

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>
23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Newspaper advertisement for Pete McCloskey's campaign. Not scanned.
23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Newspaper advertisement for Pete McCloskey's campaign. Not scanned.
23	2	3/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: McCloskey's Congressional run. Handwritten notes added by unknown. News piece on McCloskey's campaign attached. 2 pgs.
23	2	12/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached information. 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>
23	2	12/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Charles E. Moreshead to Dent RE: enclosed information on McCloskey's trip to Maine. News pieces on McCloskey's comments regarding Muskie attached. 3 pgs.
23	2	11/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to Haldeman analyzing McCloskey's campaign ads. 1 pg.
23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Newspaper advertisement for Pete McCloskey's campaign. Not scanned.
23	2	11/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Nofziger's work to check McCloskey in California. 1 pg.
23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Nofziger to Strachan RE: attached information. 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>
23	2	10/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Ronald Conway to Nofziger RE: McCloskey's political status in San Mateo County, California. Copies of news clippings related to the subject attached. 2 pgs.
23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Nofziger to Strachan RE: attached press clippings on McCloskey. Handwritten notes added by Strachan. 1 pg.
23	2	8/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Marin County "Independent Journal" article on McCloskey, RN, and China. 1 pg.
23	2	8/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Timmons to Haldeman RE: an attached form letter from McCloskey to House Republicans. 2 pgs.
23	2	8/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Tenth page of a memorandum, including information on RN's China visit and its effects on McCloskey. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.

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23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Nofziger to Strachan RE: attached newspaper articles. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
23	2	7/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Roscoe Drummond's San Mateo "Times" editorial titled "McCloskey in Trouble." 1 pg.
23	2	7/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	San Mateo "Times" article on the split between McCloskey and James Halley. 1 pg.
23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Nofziger to Strachan RE: attached information pertaining to a previous conversation. 1 pg.
23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Handwritten notes on McCloskey's relations with steelworkers. 1 pg.

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23	2	6/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: an attached letter. 1 pg.
23	2	6/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Eugene F. Trumble to Dent RE: McCloskey's campaign structure and efforts. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Information from a periodical, possibly "Newsweek," attached. 2 pgs.
23	2	6/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Note to "follow-up" on using "Jack Kemp against McCloskey." Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
23	2	5/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Ehrlichman to Haldeman RE: an attached news article. 1 pg.
23	2	4/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Newsletter	An issue of "The Brown Republican," including information on an anti-RN rally. 2 pgs.

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23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Slip of paper containing notes on the efforts of White House officials to check McCloskey's campaign progress. 1 pg.
23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Kehrlri to Strachan RE: an attached memo. 1 pg.
23	2	4/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to Haldeman RE: painting McCloskey as a follower of the Kennedy New Frontier in an effort to minimize his campaign's effect on RN in 1972. 1 pg.
23	2	4/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	Fro Colson to Dent RE: attached information. 1 pg.
23	2	4/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From J. Roy Goodearle to Colson RE: information on McCloskey and thoughts on how to counters his campaign efforts. 3 pgs.

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23	2	5/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the use of Walter Cunningham as an anti-McCloskey candidate in California. Handwritten response added by Haldeman. 1 pg.
23	2	4/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Mitchell RE: a potential Cunningham Congressional run. Biographical information on Cunningham attached. 3 pgs.
23	2	5/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: the use of Walter Cunningham as an anti-McCloskey candidate in California. 1 pg.
23	2	4/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes detailing the advice of various White House officials with regard to McCloskey. 2 pgs.
23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article authored by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak titled "McCloskey and the Democrats." 1 pg.

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23	2	4/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	"Wall Street Journal" article authored by Norman C. Miller relating to McCloskey. Handwritten note for Strachan added by unknown. 1 pg.
23	2	4/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Nofziger's information on Norton Simon, Cyprus Eaton, Bob Dole, and their relations with McCloskey. 1 pg.
23	2	4/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Handwritten notes on McCloskey. Important financial and political figures, such as Norton Simon and Bob Dole, mentioned. 1 pg.
23	2	5/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to Nofziger and Dole, with a particular emphasis on McCloskey. 1 pg.
23	2	4/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: a talk to be given at a dinner involving Clem Stone. 1 pg.

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23	2	4/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: information from the Republican National Committee on presidential primaries. 1 pg.
23	2	4/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Mrs. Haldeman's visit to the White House. 1 pg.
23	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Sheet of paper reading "Deliver to Gordon Strachan." 1 pg.
23	2	3/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Thomas J. Foley's article titled "McCloskey to Challenge Nixon in 1972; Simon Pledges Funds." 2 pgs.
23	2	5/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	From March to Strachan RE: attached information relating to a previous phone call. 1 pg.

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23	2	5/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	"Pittsburgh Press" and "Washington Post" articles detailing the McCloskey campaign's setbacks. 1 pg.
23	2	5/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	"Long Beach Press Telegram" article titled "GOP war views split -- McCloskey." 1 pg.
23	2	5/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	"San Francisco Examiner" article by Will Ellsworth-Jones entitled "Varying Views of McCloskey." 2 pgs.
23	2	5/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Copy of a newspaper article by Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith relating to McCloskey's campaign. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 4 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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3/25

Administratively Confidential

March 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

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SUBJECT:

McCloskey

The UPI wire on McCloskey's news conference is attached. Although he will not continue to run for President, his name will remain on 10 ballots as a symbolic protest against the Vietnam War.

McCloskey will run for Congress in the 17th District, which is in Santa Clara County, south of his old district. His only competition is Bob Berry, a former congressman from New York, who has almost no chance of beating McCloskey in the primary. The only potentially strong challenger is Dr. Royce Cole. He is young and conservative and could win if Berry were out. Nofziger recommends that Berry be asked out of the race and that money be put into Cole's campaign to accelerate the attack on McCloskey.

According to Nofziger March 24 is the deadline for McCloskey to file a list of delegates for the California Presidential Primary. Nofziger thinks McCloskey is just unpredictable enough to file. Even if he doesn't file, Nofziger believes some Democratic group would be well advised to spend the money to get a slate of McCloskey delegates and then run an ad campaign to increase the anti-Nixon vote. Nofziger is trying to find out if this is happening.

Magruder believes that the mere fact that McCloskey will probably have an easy primary and general election is attributable to the factionalism in the California Republican Party. In particular, Nofziger has not implemented his assignment to counter McCloskey.

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(McCLOSKEY)

KENLO PARK, CALIF.--REP. PAUL MCCLOSKEY SAID TODAY HE WAS PULLING OUT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CAMPAIGNS BUT WOPED HIS NAME, WHICH WILL BE ON THE BALLOT IN 18 MORE STATES, WILL SERVE AS A "SYMBOLIC PROTEST" AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR.

"THE HARSH REALITY OF THE SITUATION IS THAT YOU CANNOT RUN A CREDIBLE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN WITHOUT LARGE SUMS OF MONEY," THE ANTI-WAR REPUBLICAN SAID.

"OBVIOUSLY, I DON'T HAVE THAT MONEY. I'M HEAVILY INDEBT."

MCCLOSKEY SAID HE WOULD FILE FOR RE-ELECTION FRIDAY IN CALIFORNIA'S 17TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

MCCLOSKEY SAID HE WOULD NOT SUPPORT PRESIDENT NIXON FOR RE-ELECTION UNLESS HE CHANGES HIS VIETNAM POLICIES. "THIS QUESTION TRANSCENDS ANY CONSIDERATION OF PARTISAN POLITICS," MCCLOSKEY SAID.

"THERE ARE ABOUT 18 STATES WHERE MY NAME WILL REMAIN ON THE BALLOT, WHERE I COULD NOT TAKE IT OFF THE BALLOT IF I WANTED TO," HE SAID.

"I HOPE IT WILL ATTRACT SOME VOTES AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION POLICIES IN VIETNAM AND SERVE AS A SYMBOLIC PROTEST.

"I HAVE INSTRUCTED THOSE WHERE MY NAME IS NOT ON THE BALLOT TO TERMINATE THEIR EFFORTS."

"BELIEVING THAT PEACE IN VIETNAM IS THE MOST CRUCIAL ISSUE OF OUR TIME, I WOULD LIKE NOTHING BETTER THAN TO CONTINUE TO SEEK VOTER SUPPORT FOR THE HANSFIELD-HATFIELD-MCDOVERN PROPOSAL IN ALL OF THE PRIMARY STATES," HE SAID.

"I CANNOT DO THIS, HOWEVER, WITHOUT ADEQUATE FUNDS."

MCCLOSKEY'S ANNOUNCEMENT CAME A DAY AFTER HE FILED FOR THE NORTH CAROLINA PRIMARY, BECOMING NIXON'S ONLY OPPONENT IN THAT CONTEST.

MCCLOSKEY GOT 28 PER CENT OF THE GOP VOTE IN TUESDAY'S NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY. ALTHOUGH HE SAID IN ADVANCE 28 PER CENT WAS HIS MINIMUM GOAL, HIS TOTAL WAS CONSIDERED DISAPPOINTING BY ANTI-WAR SUPPORTERS WHO HAD HOPED HE WOULD REPEAT SEN. EUGENE MCCARTHY'S STRONG SHOWING IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN 1968, WHICH PRECEDED PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON'S DECISION NOT TO RUN FOR RE-ELECTION.

MCCLOSKEY SAID HE WAS MORE THAN \$45,000 IN DEBT.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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Date: December 20, 1971 *12/21*

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT *HD*

Please handle \_\_\_\_\_

For your information            ✓



STATE CHAIRMAN

MAINE  
REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE

AG  
H. H. H. H.  
Moreshead

Thank

December 17, 1971

Hon. Harry Dent  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harry:

Enclosed please find press releases concerning Representa-  
tive McCloskey's recent visit in Maine.

My best wishes for a very happy holiday.

Sincerely,

CHARLES E. MORESHEAD  
State Chairman

bjw

Enclosures (2)

## Moreshead raps McCloskey for praising Sen. Muskie

(AP) — Maine Republican party chairman Charles E. Moreshead said Thursday he thinks Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr., R-Calif., is a "publicity-seeking opportunist."

He lashed out at McCloskey after the Congressman praised Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, a front-runner for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1972.

