	19	57 41
Welfare	10	47 50	23	76 24	6	51 44	23	53 42	22	33 54	10	63 37	14	50 47
Health Care	9	65 18	0	72 16	9	77 16	7	77 19	5	70 22	0	85 15	8	69 28
Nat'l Defense	7	80 18	0	84 16	7	77 18	13	85 11	4	63 24	7	89 11	8	80 17
Bussing	23	43 55	6	66 31	13	45 47	18	53 42	7	43 51	3	49 56	19	46 51

OVERALL RATING: E

## MISSOURI

June 13-24, 1972  
800 Interviews

	E St. Louis		C Paducah/ Springfield		A Columbia/ Quincy		D St. Joseph/ Kansas City		E Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	55	56 44	56	64 32	51	70 28	50	64 34	54	62 37
Inflation	29	40 59	27	47 49	29	57 42	33	44 54	30	45 53
Drugs	22	58 39	26	57 35	32	54 40	23	59 38	24	58 38
Crime	35	47 52	25	52 43	22	52 48	29	56 43	30	51 47
Unemployment	41	39 60	30	55 43	26	59 39	31	55 44	34	49 49
Taxes	22	50 49	46	51 46	32	62 34	33	55 44	32	53 45
Race	20	50 49	12	64 30	13	68 30	16	68 30	16	60 37
Foreign Policy	13	79 20	10	74 21	17	87 12	12	84 11	13	80 17
Environment	12	58 40	7	69 27	15	68 31	15	67 30	13	64 33
General Unrest	12	52 46	16	61 35	14	68 32	13	59 38	13	58 39
Welfare	14	54 46	17	56 40	16	68 32	12	57 42	15	57 41
Health Care	8	64 33	7	70 24	16	77 21	12	76 22	9	70 27
Nat'l. Defense	12	85 13	10	72 22	17	86 13	16	78 18	13	80 16
Bussing	7	47 50	9	50 43	2	58 37	4	55 41	6	51 45

Paducah/Springfield also includes Spring./Paducah-Cape Girardeau-  
Harrisburg/Joplin-Pittsburg/Memphis

OVERALL RATING: B

NEW JERSEYJune 11-20, 1972  
823 Interviews

	C		B		B	
	Philadelphia		New York City		Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	60	56 40	58	56 41	58	56 41
Inflation	27	42 50	33	35 62	31	37 59
Drugs	24	47 42	31	47 44	29	47 44
Crime	18	46 46	21	42 54	20	43 52
Unemployment	33	43 52	32	37 58	32	39 57
Taxes	33	36 57	35	36 59	33	36 59
Race	15	51 43	16	51 45	16	51 44
Foreign Policy	12	72 23	12	75 19	13	74 20
Environment	13	54 38	14	49 45	15	50 43
General Unrest	13	40 50	10	44 49	11	43 49
Welfare	15	48 46	14	40 54	15	42 52
Health Care	12	57 35	7	62 32	9	60 33
Nat'l. Defense	16	67 25	13	71 22	14	70 23
Bussing	3	45 43	4	49 40	4	48 41

OVERALL RATING: A

OHIO

June 13-27, 1972  
800 Interviews

	A Toledo/Lima		A Dayton		A Cincinnati		A Columbus Parkersburg		B Cleveland Akron Canton		A Youngstown/ Pittsburgh		A Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	49	75 24	61	60 39	58	69 31	57	72 27	53	63 36	67	70 28	56	67 32
Inflation	25	59 40	42	44 56	38	50 50	29	57 42	33	38 60	33	45 53	32	47 52
Drugs	31	58 38	32	53 48	29	50 48	30	58 39	24	50 45	51	48 44	29	52 44
Crime	32	51 45	21	48 50	26	55 45	29	53 44	27	46 51	25	50 47	27	50 48
Unemployment	21	54 43	45	44 56	37	51 48	31	61 38	37	37 61	31	55 42	35	47 51
Taxes	25	61 39	18	55 44	21	52 48	31	60 37	29	41 57	24	41 55	26	50 49
Race	17	65 35	16	61 39	13	65 34	14	65 33	14	54 44	17	48 48	14	59 39
Foreign Policy	15	80 14	16	88 13	15	90 10	13	81 17	15	80 16	13	70 27	14	82 16
Environment	24	70 28	11	68 33	10	66 32	11	59 37	14	51 44	8	56 38	13	59 38
General Interest	13	69 31	11	50 49	19	63 35	13	57 36	14	49 47	7	55 44	13	55 42
Welfare	15	51 48	13	55 44	9	57 43	18	55 44	13	52 44	12	53 44	13	54 44
Health Care	10	69 28	4	69 28	6	77 21	4	64 31	10	67 32	8	55 42	8	67 30
National Defense	19	85 13	9	79 20	13	83 17	15	77 19	14	80 17	12	83 14	13	80 17
Bussing	6	55 43	4	48 51	4	62 37	1	50 44	3	50 45	5	53 44	4	52 44

