

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>
25	1	3/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Magruder Re: Nationality Groups. 1 pg.
25	1	3/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Magruder Re: "Youth for Nixon." Copy of Walker's Memo on Clower's information and Bell's offer of assistance. 1 pg
25	1	3/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Chapin Re: "Youth for Nixon." Magruder received copy of Walker's memo on Clower's information and bell's offer to organize nation-wide group. 1 pg.
25	1	3/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Strachan To: Haldeman Re: Voter Groups. 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>
25	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		Memo	From: Higby To: "G" Re: "Ok- LH Also bc Colson" (handwritten). 1 page.
25	1	3/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Strachan To: Magruder Re: Nationality Groups. 1 page
25	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign		From: "L". "Copy of this has gone to Magruder." Two handwritten memos stapled to page. 1 page.
25	1	1/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	The Urban Reporter. "Political advertising on radio and TV will be used less during the 70's." 1 page.
25	1	2/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Baukol To: Strachan Re: Campaign '72. 5 pgs.

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25	1	1/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Magruder To: Haldeman Re: Some thoughts on relationship between White House, RNC, and Campaign Structure. 4 pgs
25	1	1/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Magruder To: Haldeman Re: Reorganizing the RNC. 12 pgs.
25	1	2/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Magruder To: Haldeman Re: "Campaign Task Forces." 2 pgs.
25	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Meeting with Garmen, Magruder, Strachan Re: "Garment generally thinks that a non-campaign might be most effective." 1 pg.
25	1	12/8/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Klein, Magruder To: Haldeman Re: Campaign 1972. "This memorandum analyzes some areas on which this office might focus as we move toward November of 1972." 12 pgs.

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25	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Magruder, Allison Re: "Catalogue resources from '70 Campaign at H's request." Catalogue polling from '68 and '69. Handwritten. 4 pgs.
25	1	1/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	McLeon, Wiley, JSM, TWE Re: Campaign '72. Lists of contacts and phone contacts, to be updated by GS. Define reasonable parameters for WH resources for AG. How to use resources of WH for campaign. Handwrite. 6 pgs.
25	1		<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes from meeting Re: RNC reorganization. McLean, White, Magruder. 1 pg.
25	1	1/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Magruder To: Strachan Re: "Structuring the Advertising Organization for 1972 Nixon Campaign." By Garbett. 4 pgs.
25	1	3/17/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Thomas J. Bray, The Wall Street Journal. "More Magazines Offer a Chance to Aim Ads at Specific Groups." 1 pg.

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25	1	1/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Evans To: Magruder CC: Strachan Re: "A Citizens Campaign for 1972." Starting point for discussion. 5 pgs.
25	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	State by State Contact List for Campaign. 50 pgs.
25	1	12/30/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Magruder, McLane To: Finch Re: Campaign '72 Planning. "This memorandum summarizes our understanding of your views on the need to begin thinking about and planning for the 1972 campaign."

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman

Box Number: 304

Folder: 1 Campaign-Dec '70-Mar '71

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>	
1	Return	Private/Political memo, Strachan to Magruder, 3-15-71
2	Return	Private/Political memo, Strachan to Magruder 3-15-71
3	Return	Private/Political memo, Strachan to Magruder, 3-15-71
4	Return	Private/Political memo, Strachan to HRH 3-15-71
5	Return	Private/Political note, Higby to G [Strachan], [3-16-71]
6	Return	Private/Political note, "Also send it to Colson," [n.d.]
7	Return	Private/Political memo, Baukol re: Campaign '72, 2-11-71
8	Return	Private/Political memo, Magruder to HRH, 1-18-71
9	Return	Private/Political memo, Magruder to the A.G. & HRH, 1-21-71
10	Retain	Open
11	Return	Private/Political memo, Magruder to HRH, 2-19-71
12	Return	Private/Political Memorandum for Files re: meeting, [2-10-71]
13	Return	Private/Political Memo, Klein & Magruder to HRH 12-8-70
14	Retain	Open
15	Retain	Open
16	Retain	Open
17	Return	Private/Political notes, "Magruder, Allison, ..." 1-21-[71]
18	Return	Private/Political notes, "Campaign '72," 1-12-71
19	Return	Private/Political notes, "RNC Reorg," n.d.
20	Return	Private/Political note, Magruder to Strachan, 1-22-71
21	Return	Private/Political Clipping, Wall St. Journal, 3-17-70
22	Return	Private/Political Ltr, Evans to Magruder, 1-8-71
23	Return	Private/Political Memo, Magruder & McLane to Finch, 12-30-70