"I have made it a point throughout my political career and especially during my tenure as state chairman, not to publicly criticize members of my own political party," said Moreshead in a statement.

"But when someone like McCloskey comes into the state where I live, purportedly as a Republican and then starts beating the drums for a Democrat, well, that's too much to take," he said.

Moreshead said he has sent a telegram to New Hampshire GOP chairman Robert E. Whalen "to inform him as to McCloskey's outrageous statement."

He said he asked Whalen "to pass the word along to the loyal Republicans in his state who are planning to vote in the presidential primary."

"I certainly hope they will see through this publicity-seeking opportunist," Moreshead said.

McCloskey was in Maine Wednesday to speak to students at the University of Maine branches at Orono and Portland-Gorham.

He said he has "tremendous respect for Sen. Muskie. He appears to me to be an honest man the American people can trust."

McCloskey said he "will never again endorse anyone of my own party if I think his opponent is the better man."

The congressman will challenge President Nixon in the New Hampshire primary in March, and in the later Massachusetts and Rhode Island primaries.

# McCloskey May Join Muskie If Senator Is Demos' Choice

By DONALD C. HANSEN

U.S. Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, a Republican challenging President Nixon's re-election bid in order to reshape the GOP, indicates he might endorse Democrat Edmund S. Muskie if the Maine senator wins the nomination next year.

"I have tremendous respect for Sen. Muskie," McCloskey said during a one-day trip to Maine Wednesday. "He appears to me to be an honest man the American people can trust."

And, the California Republican added, "I will never again endorse anyone of my own party if I think his opponent is the better man."

But McCloskey's immediate goal, he said, is to

tively if not enthusiastically by the Gorham student body.

Speaking informally in a small knot of students who gathered around him after a question and answer session at the Warren Hill Gymnasium, McCloskey stressed, as he would again at a news conference, the need to restore truth to politics.

"Neither political party is worth a tinker's damn," he told one student who said he was fed up with the system. "What we need to do is reform them. And we politicians have to stand up and tell the truth."

As the student continued to look skeptical, McCloskey continued, "Sen. Muskie was stating a simple fact as he saw it when he said he didn't believe a black could be elected vice president.

"Now I think Muskie was wrong — I'd be happy to run with a black — but he was at least saying openly what he believes to be true."

As the students nodded agreement McCloskey went on to say that Nixon is trying to build a winning coalition by preying "on the fears of whites in the suburbs that Negroes are going to move in and by trying to develop a Southern strategy that is racist in tone."

challenge President Nixon in the New Hampshire primary next March 7 and perhaps in subsequent ones as well, in order to force changes in administration policy and perhaps dump the President.

Speaking before two to three hundred students at the Gorham campus of the University of Maine at Portland-Gorham, McCloskey estimated his own chance of winning the presidency "at about 1,000 to one."

He accused what he called the "Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell administration" of continuing an unconscionable war in Southeast Asia and of "deliberately concealing and distorting facts from the American people "on a wide range of issues, in-

cluding the Vietnam War and nuclear testing."

McCloskey said he wanted "to hear what all the candidates (for president) have to say" before making up his mind who to back, but said that "if Muskie gets the nomination I believe he has a reasonable chance to be president.

"Ed Muskie has the capacity to restore faith and confidence in our government and if he stands up and tells the truth he'll be the next president."

McCLOSKEY DECLINED to speculate what kind of showing he needs to make in the New Hampshire primary, but said he'd drop out if he didn't make "a creditable one."

President Nixon's managers in New Hampshire have said the President should win 85 per cent of the vote but McCloskey said a White House-commissioned poll in New Hampshire showed McCloskey with 22 per cent of the vote.

McCloskey's attack on President Nixon — he said "the administration has an almost paranoid desire for secrecy," argued against the U.S. showing of the flag in the Bay of Bengal in the India-Pakistani war, and accused the President of showing "a lack of respect for the law and the judicial process" — probably won him little

support from the Maine Republican organization.

There were, for instance, no major Maine Republicans participating in McCloskey's visit here. Only a few college students showed up for a private meeting at the Portland airport although a number of relatively prominent liberal GOP party members had been invited.

McCLOSKEY'S PITCH is not geared towards organizational Republicans in Maine anyway. He was basically interested in attracting some college students in Maine to volunteer to help in the New Hampshire primary.

"We're only 40 miles from the border," he told the Gorham students, "and we want all the help we can get from students from all over New England."

Accompanying McCloskey on the Gorham-Portland leg of his Maine visit was Portland High School teacher Benjamin Chandler who served in Lt. McCloskey's rifle platoon during the Korean War.

The one-day trip was arranged by J. Field Reichardt, a Colby College graduate who is McCloskey's deputy campaign manager in New Hampshire.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
November 18, 1971

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MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

The fancy ads and slick commercials may have reached a point of diminishing returns -- if this ad is any indication. McCloskey is directing his pitch against the "Pitchmen;" emphasizing sincerity and candor. When one considers that poll you mentioned one day -- where something like 80 percent of the American people thought we were too P. R. -oriented -- McCloskey's people have zeroed in on something, which could be injurious. Consideration ought to be given -- in light of this and general public revulsion to TV gimmickry and campaign spending, to how much and what kind of television should be used not only in the primaries, but in the general as well. Because of that "Selling of the President" and the aura left by **supportive** position in the media, we are vulnerable on this score.

Buchanan

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON



Date: 11-5-71

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Lyn Nofziger is continuing to watch the McCloskey situation in California. In addition to the work with possible challengers, he has met with some success in disadvantageously redistricting McCloskey's seat.

**republican national committee**

Lyn Nofziger

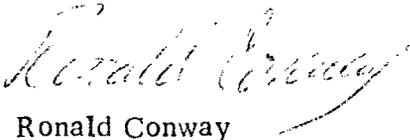
to GORDON STRACHAN

October 22, 1971

Dear Mr. Nofziger,

I wanted to let you know what is happening in San Mateo County regarding the June Congressional Primary. As you can imagine McCloskey will end up running for Congress again and as a result a committee has come into existence to defeat him in the primary. I thought you would want to know about this committee so I have enclosed some newsclippings that will give you some of the background on the committee. The committee has spent months tying down all the money and republican groups into supporting one candidate who will be chosen by all the representatives to the committee. A screening and elimination of some candidates will be held on October 30. The committee is well prepared for the upcoming challenge and we plan to meet it optimistically. Since this is probably good news for you I wanted to let you know about it as soon as it became public.

Sincerely Yours,



Ronald Conway  
 PO Box 2481  
 Menlo Park, Calif. 94025

# McCloskey Opposition?

By HARRY FARRELL  
News Political Editor

A group of Republicans assertedly prepared to throw vast sums of money behind an opposition congressional candidate to maverick GOP Rep. Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey has scheduled an all-day interviewing session with prospective contenders Oct. 30.

The group represents both San Mateo and Santa Clara County GOP leaders, since it is expected that McCloskey's

reapportioned district will cross into Santa Clara County. Santa Cruz County will also be included if part of it is embraced in the realigned district.

Co-chairman of the candidate recruitment group are Lee Kaiser of Atherton and Dean Watkins of Portola Valley. The effort has assumed the name "Project ERRIC," standing for "Election of Responsible Representation In Congress."

Kent Kaiser, son of the

co-chairman and a prime mover of the effort, said the group will seek to match McCloskey's financing in the primary if he runs for reelection, and expects him to spend more than \$100,000.

"We have no pledges, but we have a lot of people who have accepted this committee and are in favor of it and have access to money," Kaiser said.

Efforts will be made to zero in on single candidates in each of two reapportioned districts. McCloskey might legally run as an incumbent — one crossing the Santa Clara County line and one wholly in San Mateo County.

Kaiser made it clear, however, that Project ERRIC will concentrate its effort and finances in whichever district McCloskey may choose to run.

Whether he will run or not is in question, since he is already running for President against President Nixon on an antiwar platform. The showdown in that effort, however, will come in the March 7 New Hampshire primary, and if McCloskey loses heavily there, he is expected to return to California for a reelection bid.

Plans for the Oct. 30 interviewing session, to be held at the Redwood City Women's Club, were laid at a Tuesday night meeting. The press, but not the public at large, will be admitted. All candidates mentioned as possible GOP rivals to McCloskey are being invited.

## GOP group eyes candidates to run against McCloskey

A group of leading San Mateo County Republicans is screening candidates to oppose Rep. Paul M. McCloskey and run in any newly created congressional district.

Dean A. Watkins of Portola

Valley and Lee Kaiser have been elected co-chairman of the group, Project ERRIC (Election of Responsible Representation in Congress).

Watkins, an electronics company executive, said the project

has established a Redwood City mailing address P.O. Box 5532. It seeks nominations in writing.

The first screening meeting is scheduled for Oct. 30 and will be open to the press but not the public.

Watkins said the screening committee has been set up to "represent the total spectrum of the Republican Party."

Every Republican organization within San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties will be invited to send representatives. Every prospective candidate who applies before the screening committee will be asked to support the committee's choice, he said.

Thirteen prospective candidates have already been listed. They include Charles Chase, Forden Athern, Roberty Barry, Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, Gordon Smith, Ronald Charles, Jack Wilson, Ned Hutchinson, Thomas McQinn Smith and Dr. Royce Cole.

Also under consideration are Assemblyman Dixon Arnett, William Best, Larry Farghar and former Assemblyman George W. Milias.

republican national committee

Lyn Nofziger

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FOR GORDON STRACHAN

# McCloskey Loses His Issue As Nixon Goes To China



By RUS WALTON

SACRAMENTO — The Hon. Paul Norton (Pete) McCloskey, Republican congressman from San Mateo County, has been going full bore in his campaign to unseat President Nixon for the party's nomination next year.

He's been spending Norton Simon's money as though it were a bucket of Hunt's catsup — splashing it all around. Liberally.

Now he's opened a California command post on Van Ness Avenue in San Francisco, gearing up for the 1972 presidential primary.

**THE TROUBLE IS**, for all the sound and motion and catsup, Pete's not going anywhere. President Nixon cut him off at the knees with that planned trip to Communist China.

McCloskey's single issue (despite his protests to the contrary) was the war in Vietnam and the mess in Southeast Asia. He argued that President Nixon was not moving fast enough or far enough.

Now what can he say? I mean, a trip to Peking is going pretty far!