OVERALL RATING: C

OREGON

June 12-17, 1972  
600 Interviews

	E		D		C	
	Eugene		Portland		Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	60	52 48	50	56 39	49	57 39
Inflation	30	38 63	30	41 53	31	40 56
Drugs	20	50 46	28	52 40	27	53 41
Crime	18	50 45	25	48 46	24	49 46
Unemployment	17	49 49	24	44 50	23	45 50
Taxes	50	39 58	32	39 56	39	39 57
Race	7	55 43	10	61 31	10	61 33
Foreign Policy	12	69 28	13	72 21	13	72 23
Environment	24	57 41	16	62 31	17	64 31
General Unrest	12	50 48	15	46 47	14	48 46
Welfare	16	43 57	13	45 48	15	45 50
Health Care	8	66 30	10	58 35	10	62 32
Nat'l Defense	12	74 23	15	71 21	14	73 21
Bussing	2	49 40	2	45 43	2	47 42

OVERALL RATING: B

PENNSYLVANIA

June 13-27, 1972  
800 Interviews

	A Johnstown/ Altoona/Erie		B Pittsburgh/ Youngstown		A Harrisburg/ York/Lancaster/ Lebanon/Hagerstown		D Philadelphia		A Wilkes-Barre- Scranton/ Binghamton		B Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	49	79 21	60	65 34	65	69 27	62	48 51	46	70 28	60	59 39
Inflation	29	60 38	29	39 60	19	61 37	29	44 55	25	60 40	29	47 52
Drugs	32	73 25	32	49 47	44	65 32	30	51 48	46	68 32	34	55 43
Crime	29	54 44	17	46 53	27	61 36	26	46 52	23	62 38	24	50 49
Unemployment	19	62 37	33	41 58	13	63 36	36	42 56	39	64 36	31	47 52
Taxes	32	54 43	41	41 58	36	60 38	31	39 59	41	57 43	36	44 54
Race	14	75 21	14	56 43	10	66 31	18	46 53	10	85 15	16	56 42
Foreign Policy	15	94 6	11	85 14	14	89 9	8	79 20	15	83 17	11	83 15
Environment	10	76 22	21	51 47	17	63 34	12	59 39	12	89 11	15	60 38
General Unrest	20	67 30	10	49 48	11	60 37	10	50 49	8	62 34	11	53 45
Welfare	15	59 41	7	50 48	19	61 38	11	54 45	4	77 23	11	55 44
Health Care	12	83 14	7	67 30	7	78 18	10	70 29	12	87 11	9	72 26
Nat'l. Defense	26	90 6	15	81 18	9	85 11	9	77 21	14	89 11	13	81 17
Bussing	3	71 22	4	44 51	2	58 38	4	54 44	2	77 21	4	54 42