March 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Nationality Groups

You might want to consider having a Task Force on nationality groups.

Bob is concerned that Lasso Passtor deals only with the staunch Republican groups to the probable exclusion of other potential voters.

Could you advise us by March 22 of the status of this project?

Thank you.

Due
March 22

GS:kb

March 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: "Youth for Nixon"

A copy of Ron Walker's memorandum to Dwight Chapin describes two opportunities that should not be missed. Would you have your youth task force consider Dewey Clower's information and Tom Bell's offer of assistance?

cc: Mr. Chapin

GS:kb

March 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHAPIN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: "Youth for Nixon"

One of the task forces that Magruder is establishing deals with youth in general and the 18-20 year old voter in particular. Magruder has received a copy of Walker's memorandum describing Dewey Clewer's information and Tom Bell's offer to organize a nation-wide group.

Appropriate follow-up should enable us to grasp this opportunity.

✓cc: Mr. Magruder

March 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Voter Groups

Colson suggested on March 8 that we call a planning meeting to assess our political opportunities with certain groups (labor, suburbanites, Jews, Blacks, etc.). He believes that Ehrlichman, Rumsfeld, Finch, Garment, and Fletcher should get together with you.

An alternative, which might be more productive, would be to have that group meet as a Task Force with a young staff member, such as Dick Howard, to keep track of suggestions and solutions. The Task Force could submit periodic recommendations to you for review.

Approve meeting _____

Approve Task Force _____

Comment _____

GS:kb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

To:

G

From: L. Higby

OK - L.H.
Also bc Done
3/16
Colson
L.

March 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Nationality Groups

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Bob is concerned that Lasso Passtor deals only with the staunch Republican groups to the probable exclusion of other potential voters.

Could you advise us by March 22 of the status of this project?

Thank you.

Due
March 22

GS:kb

Also send
of to
Cobson
✓

~~Copy of this has
gone to Magruder.~~

into
Green
"Magruder
Task Force"
File

The Urban Reporter

A twice-monthly briefing on our changing society

January 20, 1971

Media

What role will the media play in the 1970's and how will it affect and be affected by social change? A number of dramatic changes are on the horizon. Here are some of the most significant ones *The Urban Reporter* predicts will take place:

of political influence

State and/or national policies will be set to limit public utility advertising — Environmentalists are placing heavy pressure on utilities to become more responsive to stopping pollution and curtailing energy depletion. Two recent incidents suggest that either voluntarily or through legislation, public utilities will curb their advertising in an effort to limit the demand for their services. In Oregon, the Public Utility Commissioner, Sam Haley, has proposed a rule to restrict utility advertising and other promotional programs, which calls for a \$3.00 per customer per year limit on advertising. The measure has the support of the Sierra Club, but, if adopted, the Oregon utilities have stated that it will be challenged in court. In Memphis, the Memphis Light, Gas and Water Division has voluntarily started an ad campaign that emphasizes conservation of power through better insulation of new homes, less frequent use of major appliances, and turning off of unneeded lights. Carl Crawford, the company's public relations director, said that, "By using electricity more efficiently, customers cut down electric bills and at the same time conserve natural energy."

Political advertising on radio and TV will be used less during the 70's — Even though President Nixon vetoed the bill to limit expenditures on political advertising, the result of the 1970 elections will convince politicians that "hard sell" campaigns can no longer be counted on to get the votes. More specifically, a recent survey indicated that news coverage and editorials influence undecided voters far more than advertising. The survey was conducted by Walter DeVries, political consultant to the successful re-election campaign of Michigan's GOP Governor William Milliken. The findings came from a telephone survey conducted last May among 809 Michigan voters who were undecided or who had split their tickets in previous elections.