That just about brings things down to domestic issues. These are and will be the really big issues of 1972. And, at this point they are hardly Republican vote-getters.

**THE RECESSION**-depression, inflation, unemployment — these may well be Democratic crows coming home to roost after flapping around the country since the '30s. But the illogics of politics will blame pressing economic problems on the incumbents, not on root causes from another era.

Nixon may have some problems within his own party. But they come from the right and that is hardly McCloskey country.

So, poor old Pete. He and his youthful pumpkin-eaters may get their jollies from stumping against President Nixon but they are on a dead-end road.

**IN FACT**, Pete McCloskey may also find a dead-end road when he runs for reelection to the U.S. House of Representatives.

The new congressional districts being carved out on the San Francisco Peninsula may settle his political hash for some time to come.

When those new boundaries are drawn, San Mateo County will be divided between two congressional districts. Extremely reliable information is that one of those districts will extend from Redwood City north to the San Francisco county line. It will contain 435,000 souls (the "ideal" number) and it will be carved out as a Democratic district so that Assemblyman Leo Ryan can go to Washington as a congressman.

The remainder of San Mateo County, south of Redwood City, will be thrown into a new district with Santa Cruz County and the northern part of Santa Clara County. It will include the cities of Palo Alto, Los Altos, Cupertino, Mountain View, Sunnyvale, and the tip of the city of Santa Clara.

It is designed to be a Republican district — but not necessarily McCloskey's.

**FOR ONE THING**, most of the Republicans in the new district have been moderate to conservative, Nixon-Reagan Republicans. They have not cottoned to the way McCloskey has been repudiating the President and the governor.

For another thing — and more important, politically-speaking — the Sunnyvale-Mountain View area is the northern California location for Lockheed and the many sub-contracting firms which service Lockheed and other defense industries. The thousands of Lockheed employes — and the thousands that once worked for Lockheed and are now unemployed — are not likely to respond to McCloskey's blandishments. They are more likely to recall his vacillation on the Lockheed loan, his vote against the SST and ABM, and his generally anti-defense industry posture. And that's not ideology, that's jobs!

**ALL OF WHICH** leaves McCloskey with another troublesome decision.

Should he make a fight in a Republican district which could repudiate him as he has repudiated Nixon? Or, should he make a run for it in the new "northern" San Mateo County district which will be Democratic but perhaps more responsive to his brand of politics?

On at least one occasion McCloskey has implied he might just tackle Leo Ryan. And that would be quite a tackle — with Ryan having the edge.

Either way, and at both the national and congressional district level, Pete McCloskey must have a sense of knowing that his political future has been virtually stowed away on a fast jet to China.

12 SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA, FRIDAY, AUGUST 6, 1971 EDITORIAL PAGE

**Independent Journal**  
SERVING ALL OF MARIN COUNTY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date

8/7

*H need  
not see  
8/9 G*

TO:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

William E. Timmons

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

For Your Information

X

Other

# McCloskey Volunteers



324 C Street, S. E.,      ▪      Washington, D. C. 20003      ▪      (202) 544-5251

August 4, 1971

Hon. Louis Wyman  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Louis:

My New Hampshire supporters are opening our state headquarters on Monday, August 9, at 10:30 a.m. The address of the headquarters is 104 North Main Street, Concord, New Hampshire, 03301, phone (603) 224-9222. If you happen to be in the area and your schedule allows you to drop by, I would enjoy talking with you. Otherwise, I hope to talk with you sometime during the campaign.

I am running for the Republican nomination for President for two reasons: first, I run to revitalize the GOP and to make it the majority party. It is my belief that under this national Administration's leadership the party is dying. In 1970, with the Democrats demoralized and almost bankrupt, with more than sufficient Republican financing, and with unprecedented opportunity to elect many new Republicans to the Congress and to the State Houses, this Administration's policies and political strategy led to a national defeat for our party, even though some strong state parties in states such as New Hampshire were able to hold out against a Democratic sweep. In my own state of California we have recently lost both Republican Senators and the majority of both houses in the Legislature. The over two million new California voters are registering Democratic by margins of 2:1 to 5:1 in a state where Democrats already have a million vote edge in registration. While it is probably too early to predict how the almost 90,000 new voters in your state will register, if results do parallel those in California, then our party could be in serious trouble in New Hampshire as well. I would hope that my candidacy would help our party attract the idealism, the energies, and the enthusiasm of the finest young people in the nation, as well as the loyalty of many disgruntled Democrats and Independents.

Second, I run to encourage open and honest debate and to express positive Republican alternatives to the policies of the present Administration on such issues as truth in government, the economy, judicial excellence and independence, the war in Vietnam, the failure to uphold the historical Republican moral commitment on racial issues, the lack of dedication to the protection of personal liberties, and the proper and best national political strategy for the Republican Party. On both counts, I willingly take my case to you and to other New Hampshire Republicans, and I await your decision on March 7, 1972. I look forward to an early opportunity to discuss these issues and concerns with you, perhaps in Concord on Monday.

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "P. McCloskey, Jr.".

Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.



8/9

RN's plan to visit China.... Continuing their regular coverage of the Dump Nixon movement, the late CBS News with Rather had a fulsome report on McCloskey and Lowenstein speaking before 1,200 Texas students in a mood which could offer "little comfort for RN." McCloskey said to have "a striking, physical resemblance to JFK." ... Jack Wilson leaves D. C. with \$20,000 of the \$100,000 he wants to oppose McCloskey in the House primary next year. ... Jim Buckley said he'd support Connally if he were on the ticket but that he and other conservatives feel Nixon-Agnew is the ideal ticket.... And again, we're told, this is the week for Lindsay's switching parties, but not sure he'll go for WH... Julian Bond calls Wallace "a dangerous, dangerous man" because of his intelligence. ✓

#### MISCELLANY

CBS had a very positive report on an ex-con helped by Johnny Cash while in prison and who's now a singer in his own right and also seeking to help others in trouble. And NBC closed -- for third week in a row -- with some heartland films this of a tractor-pulling contest ... Lots of major sports developments -- 2 young blacks continue to excel as pitchers as Vida Blue wins 20th and Ferguson Jenkins wins 18th -- appropriately on the eve of Satchell Paige's front-door induction to Hall of Fame ... Joe Namath out for most of season with wrecked knee and Redskins ruin George Allen's debut by collapsing in 2nd half against San Diego... Bob Short reportedly has AL owners over the barrel in his desire to move Senators to Dallas. Meanwhile new Nat hope, Pete Broberg pitched a shutout... And 51 year old Henry Haynes -- the Homer of Homer and Jethro -- has died of a heart attack. Warm eulogies from Archie Campbell and Chet Atkins.

# # # #

hyn doesnt know of it  
will check later.

republican national committee

Lyn Nofziger

---

FOR GORDON STRACHAN

*I need see  
not 8/5*

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Roscoe Drummond

# McCloskey in Trouble

REDWOOD CITY — Rep. Paul McCloskey, the California Republican who is out to derail President Nixon, may well end up derailing himself right out of Congress.

One thing is evident: McCloskey may look like a big shot in Washington by showering his denunciations on the President and United States for war crimes in Vietnam, but he doesn't look the same here in his home district.

To the extreme Doves and others on the New Left who want to rush all U.S. forces out of Vietnam regardless of the consequences, Rep. McCloskey may appear to be an overnight hero, but to most of his constituents here in California's 11th Congressional District, he looms quite differently.

He appears like somebody they wish they hadn't elected and aim to defeat in next year's GOP primary.

Thus while McCloskey is busy with his dump-Nixon and elect - McCloskey - President campaign, Republican leaders in this 11th District are now getting busy with their reelect-Nixon and dump McCloskey - as - Congressman campaign.

This isn't just speculation nor wishful thinking. There is evidence that the anti-McCloskey forces are gaining strength — and mean business.

The California Republican Assembly (CRS) has openly censured McCloskey and urged that he take himself out of the Republican Party.

Recently, planning a major rally in the heart of his own district, members of the CRA voted not to invite McCloskey as a speaker.

Instead they deliberately chose Rep. Charles Gubser of the neighboring 10th District because they knew Gubser was a firm supporter of the President's steady Vietnam withdrawal program and because they were confident he would speak out against McCloskey's action and accusations.

He did. And then some.

These are the early signals

showing that McCloskey is in trouble where it hurts — in his home congressional district — and it is probable that his trouble is going to grow.

Congressman Gubser, usually a moderate and mild-spoken man, didn't hold anything back and the Republican voters here showed they like it.

Gubser told them that in his view McCloskey was practicing "McCarthyism" by making unproved charges against the United States and he saw McCarthyism turning into "McCloskeyism."

"When any one," Gubser declared at the CRA rally in Burlingame, "reaches the point where he accuses his own country of engaging in a policy of genocide and indiscriminate bombing of civilians in Laos, when he says this nation is guilty of war crimes like those for which the Nuremberg trials decreed the penalty of death — this is a disservice to our nation, to the two and one-half million young men who served in Southeast Asia and to the 50,000 men who have given their lives there."

Probably few realize that McCloskey was a dedicated all-out, bomb-nearly-everything Hawk on the eve of the 1968 GOP primary when he ran against Shirley Temple Black. He told people I have talked with that the United States ought to put all the forces into Vietnam needed to win, ought to bomb all the infiltration routes and destroy Haiphong as a usable harbor, whatever it might do to Russian and British ships and crewmen.

He changed this stance when friends told him he couldn't possibly get elected with such a campaign.

In New Hampshire a few days ago he said that he is "gradually moving toward the feeling I would like to be President."

Here in his 11th District of California, his constituents are less gradually "moving toward the feeling" they would like to see him neither president nor congressman.

## S.M. Leader Opposed to McCloskey

(Continued From Page 1)

on, after two years of contending that America is not going to suffer humiliation and defeat is now attempting to gain peace with honor.

"The problem is, you've got to send more men there for a year to get their legs blown off and to get killed not to win the war, but to preserve our pride and prestige," he said.

"There has been a steady deterioration of morale because of this attempt to obtain peace with honor at the expense of a few walking in the rice paddies."

McCloskey said South Vietnam will be lucky if it lasts six months after Americans leave.

On the other hand, concerning the North Vietnam position with the United States, he declared of the North Vietnamese: "The prisoners of war are their only trump card." The entire issue, he felt, had now come down to release of the prisoners of war.