OVERALL RATING: A

TEXAS

June 12-17, 1972  
1,000 Interviews

	Y Corsus		D Houston		A Beaumont/ Ft. Arthur		A Shreveport/ Leesville		A Austin		A Waco/Temple		A Dallas/ Ft. Worth		A Odessa/ Midland		A San Antonio		A El Paso		B Abilene/ Sweetwater		A Lubbock		A Amarillo		A Total	
	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN	Imp.	KN
Vietnam	55	34	49	58	57	82	77	64	58	67	47	61	48	75	53	61	57	72	27	62	67	64	38	78	50	72	51	62
Inflation	38	21	26	50	27	58	28	64	22	47	14	42	25	56	26	47	36	49	27	38	61	61	25	61	25	53	28	53
Drugs	38	35	34	60	30	55	22	72	17	61	33	50	30	64	48	58	21	54	10	62	17	67	42	69	47	58	34	61
Crime	21	38	23	47	24	55	19	69	28	61	25	39	29	58	24	50	22	58	20	48	3	61	30	51	20	47	25	53
Unemployment	28	21	24	51	21	52	26	58	6	64	25	47	24	59	14	44	32	42	24	52	12	61	37	57	15	69	23	53
Taxes	35	34	22	52	27	67	20	61	11	69	28	50	26	64	36	47	21	50	55	62	30	58	27	51	34	58	27	52
Race	3	45	16	51	18	70	20	69	25	58	23	50	16	67	9	56	25	51	10	59	25	64	24	68	20	58	18	59
Foreign Policy	16	59	27	76	32	85	22	86	24	92	20	69	16	84	24	81	17	85	10	83	12	67	15	83	15	86	18	80
Environment	7	34	15	48	3	79	6	67	28	64	15	56	12	61	3	69	8	68	34	45	6	67	14	75	6	69	12	59
General Unrest	3	38	33	52	12	59	12	69	8	47	12	53	13	58	23	50	12	59	23	52	11	61	15	74	6	69	13	57
Welfare	6	31	11	46	9	61	9	64	19	50	16	47	11	62	9	39	14	56	7	52	9	58	12	50	6	72	12	55
Health Care	17	46	13	59	9	70	6	92	9	22	3	64	10	75	6	25	11	68	13	72	3	67	6	78	28	83	10	70
Nat'l. Defense	21	52	18	74	33	88	31	81	28	83	22	78	19	81	25	75	21	83	3	79	25	72	19	78	17	86	20	78
Bussing	10	31	7	41	15	45	6	58	15	42	9	61	15	47	3	47	4	53	9	52	3	58	12	51	3	53	10	47

OVERALL RATING: D

WISCONSIN

June 13-20, 1972  
600 Interviews

	A		E		E		B		D	
	Minneapolis		Madison/ Rockford		Chicago/ Milwaukee		Green Bay/ Wausau Rhinelander		Total	
	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN	Imp.	RN
Vietnam	55	59 33	61	61 37	63	53 45	58	69 31	63	59 39
Inflation	31	52 46	37	47 53	31	45 55	31	55 45	32	49 51
Drugs	19	65 27	21	59 36	12	59 38	18	71 28	16	63 34
Crime	23	59 40	13	64 34	15	50 47	18	59 40	16	56 42
Unemployment	19	56 42	29	47 52	36	38 60	25	58 41	30	47 51
Taxes	56	37 60	36	43 55	45	39 61	43	50 48	46	42 57
Race	8	67 28	10	76 24	14	64 35	8	76 23	11	69 30
Foreign Policy	13	82 15	11	87 12	15	84 14	18	90 10	16	86 13
Environment	11	67 31	19	71 28	18	57 41	14	73 27	16	65 34
General Unrest	10	61 38	15	58 40	9	58 41	12	63 35	11	60 39
Welfare	18	49 49	16	52 45	18	47 53	15	56 43	17	50 49
Health Care	9	75 21	2	76 24	6	69 28	8	82 17	7	74 24
Nat'l Defense	17	86 12	20	86 13	12	82 17	19	88 11	16	85 14
Bussing	6	62 29	4	67 29	3	52 42	2	68 29	4	60 35

Minneapolis also includes Minneapolis/St. Paul-  
La Crosse/Eau Claire-Dubuque

July 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Buchanan Assault Book  
on McGovern

You received Buchanan's Assault Book on McGovern yesterday. Copies were also given to the Vice President, RNC (Dole), Connally, Harry Dent and 1701 (MacGregor).

However, a copy was not given to John Ehrlichman. Ken Cole called urgently requesting a copy. I asked Buchanan if he planned on giving a copy to Ehrlichman. He said nonand asked if I would check you.

RECOMMENDATION:

That a copy of Buchanan's McGovern Assault Book be given to Ehrlichman (Ken Cole).

GS:car

AGREE

DISAGREE

COMMENT

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

Bill Timmons has submitted several memoranda regarding the RNC Convention. One requests approval to send a general advisory memorandum to the White House Staff describing the Convention arrangements. With the slight modifications suggested by Bruce Kehrli and John Dean, you should approve Timmons sending the memorandum at Tab A.