McCloskey said that he would not like to see a third political party because of the chaos that would result. He said he could not look to the Democrats, after what he had read about their administration in the Pentagon Papers. On the other hand, he said, "The caliber of our debate is not helped if we characterize the Democrats as liars, scoundrels or just not good people."

Halley told McCloskey, "You are constantly giving advice to your political party. But the image that you give to that party is that we are old, tired, a few and that we are on the way down and out."

"I don't want to take my Republican Politics from Al Lowenstein (a Democrat liberal)"

... It's a free country. You are certainly free to be with him and to work with him. But then, to kid us that this is going to be the great registration drive, that's going to help us, organized with Al Lowenstein?

"Well, I'll take the ones that are not organized with Al."

S.M. TIMES 7/10/71

# Halley Opposes McCloskey Bid

The past state chairman of the Republican Party, whose wife last year was Paul McCloskey's honorary chairman in his successful bid for re-election to Congress, yesterday said he could no longer support the San Mateo congressman.

A few hours after McCloskey had announced he would contest Republican President Richard Nixon in the California primaries, James Halley of San Mateo commented, "You are my candidate for media man of the year — but not for President."

The two met at a jam-packed meeting of the Bay Area Republican Alliance at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, San Francisco, for a two-hour debate moderated by State Republican Chairman Put Livermore.

"Your role," Halley told

McCloskey, "is going to be that of a footnote, rather than that of the steady, responsible leadership that is going to help the President continue to solve the incredible problems he received."

"I have felt that you were a man with great, incredible possibilities. I am left to feel we are given no choice. You have to pick, you have to be with the President of the United States or with you. I stand today with the President."

McCloskey declared that he would like to bring young people into the Republican Party. He said he found they had four interests; To end the war, to end this nation's involvement with other nations and interference with other peoples, to end racial discrimination, and to adopt a

set of priorities that would seek truth and kindness.

Halley responded that young people are interested in peace, governmental reform, grass roots involvement and the environment, and that the Republicans have been working in all these fields.

"Pete, I'd like to see you work with and bring young people into the party. But I don't think it can be done by creating the image you do. I'd look to your district and your responsibility; somehow, the area where you are congressman isn't getting them. I think you should be giving us some help in getting them (into the party)."

McCloskey, in response to a question, declared that the problem today is that President Nixon (Please See Page 8, Column 6)

**republican national committee**

Lyn Nofziger

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FOR GORDON STRACHAN

FYI as per our conversation.

Handwritten initials in dark ink, appearing to be 'LN'.

J Erwin Miller, Cummings Engine  
→ Mc C  
Steelworkers Union / I W Abel.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**Date:** June 10, 1971

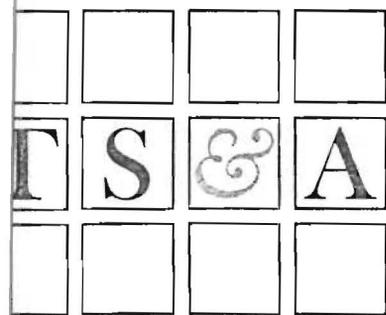
**TO:** BOB HALDEMAN

**FROM:** HARRY DENT *HSD*

Please handle \_\_\_\_\_

For your information \_\_\_\_\_

*6/12  
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not see  
G*



TRUMBLE, SPANO & ASSOCIATES, INC. □ PUBLIC RELATIONS

1678 NORTHWESTERN BANK BLDG.  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. 55402 □ 612 / 338-6727

JONATHAN VILLAGE ONE CENTER  
CHASKA, MINN. 55318 □ 612 / 448-4900

June 7, 1971

Mr. Harry Dent  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harry:

Some further information on the Newsweek reference, supplementing my conversation Friday with Rose Smith.

McCloskey was accompanied on his Minnesota visit by a Newsweek reporter. In a briefing McCloskey was informed of the unique situation in Minnesota in which both parties on the same night (February 23, 1972) hold precinct caucuses for the purpose of electing convention delegates.

That struck McCloskey as representing a singular opportunity for citizen action, and he encouraged the rally audience to attend.

It was a rather general bipartisan challenge, not a specific "campaign to get anti-war delegates elected," as Newsweek said.

I can find no evidence of an organized effort to elect McCloskey delegates.

But the situation certainly bears watching, and I will do just that. In particular, I'll keep an eye on the organization I mentioned to Rose -- Urban Concerns, 2424 University Avenue, Minneapolis. It is a Republican workshop-type organization -- but non-partisan -- headed by a liberal Republican from St. Paul, Mary Hoffmann. The group has applied for and received a tax deductible status, so at least it represents itself as non-partisan. The leaders speak of it as being organized to advance political education.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Eugene F. Trumble

EFT/eh  
Enclosure

# THE PERISCOPE

## BULLETS AND BALLOTS IN VIETNAM

Though convinced that Hanoi's power to wage a sustained major offensive is past, Saigon is keeping a wary eye on a big enemy buildup in South Vietnam's northwest provinces. At least five infantry and three artillery regiments are there, hoarding ammunition stocks for summer action. Intelligence analysts are sure Hanoi will try to embarrass the Saigon government before the fall elections by inflicting heavy punishment on South Vietnamese units in the north.

## WHO SHOULD PAY FOR STRIKES?

Henry Ford II and his experts are seriously exploring an idea that would, in effect, put a company in the position of helping to finance a strike against itself. He wonders whether corporations should not find a way to help strikers' dependents, either in money or in kind, during walkouts. Only a couple of states now allow strikers to draw unemployment benefits. Ford says his observations of strikes in Britain (where strikers' families do draw benefits) convinced him of the need for such action.

## ICE ON THE COCKTAIL CIRCUIT

Rumania's role in helping thaw U.S.-Peking relations has taken a social toll in Washington. Soviet diplomats there pointedly ignore their Rumanian colleagues at diplomatic parties. Things won't be helped by Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Outer Mongolia. His purpose is to strengthen ties with these Communist states and build support against any Soviet moves against Bucharest.

## GEORGE MC GOVERN'S TRAVEL PLANS

South Dakota's Sen. George McGovern, first (and, so far, only) declared Democratic Presidential candidate, also wants to be the first to visit Peking. Even before the Ping Pong breakthrough, he had feelers out for a visa and in April sent an aide to the Chinese Embassy in Ottawa to apply for one. Latest word from Peking, via Ottawa, was that his request was under study "at the very highest levels."

## MOSCOW VS. THE COMMON MARKET

The Kremlin has invited British Labor chief Harold Wilson to talk with Premier Kosygin and party head Brezhnev. (The Russians asked Wilson to come last year, days before he was defeated as Prime Minister by Tony Edward Heath.)

Wilson is willing and is talking dates, with summer or early fall the best bets. The Russians want to discuss Britain's entry to the European Common Market. Moscow opposes it, and Wilson is now on the fence. Heath is committed to joining the Market and while he too has a Moscow invitation, he is in no hurry to make the visit.

## MC CLOSKEY IN MINNESOTA

Rep. Paul (Pete) McCloskey, the anti-Nixon Republican, wants to steal some early thunder before the March 1972 New Hampshire primary kicks off the Presidential campaign. He plans a campaign to get antiwar delegates elected to Minnesota's GOP nominating convention. This process begins in precinct votes in February, in which anyone can vote. McCloskey is organizing a statewide precinct campaign, plus an effort to get 18-year-olds to register.

## WHAT WILBUR MILLS REALLY WANTS

Capitol Hill Democrats who can't see why Arkansas Rep. Wilbur Mills would risk his towering stature as chairman of the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee to seek the Presidential nomination have a new theory to explain his apparent interest in it. They say Mills really wants some day to succeed Carl Albert as House Speaker, rated the second most powerful post in the government. A try for the Presidency, even a futile one, would give Mills more national recognition and enhance his chances for the Speaker's chair.

## ECOLOGISTS MEET A NEW ENEMY

News laws curbing strip-mining of coal, once rated a good chance in Congress, are about to run into a new and formidable foe—a powerful coalition of unions, including the Steelworkers, the Mine Workers and the Teamsters. Strip-mining may be an ecologist's nightmare, but cutting it, the unions argue, will cost jobs. Federal experts counter that stripping (38% of all coal production) actually employs fewer men than other methods, because of the huge machines used.

## MEDALS FOR MAC GREGOR'S MEN

GOP leaders in Congress, who have been harshly critical of the President's relations with Capitol Hill, are now giving good marks to the White House liaison team headed by former Minnesota Rep. Clark MacGregor. Two examples cited are the defeat of the Senate plan to add \$1.7 billion to military pay and of Senator Mansfield's move to cut U.S. troop strength in Europe.

Howard

~~4/8~~

FOLLOW-UP with Colson & MacGregor's office regarding the use of Jack Kemp against McCloskey after his Dick Cavett performance the other night.

6/9 - Klein is working directly w/ Kemp

*CS*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*✓*

Date 5/29

For HRC

From John Ehrlichman

# THE BROWN REPUBLICAN

Vol. 3, No. 9 Published by Brown Young Republicans Lynda Durfee, ed. 4/21/71

## Rally "Bombs"

\*\*\*\*\*

YR MEETING

Thursday, April 22  
Morris Lounge 8:00 P.M.

GUEST SPEAKER

ATTORNEY GENERAL RICHARD ISRAEL

\*\*\*\*\*

The "Dump Nixon" rally on April 18th can only be considered a failure in light of the hopes of the organizers. It was a failure, first, because of the size of the turnout. The rally organizers' claim of 22,000 to 25,000 is clearly an exaggeration: The N.Y. Times estimated 10,000, the Providence Police said 6,000, and an aerial photograph revealed that only about 7,000 were there. The fact that the rally organizers exaggerated the turnout is not surprising considering the following statement made by Allard Lowenstein (quoted in the March 16th Brown Daily Herald): "If we don't get 15,000 people, we're wasting our time."

In addition to the size of the turnout, the rally's organizers had a second disappointment. The rally was supposed to be a gathering of "middle Americans"; Providence was chosen by Lowenstein specifically because it was a "middle American" city. However, the rally was attended mostly by students.

While the rally failed to fulfill any of the organizers' hopes, it did demonstrate one fact: large numbers of students are alienated from the existing political process in this country. None of the three presidential candidates present at the rally (Muskie, Bayh, McCloskey) got an enthusiastic reception. This high degree of bitterness and frustration among students cannot be blamed on the war; its causes are much deeper than that. Nevertheless, the war is aggravating this sense of alienation. Therefore, it is time for the United States to rapidly liquidate its involvement in Vietnam. The Nixon administration should go ahead with its plans to withdraw most American forces from Vietnam by mid-1972. It must not allow reverses such as that suffered in Laos to delay American withdrawal from Vietnam.

---Ernie Evans



"Wonder which one's doing the thinking . . ."

# \$\$\$ for R.I.?

Increased welfare, transportation, education, law enforcement, and urban development have long been goals and programs that states have been unable to meet effectively due to limitations on state revenues. With the increasing concern over urban problems and growing state deficits, President Nixon has formulated and sent to Congress his plan for revising America's tax system to provide extra revenues to the states for these urgent programs. The administration's plan, revenue sharing, will rechannel approximately \$15 billion of Federal tax money back to states, counties, cities, and towns, of which \$5 billion will be new revenue to the states.

The newly acquired Federal revenue will be distributed according to population. R. I., for instance, is slated to receive \$21 million in the first year of revenue sharing. The use of this money will be unrestricted, although planning aid and established programs will be available if the states want them. Governor Licht and the legislature will then have the task of dividing about 50% of the revenues among the cities and towns in R. I. for their use in municipal improvements. The remainder will be spent on state welfare, roads, transportation, or wherever there is the greatest need.

95

Since there will be no requirements concerning "matching state funds" to Federal Aid or obtaining Federal approval for state programs, state governments will have greater flexibility in deciding upon programs. Regulations and restrictions formerly governing all states in the country will no longer restrict state spending to useless or inapplicable projects. R. I. will be able to utilize citizen involvement and initiative to allocate funds to creative and effective projects for the state. The only real restriction on projects is one concerning discrimination involving minority groups. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General are empowered to immediately cut off funds to a state which does not comply.

Revenue sharing, then, is quite simply a program to increase the unrestricted use of Federal funds for local projects. It will enable the states and municipalities to initiate new programs and to increase aid to old ones, without raising taxes. After all, what could be better than getting more for less? And who knows how better to spend our money than you and I?

---Frank Morgan

"The 1970s absolutely must be the years when America pays its debt to the past by reclaiming the purity of its air, its waters, and our living environment. It is literally now or never."

---President Nixon  
1 January 1970



"Say, I'm trying to do my share in the ecology movement —rather than drive around all afternoon, polluting the air, why don't we go over to my place?"

McCl Walker  
4/23

Jerry Cooke - not

Daley - definitely

See  
CW + NW  
encl on McCl  
4/26 - CWC  
agrees

is.  
formerly a  
friend of O'Brien

Q → CWC 4/24

re additional  
info

Dale  
Burre

LEWIS: COHOC...  
MOLE LO... HVTDEKVN

THE WHITE HORSE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

To: GORDON STRACHAN

From: Bruce Kehrli

H. has not SEEN -

Anybody we know THAT

could look INTO THK -

IF SO - How ABOUT A

MEMO FR. H.

Get more info. <sup>B.</sup>

→ CWC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN  
SUBJECT: Political Memorandum, 1972

Congressman McCloskey is now traveling at times in the company of Jerry Cooke and Charles U. Daly. Have uncovered nothing about the former, but the latter is an old New Frontiersman, a John F. Kennedy man, a Bobby Kennedy man -- and a protege and close friend of Larry O'Brien. This raises up interesting possibilities. Is the Democratic Party providing staff assistance and/or financial assistance to the McCloskey Campaign. If so, we can discredit McCloskey as not a man of principle, but as a party traitor, who is trafficking with New Frontiersmen to defeat a Republican President. Good stuff can be made out of this -- damaging to McCloskey's budding effort.

If we could find out where the money is coming from, to McCloskey, we might build a case that he is simply a pawn. Anyhow, we should have some of our political people looking out for this sort of thing.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: HARRY DENT  
FROM: CHUCK COLSON

The attached memo which I have received from Roy Goodearle is very much on target with some of the things we have discussed, particularly point 2. I think the time has arrived to make a move in that area and to get someone postured. Have you got this one on track?

cc: Gordon Strachan ✓  
Roy Goodearle



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

April 13, 1971

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHARLES COLSON  
FROM: J. ROY GOODEARLE  
SUBJECT: Representative Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, Jr.

Representative Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, Jr., is scheduled to return shortly from a fact-finding tour of Southeast Asia. The readings we have seen to indicate that on his return he will launch an anti-war campaign that could culminate in his involvement in a number of Presidential primaries next spring. Representative Don Riegel and others have already promised to support McCloskey if he runs, and there is evidence that he is seriously thinking of doing so.

McCloskey is bright, articulate and ambitious. In addition, he has an excellent relationship with a number of people on the affluent left. One of his aides, for example, recently acknowledged that McCloskey has been contacted by Cyrus Eaton with an offer of financial support should he decide to run. Another aide indicated during a recent interview that if he does decide to run, McCloskey will have the support of Norton Simon and other "liberal" Republicans in California.

The Congressman's recent speaking schedule has been heavily campus oriented. His office admits that he has received "very few" invitations to speak to Republican groups either in California or in other parts of the country. At this point, he has not mapped out a formalized speaking tour or strategy but is responding to invitations as they come into his office.

Charles Colson  
April 13, 1971  
Page 2

Assuming that McCloskey continues escalating his attacks on the President and Administration policy in general we might consider going after him in the following ways:

1. McCloskey's campus image is relatively favorable, although he has yet to begin putting together the emotional following that made McCarthy such a potent factor in the spring of 1968. If he wants to "catch on" the way McCarthy did and lose his strength on the campuses, he is going to have to broaden his attacks on the President and move significantly to the left on a whole range of issues.

This will prove necessary because most potentially activist students reject the one-issue approach of a McCarthy or Lowenstein. Thus, Stuart Rosow, student editor of the Yale Daily News, recently described McCloskey as "Lowenstein's man" and indicated that, in his opinion, students are looking for more than someone who is simply opposed to the Vietnam war.

If Rosow's appraisal of the current campus atmosphere is correct and if McCloskey wants to build a campus base, he will be forced to move further and further to the left. As you will recall, McCloskey was co-chairman of "Earth Day" last year and has already tentatively indicated that he disagrees with Administration racial policies. It is probably more than coincidental that these are the issues of interest to students.

This could make him easy game as a well organized effort to ask tough and embarrassing questions at each campus appearance could help discredit him or drive him so far to the left that he will lose his off-campus credibility.

In addition to making sure the right questions are asked, we should make an effort to have McCloskey's campus appearance monitored by friends of the Administration who will report back to us.

Charles Colson

April 13, 1971

Page 3

2. Although McCloskey has indicated a willingness to take on the President in the primary -- if no one else does, he is no Don Quixote. He differs significantly from Eugene McCarthy, for example, in that he does appear to be concerned about his future and may not wish to trade his safe seat in Congress for a few months of national publicity. McCloskey presently represents California's 11th Congressional District -- which includes most of San Mateo County. The District is heavily Republican, and the winner of the GOP primary is almost always guaranteed victory in the general election. It is our understanding that the District is moderate but not especially dovish in orientation.

McCloskey was originally elected in a special 1967 election with 59.3 percent of the total vote. He ran again in 1968 and was elected to his first full term with 77.4 percent of the vote and was reelected last fall with 78.6 percent.

Although he was reelected in the Republican primary last fall, it is interesting to note that in the 1968 primary Robert Barry, who was not a particularly attractive candidate, gave him a real scare. McCloskey won that race by only about 1,000 votes out of 67,000 cast.

It would thus seem that if we can find a first-rate young moderate Republican candidate and provide him with ample financing we might be able to at least keep the Congressman close to home. An attractive candidate might even be able to beat McCloskey in the GOP primary next year, especially in light of the fact that redistricting could make the district slightly more conservative.

I think these two steps should receive serious consideration. The first could provide the ammunition we will need if he keeps on his present course, and the second could limit his maneuvering room or even force him to change course to save his own political skin.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 4, 1971

*G.S.*  
*To m c*  
*5/7*

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By EP NAR., Date 3-17-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN *G*  
SUBJECT: Astronaut Cunningham

Murray Chotiner sent the attached material on Walter Cunningham. Chotiner is suggesting that he be contacted about challenging McCloskey in his California district.

Is this the type of individual we want Colson or someone on the outside to approach?

YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO *H*

If yes, Nofziger instead of Colson should discreetly have Cunningham contacted and keep us posted.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

*I don't think Cunningham would be the best candidate. I know him.*

into H  
u/c uc?  
overall  
to encourage

April 29, 1971

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED BY AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By EP NARS, Date 3-17-82

MEMORANDUM FOR

JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

Obviously, no one connected with the Administration should be identified with this thought.

But, for your information, Walter Cunningham, NASA astronaut, is seriously interested in becoming a GOP candidate for Congress in Congressman McCloskey's District in California.

Enclosed is biographical data.

✓ cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20546

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

WALTER CUNNINGHAM  
NASA ASTRONAUT

NAME: Walter Cunningham (Civilian)

BIRTHPLACE AND DATE: March 16, 1932, Creston, Iowa; considers Santa Monica, California  
hometown: Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Walter W. Cunningham, reside in Venice, California.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: Blond hair; hazel eyes; height, 5 ft. 10 in.; weight, 155 pounds.

EDUCATION: Graduated from Venice High School, Venice, California; received B.A. with  
honors in Physics, 1960 and M.A. in Physics, 1961, from UCLA; has completed work,  
UCLA, on doctorate in Physics with exception of thesis.

MARITAL STATUS: Married to former Lo Ella Irby, Norwalk, California. Her mother,  
Mrs. Nellie Marie Maynard, resides in Oxnard, California.

CHILDREN: Brian, September 12, 1960; Kimberly, February 12, 1963.

OTHER ACTIVITIES: Sports enthusiast, particularly interested in gymnastics and handball.

ORGANIZATIONS: Member, American Geophysical Union, American Institute of Aeronautics and  
Astronautics, Sigma Pi, and Sigma Xi.