Another of Timmons' memoranda lists possible participants at the Convention. A review with Chapin and Carruthers of the memorandum at Tab B indicates that the question of participants will be one of the main subjects of discussion at your Convention meeting today at 3 p.m. Chapin will want to review whether the suggested group of seconders ~~is~~ best. He mentioned Pearl Bailey, Bart Starr, and a labor leader as possible alternatives. Chapin's initial reaction to Brock as the introducer of the President was favorable.

Chapin will also want to review with you the possible telethon and the general program outlined in his July 17 memorandum. Timmons may raise his lack of involvement in the Platform planning. Ehrlichman is working on this with Ken Cole and Ed Harper and held a meeting with Chapin, Moore, Scali, Clawson, and Barker to review the TV and news implications. Chapin believes Ehrlichman is more carefully considering the TV impact. However, problems remain with Congressman Rhodes who had wanted all Platform testimony to be from Administration spokesman.

- 2 -

Timmons' last memorandum (July 24, attached at Tab C) is the most important. You reviewed his memorandum describing possible floor fights on July 15. MacGregor, on July 18, decided to give the responsibility to investigate the Rules situation to Harry Flemming.

Timmons' memorandum describes the liberal "reformers" attempts to establish a quota system for minorities and a new delegate selection system for the 1976 Convention. The decision on these matters could be made on the floor of the 1972 Convention. Although Chapin is not aware of Timmons' most recent memorandum, he is in favor of some reform if it will liven up the Convention. To solve Timmons' concern with the reformers, the group of lawyers he suggests could be placed under the direction of Malek's Convention deputy, Stan Anderson. Anderson is a good manager, very responsive to Malek, and is reported to have a good political sense. He is currently working as one of Timmons' three Deputies on the Convention so his expanded role would seem natural.

If Timmons raises this entire reform question at the 3 p.m. meeting (I doubt that he will because it is not really germane), you should defer a decision, saying you will be discussing the matter with MacGregor and others.

GS/jb

115  
S. ...  
L.

July 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: WILLIAM TIMMONS *WT*  
SUBJECT: '72 Convention  
Personnel

May I have your approval to send the attached form memo to White House section heads?

The sample and enclosure would be for Dwight Chapin.

Any changes necessary?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 18, 1972

TO:

FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS

RE: WHITE HOUSE PERSONNEL ATTENDING THE  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

At Tab A is a list of the White House personnel working for you who I propose to attend the Convention. For your information and guidance the number of personnel attending the Convention must be limited due to budgetary, transportation and room constraints. The tone of the Convention is serious and working. Consequently I must ask for your cooperation in keeping the number of White House personnel attending the Convention to a minimum.

For your guidance the following information concerning the Convention may be helpful. All members of the White House staff and the Re-election Committee Staff (except the President's traveling staff) will reside at the Doral-on-the-Ocean in Miami Beach. The Committee has contracted with Eastern Airlines for three chartered flights to Miami departing at 10:00 a.m. on the following dates - August 11th, August 18th and August 19th. A car and bus motorpool will operate at the Doral from August 11th. Beginning on August 18th in the Doral a staff mess serving three meals a day will function. Prior to the 18th staff members will be given a ~~per~~ <sup>per</sup> allotment for meals and extras. A White House support office with secretaries will be established on August 11th.

Shortly a memorandum to each White House staff member will be sent detailing all of the specific information regarding his or her personal arrangements and expected functions.

From the  
Committee to  
Re Elect  
THE President

Attaches

July 18, 1972  
10:00 a.m.

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

<u>Name</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Function</u>
1. Ronald H. Walker	July 24	Special Activities
1. Secretary	August 4	
2. William Henkel	July 24	Deputy Coordinator
3. Michael Duval	July 24	Rallies
2. Secretary	August 4	
4. John Gartland	August 4	Housing
5. Tom Hart	August 4	Escorts
6. Dewey Clower	August 11	Advanceman
7. Mark Goode	August 11	Television
8. William Carruthers	August 11	Television
9. Michael Schrauth	August 18	Advance Office
3. Secretary	August 18	
10. David Parker	August 18	Cabinet/WH Liaison *

In addition 22 Presidential Advancemen will be arriving on August 8th and August 11th.

It is my understanding that you and Steve Bull will travel with the President and reside at Key Biscayne.

\* I would like to have Dave Parker work with Alex Butterfield assisting the Cabinet, Administration officials and White House staff.