EXPERIENCE: Joined the Navy in 1951 and began flight training in 1952. Joined a  
Marine squadron in 1953 and served on active duty until August 1956. Now is  
Marine reservist, with rank of Major.

Was research scientist for Rand Corporation before joining NASA; worked on classified  
defense studies and problems of Earth's magnetometers at Rand. He was awarded NASA's  
Exceptional Service Medal for the Apollo 7 flight at ceremonies at the LBJ ranch.

CUNNINGHAM -contd.-

At UCLA, in conjunction with doctoral thesis problem, he developed and tested in a search coil magnetometer which was later flown aboard the first NASA Orbiting Geophysical Observatory satellite.

He has 3,500 hours of flying time, more than 2,800 hours in jets.

Cunningham was one of the third group of astronauts selected by NASA in October, 1963.

He made his first space flight October 11-22, 1968, as Lunar Module Pilot aboard the Apollo 7 spacecraft in the first manned mission of the Apollo series.

- end -

May 4, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By EP NARS, Date 3-17-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: Astronaut Cunningham

Murray Chotiner sent the attached material on Walter Cunningham. Chotiner is suggesting that he be contacted about challenging McCloskey in his California district.

Is this the type of individual we want Colson or someone on the outside to approach?

YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, Hofziger instead of Colson should discreetly have Cunningham contacted and keep us posted.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

GS:lm

Needs Today

4G - for am  
Youth for a  
just Peace

CWC recom  
Post - 1 Fullpad  
(Sun)

Anti-Demons Ads this Sun.  
- may get \$ back via/cooper

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Mcloskey - update

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at 2<sup>30</sup> tomorrow  
others - members (6)  
w/ MacGregor

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stories of Iniquity  
of the Providence West.

- CWC → it → MacG re  
call to Hatfield

- No more attacks at the moment  
any more would  
build him

- Bent → now time for a  
wand to chal  
McCl in the Hatfield

add Pop

- CWC cooled hole on  
attack on McCl

- Deal w/ by remorse "poor Pete"

Hole  
Tal Pop

JoAnn Gordon - fin contrils.

Bill Steiger - when he comes back could ask him on the floor of the senate

Admin spokes - into McCl district - speak about it; ignore McCl; don't tell him; snub McCl.

3. H → E → Romney, quietly;  
CWC → Volpe

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↳ announce fr/ McCl.  
↳ never call McCl

Someone quietly → Laird

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a project. - sever in  
So S, R dies

G → Bill Sullivan - Today on CBS Monday  
al  
Snyder ↳ was a me in hours, Dep As Secy  
could be good on TV. of St in work

# McCloskey and the Democrats



**THE FACT** that the much publicized trip to Laos by Rep. Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, the Republican dove from California, was financed and arranged by liberal Democrats is a tipoff to the scarcity of genuine Republican backing for his challenge against President Nixon.

Some \$7,500 to finance the trip was raised among the same people who backed Sen. Eugene McCarthy's challenge against President Johnson in 1968. Martin Fife, a millionaire plastics manufacturer active in New York City's McCarthyite New Democratic Coalition, contributed \$3,000. Another \$1,500 came from Sam Rubin, a rich Wall Street operator who backed leftist causes in times past and was a McCarthy supporter in 1968.

Arranging the trip was Charles U. Daly, McCloskey's Marine comrade in Korea who has excellent connections on the Democratic left dating from service as a Kennedy White House aide. The actual fund raising was helped by writer Jimmy Breslin, who escorted McCloskey to three Manhattan dinner parties one night soliciting rich reform Democrats.

McCloskey told us such tapping of Democratic funds

is strictly limited to his antiwar activities and not for his Republican challenge to Mr. Nixon. For political funding, he is now talking to multimillionaire California industrialist Norton Simon, who is a nominal Republican.

Even McCloskey's political activities, however, have had a distinctly Democratic coloration so far. The antiwar rally at Providence, R. I., on April 18 addressed by McCloskey had a bipartisan label but actually was put together by New York liberal Democrats under the leadership of ex-Congressman Alard K. Lowenstein.

The Providence rally trotted out as a member of the sponsoring committee one Malcolm Farmer III, described as a Republican who had been campaign manager for former Gov. John Chaffee of Rhode Island (now Secretary of the Navy). In fact, Farmer, a middle-level official in the Chaffee administration, was never close to being Chaffee's campaign manager and always was regarded by Chaffee aides as something other than a Republican. His auto now carries Democratic bumper stickers.

The larger truth is that McCloskey has not picked up significant liberal Republican

backing in his dump-Nixon campaign—not even in his home state. California liberal Republicans who strongly supported McCloskey's campaigns for Congress are heartsick over what they consider their friend's new demagoguery on the war. This includes such outspoken liberals as state Assemblyman William Bagley and John G. Veneman, Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

A footnote: Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas, Republican national chairman, has balked at suggestions from Nixon political operatives that he cut McCloskey down to size before next year's primaries. Dole feels it is not the role of the party's chairman to hatchet a fellow Republican in Congress, no matter what his transgressions.

Instead, anti-McCloskey hatcheting will be divided between Gov. Ronald Reagan of California and a selected group of McCloskey's colleagues in the House.

## Campaign Limits

THE PROBABILITY of a tough bill limiting campaign spending has increased sharply with the disappearance of one of its last roadblocks: Resistance from Rep.

Wayne Hays of Ohio, chairman of the House Administration Committee.

Hays' longtime opposition to reporting provisions had been well known. Consequently, the bill's sponsors have worried that he might stall it in his committee with the connivance of the White House (whose overt support of the measure is doubted). Sponsors of the bill had been huddling with House Democratic leaders to find a way to move the tough, independent-minded Hays.

They need not have bothered. Hays is drafting his own bill for reporting provisions and a \$35,000 overall limit on every House campaign—even tougher than the bill written by the Senate Commerce Committee. Furthermore, Hays has a commitment for co-sponsorship from Rep. Watkins Abbitt, a conservative Virginian who heads the subcommittee handling the bill.

A Footnote: Russell Hemenway of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, key lobbyist for the bill, believes Hays's overall spending limit is unenforceable and would prefer the Senate bill's approach of a \$60,000 spending limit on communications media.

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# And Pete McCloskey Cranks Up Campaign

Antiwar Republican Prepares  
A Challenge to President;  
'It's All a Crazy Accident'

By NORMAN C. MILLER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—On status-conscious Capitol Hill, the cramped, two-room office assigned to California Republican Rep. Paul McCloskey shows that the powers-that-be consider him just another junior Congressman lacking influence.

But the powers-that-be are wrong, and the Congressman has some 30,000 items of evidence to prove it.

The evidence is letters from people all over the country who in recent weeks have heard of "Pete" McCloskey's fervent end-the-war criticism of President Nixon. The vast majority of these people say they want the 43-year-old Congressman to do something no other GOP politician seems willing to consider: run against President Nixon in next year's primaries.

Ray H. Brown, manager of the Colonial Inn in Harbor Springs, Mich., expresses a typical sentiment: "As a lifelong Republican, I am amazed and disappointed that President Nixon has enlarged the war in Indochina," he wrote Rep. McCloskey. "... I sincerely hope that someone within the Republican Party can offer a challenge to President Nixon in next year's primaries. I would like to make a donation and work for you."

In fact, letter-writers like Mr. Brown have sent Rep. McCloskey a total of \$4,000 so far to show they're serious about backing him as a GOP peace candidate. And the liberal Republican, while expressing astonishment at such support, says he will indeed challenge the President if that seems the only way to raise the war issue in GOP primaries.

## More Than Talk

This isn't just brash talk. He has promises of financial support from industrialist Norton Simon and some other liberal Republicans, and Mr. McCloskey says that by the end of this month he will establish a Washington political office to begin organizing for a primary campaign. He is embarked on a frenetic, candidate-type schedule. After winding up a week-long trip to Vietnam and Laos, Mr. McCloskey will appear on the CBS "Face the Nation" TV interview program early Sunday and then fly to Providence, R.I., to speak at an antiwar rally organized by his close friend, Democratic dove Allard Lowenstein. Monday night, the GOP Congressman will be in Princeton for another antiwar rally.

Rep. McCloskey also is recruiting a stable of experts, many from universities around his suburban San Francisco congressional district, to give him a crash education on an array of issues. "What I don't know is frightening," he says. "I have a lot of studying to do to become a credible candidate."

What the lean, dark-haired lieutenant colonel in the Marine Reserve does know something about is war, having been decorated for combat gallantry in Korea. And he has been convinced since he ran for the House in a special election three years ago that Vietnam is a quagmire for the U.S.

On military grounds, he argues that the Nixon Vietnamization policy won't work. On moral grounds, he charges that the President's "massive use of airpower" is an "indefensible policy of killing great numbers of Asians to save American face in this war." His trip to Indochina evidently has reinforced his attitude; he has been quoted as charging that U.S. bombing on the Plain of Jars is having a devastating impact on Laotian civilians.

Some other doves say the same thing, but they don't get 30,000 letters beseeching them to run for President. That's because Mr. McCloskey has said one more thing: that one way to get rid of a President who won't terminate an "immoral" war is to "impeach him."

Actually, the Congressman says he thought he was giving an academic answer to a student's question when he mentioned impeachment to a small crowd at Stanford University on Feb. 11. Though he did speak of that course as a theoretical possibility, he recalls telling the student that the war issue didn't justify an impeachment and that anyway Congress wasn't about to do it. Nonetheless, a wire-service reporter was in the crowd and wrote a story saying Rep. McCloskey advocated impeaching President Nixon.

## Lots of Letters

The effect was remarkable. Thousands of letters began pouring into the Congressman's office. Some were hostile, like one from a Georgian: "If 4-F anti-American S.O.B.s like you would help the President instead of giving encouragement and aid to North Vietnam, maybe our President could end the war."

But by a margin approaching 20-to-1, the response was favorable. "Bravo, impeach Nixon," wrote Claude Smith of Los Angeles. "Congratulations," wrote Austin Brumley of Morro Bay, Calif. "Your defiance of Nixon... is the most encouraging political development since McCarthy defied Johnson and started campaigning in New Hampshire in 1968."

Rep. McCloskey was promptly besieged with reporters asking him what he was up to.

His explanation that he was only "discussing" the impeachment question generated more publicity, resulting in more letters of support. "The whole thing was a crazy accident," reflects the Congressman. "I didn't say anything at Stanford I hadn't said 100 times before, but that girl (reporter) misrepresented the impeachment statement and put the national spotlight on me."

If the Congressman wasn't serious about impeaching the President, he was completely earnest about a primary challenge to Mr. Nixon. He suggested several possible Republican candidates, such as liberal Sens. Mark Hatfield of Oregon and Charles Mathias of Maryland. Nothing doing, they all said.

While GOP liberals brushed aside the McCloskey suggestion, the Republican right reacted thunderously. The Congressman was denounced by California Gov. Ronald Reagan, and the conservative California Republican Assembly censured him as "an enemy of the American political process."

Things like that got Mr. McCloskey's Irish up, and soon he was saying, "I'll run against

Nixon if no one else will." With that, more letters of support rolled in, and they still are coming, in a grassroots upsurge reminiscent of Eugene McCarthy's 1968 campaign. (Rep. McCloskey doesn't like being compared with Mr. McCarthy. "I'm no poet," says the ex-Marine.)

Being a maverick underdog doesn't bother Pete McCloskey. Three years ago, to win his House seat, he first had to beat nine other Republican contenders, including Shirley Temple Black, who was the odds-on favorite due to her movie fame. He has successfully defended himself against tough conservative GOP challengers in two subsequent primaries, and he rolled up big victories in the general elections by getting a sizable share of the Democratic vote.

Of course, that's hardly preparation for a presidential primary campaign, and no one knows it better than Mr. McCloskey. He's hoping, therefore, that one of three things will happen this year: Congress will force an end of the war by cutting off funds, President Nixon himself will manage to end it, or a better-known Republican will decide to become a peace candidate in the primaries.

"I think one of those things will almost certainly happen by November, and then I wouldn't have to run," says Mr. McCloskey. But if none of these possible developments materializes, he promises to challenge President Nixon in every primary. "I wouldn't expect to win," he says, "but if the effort forces the President to end the war one day earlier it would be a victory to me."

APR 16 1971

Gordon  
Strachan - 7/1/71

April 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT : McCloskey

Lyn Nofziger reports two interesting developments. Norton Simon is selling paintings in order to have an adequate bankroll for McCloskey. Cyprus Eaton is also contributing heavily.

Nofziger reports that Dole will not attack McCloskey. Therefore Nofziger seeks authority for a "long term go-ahead on engineering attacks on McCloskey." He would not elaborate.

Recommendation: My work with Nofziger indicates that he hates details but is good at implementing attacks. He should be granted this broad authority.

     Approve

     Disapprove

     Comment

GS:pm

4/17

McCl  
Nof

Simon selling plants, so  
going to banroll McCl  
Cyprus Ester - \$

Renele attacked McCl in Cal  
4/26 Nof → Rien  
Put Huemore attacked &  
quoted in ~~mem~~.

Nof wants verification of Pole  
attack

Q → Hwy/  
memo  
Pole will not attack but  
Nof wants clearance.  
for attack  
"long term go-ahead."

Nof → warning, last two Fri's Pole  
sending ORC polls out  
Rayhan at UPI - "House poll"  
→ if Pole mails regularly loses  
credibility.

5/14

Notziger -

Dole has 1 speechwriter  
Not looking for another.  
so ball in his court

McCluskey

① - Dole → Je 12 - not  
mention Mc C but  
clear where stand  
- will not leave it  
unclear

② Poor women - Mc C +  
unhappy.

③ Cond ag / - not by us +  
- not quality candidate

④ Redistrict - later this  
yr will know.

April 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM : GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT : Clem Stone Dinner Tonight

Kalmbach and I talked 10 minutes ago. He will see Clem Stone at 4:30 today. Kalmbach needs to tell Stone what the fund raising procedure is tonight. Kalmbach will not be at tonight's dinner.

In Kalmbach's mind there are several options, but basically feels that the President should not be present during the pitch.

I recommend Number 1 of the following options:

1. The President leave dinner early and a spokesman begin. \_\_\_\_\_
2. The President leave the room with Stone and spokesman make the pitch. \_\_\_\_\_
3. The President should leave the room while Stone remains for pitch with others. \_\_\_\_\_

GS:pm

April 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Presidential Primaries

Magruder and Dean asked the RNC to prepare the attached description of the primary states' dates and legal requirements.

Tom Evans at the RNC will update this information periodically and keep the Attorney General (via Magruder) posted.

Recommendation:

At this early stage I recommend that we rely on the Magruder/Dean/ Evans material.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

April 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

After Mrs. Haldeman met the White House Operators, we walked back to her car on the South Lawn driveway.

Dave Parker who has never met Mrs. Haldeman saw us from the West Wing workway. Later in the afternoon he asked me "Who was that attractive young girl you were escorting?"

GS:elr

Deliver to Gordon Strachan  
(Mr Haldeman's office)

# McCloskey to Challenge Nixon in 1972; Simon Pledges Funds

BY THOMAS J. FOLEY

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr. (R-Calif.) said Friday that he would set up a campaign staff in the next two or three weeks to challenge President Nixon in next year's presidential primaries.

The factors leading to the third-term congressman's decision were:

—Offers of financial help which add up to a significant campaign fund, including one large but unspecified pledge from Los Angeles millionaire Norton Simon.

—Offers by more than 3,000 persons who volunteered to work in McCloskey's campaign.

—The seeming lack of interest of any other Republican of actual or near-national stature in challenging Mr. Nixon in the primaries.

All this materiel for a budding presidential campaign was the result of national attention McCloskey attracted by his criticism of the President's Indochina war policies.

In a speech Feb. 11 at Stanford University, his alma mater, McCloskey proposed a national debate on impeachment of the President. His grounds, he said, were that Mr. Nixon overstepped his constitutional authority in using American support for the Cambodia and Laos incursions. Later, McCloskey said he hoped some antiwar Republican would oppose Mr. Nixon's renomination, but that he would step

Please Turn to Page 9, Col. 1

# McCloskey Plans Staff for '72 Presidential Bid

Continued from First Page

in if no one responded. McCloskey said he had been "inundated" with offers of support. He said he would start with a small staff and supplement it as funds became available. A research assistant and an expert on fund-raising and other political mechanics will be the first hired.

McCloskey's move now puts him eight months ahead of the 1967 challenge to President Lyndon B. Johnson by former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.), who announced his candidacy in late November.

The Portola Valley congressman originally had said he would run only if some other more prominent GOP liberal did not, and he mentioned particularly Sens. Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon, Charles V. Mathias of Maryland, Charles H. Percy of Illinois, New York City Mayor John V. Lindsay and Common Cause Chairman John Gardner.

However, when his contacts with all five produced negative replies, McCloskey decided to go ahead himself.

### Offers Funds

It was learned that Simon, who ran unsuccessfully in the California Republican primary last year against then Sen. George Murphy, has been in contact with McCloskey since last November and offered to help finance the presidential challenge.

Other offers of financial aid have come from Henry Niles, a Baltimore businessman who is chairman of Business Executive Move for Vietnam Peace, and Harold Willens, its Southern California chairman.

Shortly after a McCloskey antiwar speech in the House last month, he was offered financial help from Cleveland industrialist Cyrus Eaton, who has bankrolled the annual international Pugwash Conferences designed to improve East-West communications.

The volunteer help for McCloskey has come primarily from college campuses where students have been attracted by his

stands to end the war and improve the environment.

McCloskey has already visited Wisconsin, a primary state, and plans to visit another next month after returning from a planned 10-day trip to Indochina.

The congressmen spoke to a university audience in Madison, Wis., last weekend, noting that he had been cochairman of last year's Earth Day with Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) and had been a strong supporter of the fight led by Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) to defeat the SST.

### Bipartisan Support

After the rally, he rode to the airport with state Rep. Midge Miller, who had been cochairman of McCarthy's 1968 primary drive in Wisconsin. Mrs. Miller reportedly told the congressman he could expect bipartisan support if he were serious about his presidential drive.

McCloskey also has been

invited to participate in an antiwar rally on April 18 in Providence, R.I., being organized by former Rep. Allard K. Lowenstein (D-N.Y.), who led the dump-Johnson campaign that finally convinced McCarthy to run four years ago.

The Rhode Island Legislature two years ago approved a preferential primary law that will take effect the second Tuesday in April, 1972.

McCloskey, a decorated Korean war veteran, said he hoped his visit to Indochina would take him to Laos and Vietnam. He said in an interview that he has five areas of interest—the status of pacification of South Vietnam, refugee problems, South Vietnamese treatment of prisoners of war, bombing of North Vietnam and what the Saigon government is doing to insure that the upcoming presidential elections are fair.

McCloskey, who raised the funds privately to pay for the trip, said he was particularly interested in viewing pictures of the bombing of North Vietnam to see what type of bombs are used and whether the bombs are used to destroy supply centers or kill civilians.

5/19

Gordon -

Per our telephone

conversation:

Bob Mank

## McCloskey Faces Competition At Home

REDWOOD CITY, Calif. (UPI) — Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, the Republican congressman threatening to challenge President Nixon, is facing a "dump McCloskey" effort in his own district.

Jack W. Wilson, 47, a small businessman who describes himself as a "moderate conservative" and a supporter of the President, announced yesterday he will run in the Republican primary against McCloskey next year.

*Pitt. Press 5-12-74*

*Wash Post 5-13-74*  
**'Dump McCloskey'  
Campaign Begun**

REDWOOD CITY, Calif., May 12 (UPI)—Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, the Republican congressman threatening to challenge President Nixon, is facing a "Dump McCloskey" effort in his own district.

Jack W. Wilson, 47, a small businessman who describes himself as a "moderate conservative" and a supporter of the President, announced Tuesday that he will run in the Republican primary against McCloskey next year.

Wilson, who said he has been promised adequate financial backing, ran as a write-in candidate against McCloskey last year and got about 3,000 votes. *b*

Long Beach Press-Telegram  
5/3/71

## **GOP war views split -- McCloskey**

BERKELEY (UPI) — Rep. Paul N. McCloskey concedes that many of his constituents object to his current feud with President Nixon over the Vietnam war.

"There's no question large numbers of Republicans in my constituency would rather go with the President," McCloskey told newsmen when he was asked about a GOP move organized last week in San Mateo county to dump him.