*Shackan*

July 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR  
FROM: WILLIAM TIMMONS *WT*  
SUBJECT: '72 Convention

Last Saturday you requested that I prepare a paper on key Convention participants. These are recommendations only except for Rockefeller who has been approved along with the concept of multiple seconding speeches.

I. TO NOMINATE THE PRESIDENT:

A five minute speech by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

II. TO SECOND THE NOMINATION:

Fifteen forty-second speeches from Delegates on the Floor using stand-up mikes:

1. Pete Wilson (Calif) Mayor of San Diego
2. Bob Ray (Iowa) Governor
3. Bob Griffin (Mich) Senator
4. Peggy Heckler (Mass) Congressman
5. Spanish-Speaking (?)
6. Peter MacDonald, Head of Navajo Council
7. Labor (?)
8. E. O. Box (Okla) oldest delegate (79)
9. Donald Morrison (Wis) Youngest Delegate (18)
10. Vietnam Veteran (?)
11. Clint Eastwood (Calif) Movie Star
12. Eloise Banks, Black Editor of Arizona paper
13. Walter Hickel, former Secretary of Interior (Alaska)
14. Stanley Cmich, Mayor of Canton, Ohio, Polish leader
15. Catherine Rondinelli, 34, Italian, Chicago

III. TO INTRODUCE THE PRESIDENT:

A three-minute speech by Sen. Bill Brock who is 41, Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Young Voters for the President, a surrogate, defeated Albert Gore, hard loyalist, from a border state.

IV. TO NOMINATE THE VICE PRESIDENT:

A five-minute address by Senator Barry Goldwater. We must find a highly visible spot for our former national candidate.

V. TO SECOND THE VICE PRESIDENT:

Three three-minute speeches by:

1. Governor Richard Ogilvie (Ill)
2. A Black Woman
3. Senator Jacob Javits (NY)

VI. TO INTRODUCE THE VICE PRESIDENT:

A three-minute speech by Winton Blount of Alabama. Red is pushing for a role in the convention and believes his association with the President entitles him to one. He would like to hit reform (as in postal reform) and can discuss Vice President's activity for revenue sharing, straight talking, etc. From Alabama, Red would project the Vice President's southern strengths.

VII. THE KEYNOTE:

Gov. Ronald Reagan, as Temporary Chairman, will be presiding and introduce the President's keynote film. Afterwards he introduces three keynote participants:

1. Sen. Ed Brooke to praise accomplishments of Administration for five minutes.
2. Mayor Dick Lugar to attack the opposition for 5 minutes.
3. State Rep. Sherrie Shealey to extend invitation to women, youth and dissident Democrats to join in President's re-election. Five minutes.

VIII. DEMOCRATS:

On Tuesday evening we tentatively plan twenty<sup>-five</sup> minutes for Democrats telling why they are supporting the President. We need guidance on advisability of:

1. Mayor Frank Rizzo
2. ~~A woman~~ SYBIL STOCKDALE (POW wife)
3. Floyd McKissick
4. John Connally
5. JOHN O'NEILL (Vietnam Vet)

I would appreciate your taking this paper up with Bob Haldeman and the President at the first convenience.

cc: H. R. Haldeman

EYES ONLY  
SENSITIVE

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR  
H. R. HALDEMAN ←

FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *BT*

SUBJECT: '72 Convention  
Rules Fights

As I reported earlier, we face a bitter fight over changes in RNC Rules governing Delegate apportionment and selection. Liberals have arranged to be assigned to the Rules Committee, and Jo Good reports great interest by liberals not on the Rules Committee (Javits, Riegel, Governor Sargent, etc.). Changes will affect the 1976 convention.

Although there are a number of recommendations, I believe the "reformers" will concentrate their efforts on two points: (1) a quota system for Blacks, women and youth on each State's Delegation and committee assignments, and (2) a new formula for apportioning numbers of Delegates, giving bigger states more voice. There are other possibilities, such as the composition of the Republican National Committee, but they pale in comparison to the basic changes sought by those who want to control the next convention -- a la McGovern!

Mrs. Rosemary Gair of Missouri headed a study group proposing changes in the Rules. Her committee was called the Delegates and Organizations (DO) Committee. Bill Cramer is the pre-convention RNC Rules Chairman and is a Delegate assigned to the Convention Rules Committee. We must get him elected as permanent chairman. The "reformers" may contest this election since Bill is tracking with us.