HE ESTIMATED, however, that he has the backing of more than half the Republicans in his district for his views.

There is "a significant split" among Republicans on Nixon's war policy, McCloskey said, and therefore there was no requirement of "party loyalty" on the issue.

"To repress such debate on the grounds of party loyalty is to repress dissent — and this nation thrives on dissent," the congressman said.

In an address to the officers of the Sierra Club, McCloskey said he had "no challenge" to the Nixon Administration's environmental policies, although the President has a "less deep commitment" than he would like to see in some areas.

# Varying Views Of McCloskey

By Will Ellsworth-Jones

The best thing Congressman Paul N. McCloskey has going for him is Paul N. McCloskey.

When his constituents in San Mateo talk about him, words like "sincere, honest, guts" keep cropping up — words, often in short supply when politicians are discussed.

But at the same time his powerful personality — "charisma" rears its over-worked head when he is being discussed — means that if he has made good friends, he has also made bitter enemies.

"I despise him and I voted for the rat the last time," was the reaction of one of his Cadillac constituents in Burlingame. "He's trying to get all the hippies and rioters and demonstrators on his side, he thinks there's more of them."

#### Shirley Victory

McCloskey first became a national figure by courtesy of Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, whom he defeated with surprising ease back in 1967. But he has now become a national figure in his own right, with a new office being set up in Washington to handle his national affairs.

If he has grabbed the nation's headlines what do his hometown voters think? From talks with voters it is obvious that he is going to have a tough time in 1972.

His problem will not be the general election but the Republican primary. A Republican against the war is one thing; but a Republican openly opposed to the President and willing, even, to talk in terms of impeachment, is too much for some to swallow.

#### Telltale

It is easy to spot the disillusionment just as soon as the word "McCloskey" is mentioned. There is a short pause, and a tightening of the face, while they decide whether to let feelings pour out. Usually they do, asking at the end that their names not be used.

"I had all the faith in the world in him before," said a middle-aged lady selling flowers in Burlingame, "but I wouldn't vote for him again. I don't think he should work against our President. If he kept some of his thoughts to himself he would be much better off."

A middle-aged man standing on a street corner in Burlingame was more blunt: "I think he's the —," he said. "He's talking all the time about this and that, but he's doing nothing for his country."

#### Some Support

In downtown Redwood City a shopkeeper paused as he swept the sidewalk in front of his shop: "I don't think very much of the way he's going against the President. I voted for him the first time, but I wouldn't vote for him again."

"I don't like the way he's doing things now; I am not completely satisfied, but I think I'll vote for him again; I like him even less since he came back from Vietnam; he's an opportunist" — these are some of the feelings that the word "McCloskey" produces.

Jim Hannay, a Cadillac salesman, probably sums up the feelings against McCloskey most clearly. He helped in the Congressman's first campaign, but he says now he has doubts whether he would vote for him again.

"I am not sure that some of his most recent stands are to my way of thinking," he says measuredly.

Hannay says that although he himself is against the war he does not like the methods McCloskey is using to try and end it.

Of course McCloskey can produce the usual disillusionment that greets politicians.

"He's just like the rest of them," said a man behind the counter of a San Mateo newsstand, "they're all lousy."

#### Believers

But he also produces his fair share of believers. "I think he's a good man, he's trying to do something about the war situation," says Burlingame barber A.L. Spalding. "I voted for him last time and I'll vote for him again."

William Trebilcox, 60, of Redwood City, calls himself "one of the silent majority — I don't get out and riot like a lot of 'em." His opinion: "He's saying the right thing and he's not scared of anyone. I'll vote for him again."

"He's got guts," says an early morning customer in a San Mateo coffee shop; but Herb Mattner, a 54 year old gas station manager in San Mateo, put the case for the McCloskey believers in another way:

"He speaks out; he's putting his position in jeopardy for what he believes is right. A man who is willing to sacrifice his political position in the party and go as far out as he has deserves my vote."

#### Vs. Nixon

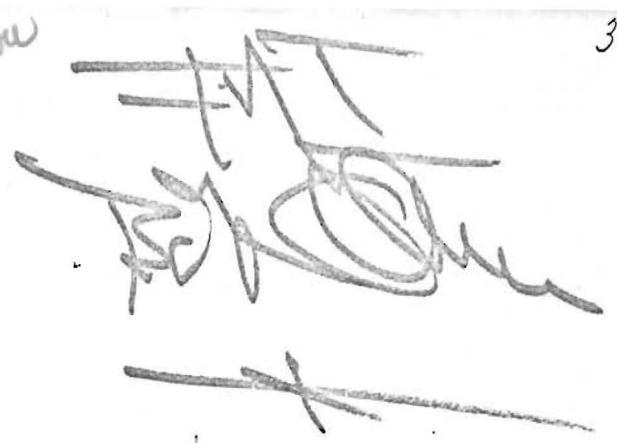
If McCloskey does run against Nixon, he will have Mattner's vote, even though he is a staunch Republican and a previous Nixon supporter.

"If someone like McCloskey doesn't speak out, then this war will not only continue to exist, but it will grow or other Vietnams will pop up," he says.

The Republicans in San Mateo have already started looking for a new candidate behind whom they can unite against their maverick congressman.

But they will have to fight. Robin Schmidt, the congressman's administrative assistant, admits it is "hard to tell" how people feel right now.

5/20 -  
nothing it  
doesn't know

3  


PUBLISHERS-HALL SYNDICATE  
30 EAST 42ND STREET  
NEW YORK, N.Y.

By Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith

Washington, May 15, 1971: There is a lot more than high-flown altruism behind Representative "Pete" McCloskey's artful spearheading of the "dump Nixon" commotion.

Real fact is McCloskey's coy politicking is strictly utilitarian.

The dissident California Republican faces the strong likelihood of being dumped himself. He is under foreboding double-barreled attack:

(1) Local, state and congressional GOP leaders are angrily gunning for him, and admittedly canvassing the field for a potent candidate to run against him in next spring's primary.

(2) As a result of the 1970 census, his eleventh district probably will be importantly changed by the state legislature--with a county comprising a sizable Democratic and ultra-liberal vote being replaced by a more conservative and normally Republican county.

Such a switch would seriously affect McCloskey's chances of holding onto his House seat.

In his three elections, he won largely through Democratic backing. In the first (1967) special election, he owed his victory over Mrs. Shirley Temple Black to a heavy Democratic swing to him. The same happened in 1968, and even more so in 1970 when the Democrats didn't even run anyone against him.

So seeing the threatening handwriting on the wall, McCloskey is cannily maneuvering for a face-saving way out.

The Democratic engineered and financed "dump Nixon" agitation is a fortuitous break for both him and the Democrats. A rebellious Republican standard-bearer suits

their purpose to a T; and for McCloskey, it's a grandstanding escape from a possible trouncing at home.

As McCloskey sees it, he has nothing to lose playing David against the President.

As far as the GOP are concerned, they are already furiously bent on axing him. And while the odds are big against his getting anywhere challenging the President, it will be infinitely more satisfying to McCloskey's far-from-modest ego to be licked doing that than being defeated for re-election to the House.

So while devoutly professing lofty idealism and principles, actually McCloskey is being strictly pragmatic.

#### ALL SIDES TO THE MIDDLE

Graphically illustrative of that trait was McCloskey's recent voting on the appropriation for the House Internal Security Committee—long the target of leftists, ultra-liberals and other militants.

McCloskey was on all sides of this red-hot issue.

It's a highly revealing example of how he craftily maneuvers and operates. Within the space of little more than one hour, he voted both against the appropriation and for it—thus putting himself in a position to claim approval from partisans on both sides.

This remarkable dexterity went unreported. Few if any of McCloskey's constituents, to say nothing of the public at large, are aware of this significant incident. Following is the untold story:

There were three roll call votes. The first was on an amendment to increase the committee's budget to \$570,000 — \$120,000 more than recommended by the Committee on Administration. After a stormy wrangle, the House approved that by the decisive count of 256 to 129.

McCloskey was silent during the torrid argument, but on the showdown he voted against the increase.

He again voted with the opposition on the second and key test on the issue.  
This was an ultra-liberal motion to recommit the appropriation; in effect, to kill it.  
This was rejected even more decisively--274 to 104.

On the immediately following third roll call--for final passage--McCloskey,  
again saying nothing, apparently underwent a remarkable change of heart. This time, he  
lined up with the overwhelming majority--298 to 75.

McCloskey quietly deserted his die-hard militant pals vehemently fighting the  
Internal Security Committee and put himself on record as favoring it.

Thus, within little more than one hour and without saying a word, he achieved  
the unique feat of being on all sides of this politics-loaded controversy. Snorted one  
of his non-admiring California colleagues, "I see Pete is rising above principle again.  
As I have observed for a long time, he has a truly remarkable facility for that kind of  
self-serving Levitation."

#### DEMOCRATIC DARLING

While state and congressional Republican leaders are increasingly denouncing  
McCloskey, his ties with Democrats are steadily expanding.

His fanfared junket to Vietnam last month was financed by a group of wealthy  
ultra-liberal Democrats who put up a lot of money for former Senator Eugene McCarthy's  
1968 campaign. Funds from the same source are paying for the campaign headquarters  
McCloskey has just opened three blocks from the Capitol.

He is in frequent contact with former Representative Allard Lowenstein, D-N.Y.,  
who launched the "dump Johnson" movement and is now loudly tootling "dump Nixon"--with  
McCloskey's enthusiastic support. Two weeks ago, with New Left backing, Lowenstein was  
named head of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), a position he intends to use as  
a springboard to run for either mayor of New York City, governor of the state, or for  
another try for Congress.

One of McCloskey's closest House confidants is Representative Phillip Burton,

D-San Francisco, a militant liberal with considerable influence in California Democratic circles. His brother is a member of the state legislature.

Inside word is that McCloskey is urgently seeking Burton's help to avert adverse redistricting of his home bailiwick.

Whether Burton can help him remains to be seen. Reportedly, local Democrats have their eye on McCloskey's seat and have evinced determination to make a fight for it. Apparently they seem bent on not giving him another free ride.

Which further intensifies his backstage yen for a face-saving way out.

His good friend Lowenstein and other well-heeled Democrats are enticingly offering it to him--as their "dump Nixon" standard-bearer.

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