After analyzing two DO Committee Reports and receiving concurrence from John Mitchell, Bill Cramer and White House staff, I transmitted to Dole our positions. They are enclosed as Tab A. You will notice we support most of the DO recommendations.

EYES ONLY  
SENSITIVE

The DO Committee did not address itself to apportionment of Delegates but the Ripon Society (morally supported by Common Cause) did file suit in court only later to have it put aside. However, we can expect future court tests.

In Tab B is Rule 30 regarding apportionment of Delegates. This will be a battleground, especially over bonus Delegates. Basically, each State is entitled to two Delegates for each Senator (200 total) and two Delegates for each Congressional District (870 total). The other 368 Delegates are from D. C., Puerto Rico, Virgin Island, Guam and At Large bonus Delegates for states casting its electoral vote for the GOP nominee, or having elected a GOP Senator or Governor, or having elected a GOP majority of its delegation to the U. S. House of Representatives.

The "reformers" will argue that this year each Delegate from Texas represents 215,000 people while each Delegate from Alaska represents only 25,000 people. The eight largest states are under represented by about seventy-five total Delegates based on their electoral college strength.

The court has held that the Party may give bonus Delegates to states voting Republican. However, it seems clear these bonus Delegates must bear some relationship to the electoral college vote of each State. (California and Vermont should not receive the same bonus for supporting a Republican President.)

To avoid blood-letting at our August convention and to stop any future suits by Ripon or Common Cause, I feel we should make a reasonable compromise.

For example, since there are 1,081 basic Delegates, a bonus Delegate could be given to each State voting for President Nixon plus a second for every five basic Delegates or fraction thereof. This would total about 266 for a grand total of 1,347 if the President carried every state.

New York currently receives 88 Delegates. If it goes for the President in 1972 it would have under the new proposal:

4	At Large (2 each Senator)
78	Districts (2 each District)
1	bonus for President Nixon At Large
<u>17</u>	bonus for President Nixon on basic ratio 1-5.
100	Total (A gain of 12)

SENSITIVE  
EYES ONLY

California now receives 96 Delegates. Under the proposal, it would receive:

4	At Large (2 each Senator)
86	Districts (2 each District)
1	At Large Bonus for President Nixon
<u>18</u>	Bonus for President Nixon on basic ratio 1-5
109	TOTAL (A gain of 13)

Tennessee now receives 26 Delegates. Under the proposal it would receive:

4	At Large (2 each Senator)
16	Districts (2 each District)
1	At Large Bonus for President Nixon
<u>4</u>	Bonus for President Nixon on basic ratio 1-5
25	TOTAL (A loss of 1)

Delaware now receives 12 Delegates (2 for each Senator and Representative plus 6 bonus). Under the new proposal, it would have:

4	At Large (2 each Senator)
2	District (2 each Representative)
1	At Large Bonus for President Nixon
<u>2</u>	Bonus for President Nixon on basic ratio 1-5
9	TOTAL (Loss of 3)

An alternative to the one At Large Bonus and additional basic ratio of 1 - 5 might be to give each State supporting the GOP nominee 2 Bonus At Large Delegates plus one for every 10 basic Delegates or fraction thereof. This would narrow the gap somewhat between small and large states in the first proposal.

We need to discuss this very soon and put a team of lawyers to work.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: HONORABLE BOB DOLE  
FROM: BILL TIMMONS  
SUBJECT: DO COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

The RNC special Delegates and Organizations Committee has been engaged in studies and reports on three GOP activities: convention, delegate selection and party structure.

Phase two recommendations were made on July 23, 1971 and consist of ten issues. There follows a list of the proposals and where necessary an analysis and recommendation.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 1: It is recommended that in those States where delegates are elected through the convention system or a combination of convention and primary systems, the precinct, ward, township or county meetings should be open meetings and all citizens who are qualified shall be urged to participate.

Recommendation: Concur

RECOMMENDATION NO. 2: To increase participation by all Republicans in the delegate selection processes, it is recommended that those States using the convention method consider a system whereby district conventions are held on a different day in a different community than where the State convention is held.

Recommendation: Concur

RECOMMENDATION NO. 3: It is recommended that alternate delegates, who are an important and essential part of each State delegation, be elected in the same manner and under the same rules as delegates.

Recommendation: Concur

RECOMMENDATION NO. 4: It is recommended that no delegates or alternate delegates shall be required to pay an assessment as a condition of serving as a delegate or alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention.

Recommendation: Concur

RECOMMENDATION NO. 5: It is recommended that there shall be no proxies at a convention held for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Republican National Convention. If alternate delegates to a convention are selected, the alternate delegate shall vote in the absence of the delegate, and no delegate shall cast more than a single vote and his alternate shall cast no more than a single vote in the absence of the delegate.

Recommendation: Concur

RECOMMENDATION NO. 6: It is recommended that there shall be no automatic delegates at any level of the delegate selection procedures who serve by virtue of Party position or elected office.

Recommendation: Concur

RECOMMENDATION NO. 7: It is recommended that Rule No. 14(a) of the Rules adopted at the 1968 Republican Convention be amended to read as follows: The Delegates from each State, elected to the National Convention, immediately after they are elected shall select from the delegation their members of the Resolutions, Credentials, Rules and Order of Business and Permanent Organization Committees of the National Convention, one (1) man and one (1) woman, one (1) Delegate under the age of 25, and one (1) Delegate who is a member of a minority ethnic group for a total of 4 members for each committee, and shall file notice of such selection with the Secretary of the National Committee; provided, however, that no Delegate may serve on more than one (1) Committee of the National Convention. Alternates may not serve as members of Convention Committees.

Recommendation: Reject suggested change. This provision discriminates against the 20 small states that have less than sixteen delegates (4 members from each state on each of 4 convention committees = 16 total). Since no Delegate may serve on more than one committee and Alternates may not serve, as a practical matter, this Rule would probably deny committee representation to at least another 9 states with delegate strength between 16 and 21. Therefore over half of the states would be forced to give up seats on several of the convention committees.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 8: It is recommended that each State endeavor to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation to the Republican National Convention.

Recommendation: Concur

RECOMMENDATION NO. 9: It is recommended that each State include in its delegation to the Republican National Convention delegates under 25 years of age in numerical equity to their voting strength within the State.

Recommendation: Change "include" to read "endeavor to have" to make the provision consistent with No. 8. If Delegates are to be freely elected GOP officials cannot guarantee to include any group of individuals. However, the Party can endeavor to have special groups by encouraging them to become candidates for Delegate.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 10: It is recommended that the Republican National Committee assist the States in their efforts to inform all citizens how they may participate in delegate selection procedures and it is further recommended that the Republican National Committee in cooperation with the States shall prepare instructive material on delegate selection methods and make it available to all.

Recommendation: Concur

"RECOMMENDATION NO. 11: It is recommended that each State endeavor to have in its delegation to the Republican National Convention delegates who represent minority ethnic groups in numerical equity to their voting strength within the State."

While not binding, this provision puts the RNC on record encouraging State organizations to cultivate candidates for election as delegates from minority ethnic groups. This is interpreted to include racial groups as well.

Recommendation: If the recommended deletion is made in No. 7 regarding convention committee participation it may be advisable to include a new Recommendation regarding minority ethnic groups patterned after Nos. 8 and 9.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: HONORABLE BOB DOLE  
FROM: BILL TIMMONS BT  
SUBJECT: DO Committee Recommendations

The RNC special Delegates and Organizations Committee has been engaged in studies and reports on three GOP activities: convention, delegate selection and party structure.

Phase one recommendations were made on January 16, 1971 and consist of eleven issues. There follows a list of the proposals and where necessary an analysis and recommendation.

I. TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1. It is recommended that the convention system for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President be continued.

Recommendation: Concur

II. TO THE CHAIRMAN OF REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1. It is recommended that the Chairman of the RNC appoint a resource task force to hold public hearings over the nation for the purpose of gathering information to be considered by the Platform Committee of the 1972 Republican National Convention.

Recommendation: To have Republican elected officials (Governors, legislators, Congressmen, etc.) solicited to submit their views in writing.

2. It is recommended that the Chairman of the RNC appoint a committee to study ways the party platform may be presented to the Convention.

Recommendation: Concur

II. TO THE CHAIRMAN OF REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
(Continued)

3. It is recommended that the Chairman of the RNC appoint a committee to consider the use of electronic equipment to assist the convention chairman and others in the conduct of the convention.

Recommendation: Concur but only so long as convention tradition is not upset by usage of computers, flashing lights, etc.

III. TO THE COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

1. It is recommended that the report of the Committee on Convention Reforms presented to the Republican National Committee in 1967 be reviewed to ascertain the progress made in the 1968 Republican National Convention and evaluate the potential success of these solutions in 1972.

Recommendation: Concur

2. It is recommended that the Arrangements Committee consider all of the comments made in answer to the questionnaire on those matters which would fall within its province.

Recommendation: Concur

3. It is recommended that subject to limitations demonstrations be permitted only for candidates for President who have substantial delegate support.

Recommendation: Concur

4. It is recommended that the Arrangements Committee provide for the seating of the Members of the Republican National Committee on the floor of the convention with their respective state delegations.

Recommendation: Concur

IV. TO THE RULES COMMITTEE

1. It is recommended that Rule No. 7 of the Rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention be amended to read:

"Robert's Rules of Order Revised shall be the Rules of this Convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the Rules herein set forth provided, however, the Convention may make its own rules concerning the reading of Committee reports and resolutions."

Recommendation: Reject the change. There are many reasons why Robert's Rules should not be adopted. Basically, the House Rules provide for firmer control by the Chairman and are better for expediting business.

2. It is recommended that Rule No. 12 of the Rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention be amended to read:

"Upon all subjects before the convention, except the Call of the Roll for nominations for the President and for the Vice Vice President, the States, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands shall be called in alphabetical order.

"For the Call of the Roll for nominations for the President and for the Vice President, the first state to vote shall be chosen by lot, and the roll call proceed alphabetically from that state, including the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, until each State, District and Territory shall have had an opportunity to cast its vote."

Recommendation: Rejection. This is too confusing to delegates and permits uncertainty.

3. It is recommended that Rule No. 16 of the Rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention be amended to read:

IV. 3. TO THE RULES COMMITTEE (continued)

"In making the nominations for President and Vice President and voting thereon, in no case shall the Call of the Roll be dispensed with.

"(a) No nominating speech for any candidate for President or Vice President shall exceed ten (10) minutes in length; nor shall there be more than two (2) seconding speeches for any candidate for President or Vice President and each of said second speeches shall not exceed two (2) minutes in length."

Recommendation: Change to allow fifteen minutes to be used as the "serious candidate" sees fit.

"(b) For 'favorite son' candidates the total time of the nominating speech and seconding speeches shall not exceed five (5) minutes."

Recommendation: Lump in this "favorite son" category those who are not qualified as "serious candidates" in paragraph (c) below. This will accommodate primary winners in one or two states that do not have "favorite son" status.

"(c) To be considered a serious candidate for President, evidence of delegate support from five (5) states must be presented."

Recommendation: Change to define delegate support as 10% of convention delegates (134 votes). with support in at least five states. Under the DO Committee's proposal "evidence" is left to the permanent chairman and leads to confusion.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE NEXT NATIONAL CONVENTION  
RULE NO. 30

The membership of the next National Convention shall consist of:

A. Delegates at Large

1. Four (4) Delegates at Large from each of the fifty (50) States.
2. Two (2) additional Delegates at Large for each Representative at Large in Congress from each State.
3. Nine (9) Delegates at Large for the District of Columbia and three (3) additional Delegates at Large for the District of Columbia if it casts its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican Nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election.
4. Six (6) additional Delegates at Large from each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election. If any State does not cast its electoral vote or a majority thereof for the Republican nominee in the last preceding Presidential election, but at that election or at a subsequent election held prior to the next Republican National Convention elects a Republican United States Senator or a Republican Governor or a Republican majority of the State's membership in the United States House of Representatives then in such event such State shall be entitled to such additional Delegates at Large.
5. Five (5) Delegates at Large for Puerto Rico, and three (3) Delegates at Large for the Virgin Island, and three (3) Delegates at Large for Guam.

B. District Delegates

1. One (1) District Delegate from each Congressional District casting four thousand (4,000) votes or more for the Republican nominee for President or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election.

RULE NO. 30 (continued)

2. One (1) additional District Delegate for each Congressional District casting twelve thousand five hundred (12,500) votes or more for the Republican nominee for President or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election.

C. Alternate Delegates

One (1) Alternate Delegate to each Delegate to the National Convention.