He asked respondents to rank 36 factors in terms of their importance in affecting voter decisions. The factors were then ranked on a scale of 0 (least important) to 11 (most important). The following chart lists the 20 factors most directly related to the media:

TV newscasts	6.7	Political brochures	3.8
TV documentaries, specials	6.5	Magazine Stories	3.8
Newspaper editorials	5.8	Ads in newspapers	3.8
Newspaper stories	5.8	Books	3.6
TV editorials	5.7	Ads on TV	3.6
TV talk shows	5.6	Political mailings	3.4
Radio newscasts	5.3	Ads on radio	3.0
Radio talk shows	4.5	Ads in magazines	2.9
Magazine editorials	4.3	Billboards	2.4
Radio editorials	4.2	Telephone campaigns	2.3

With this issue:
Special Report
Campus Protest
Fall, 1970



The Urban Reporter is published by the Urban Research Corporation, 5464 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60615 (Tel: 312-955-3050). Copyright © 1970 by Urban Research Corporation. All rights reserved.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1971

*good
but better
I had
page 2*

CAMPAIGN '72:

1. Users Needs - I would say the basic users needs are: a) the ability to respond to a charge, accusation or opportunity almost immediately. The best way to do this is probably with a responsive network into the government b) provide background for speeches, position papers, particularly on major issues, for example, what we said we would do, what we are doing, what we are planning to do c) provide background, creativity, and specific exploitable items for opposition attack d) provide an up-to-the-minute news summary and news alert (I will assume that this function is not handled by us but rather by the current news summary people e) provide the ability to disseminate the information by letter to desired recipients, by telex or whatever.

I talked with Marty Anderson January 22. He mentioned that the information needs to get out to the candidate: it can be interpreted there in light of what the basic question was. He felt the RNC would serve for opposition research. We should find a Muskie man and use him starting now. Have him travel with Muskie, learn about Muskie, etc., but you can't depend on the RNC without very close supervision. On issue analysis, he felt the problem was not getting and storing the information, but dragging it out with a sense of urgency. In 1970 they used an ad hoc chain with contact points throughout the government to get information. They also had a man, Dick Burres, who went to all the meetings in the White House and was the guy to feed information back to the Vice President so the Vice President would be up-to-date on the positions. They positioned not to pull all of the information together but rather to build a structure so response and information can be gotten quickly. You can't predict what information you will want. He thought we should verify 12 - 15 major issues and make sure all the votes on those issues are known rather than trying to keep detailed voting analyses on every single question. He said he wouldn't use micro-film or computer. He would have one guy with five file cabinets that knew everything there was to know about Muskie because the total search time is slight compared to all the other lags in the system, so he's big on taking the money and using it for good people.

Chuck Lichenstein on February 5 felt we should have crisp fact sheets on each major issue that really address the situation. The propaganda sheets can be developed from those but we need to face up ourselves to the real facts on the major issues. He agreed with the network business, but also felt you needed a file of both attack and defense materials. He would actually start work with what we have and use on dry runs -- be sure to check the unfavorable material on the opposition so we don't get caught with our foot in our mouth. He doesn't think we need Nixon expert such as he was in '60. He likes the Muskie man idea of Anderson's. He would not have a Humphrey and/or a Kennedy man at this time.

George Grassmuck on February 5 felt the major key was to pull the Administration and the RNC together and develop understandings on who should do what. The RNC has time and the approaches we don't have available. The key is to get a commonality of purpose with Bill Low and others at his level and the White House people so that everybody is working towards the same goal. He likes the Muskie man idea and would have this man simulate what Muskie would do. In '60 they had an answer desk. The RNC had one for their people and the President also had one that could get answers quickly. Both had access to the same set of facts. They also had a truth squad. Congressmen and Senators that followed the opposition candidate the next day into that town saying the truth. This truth squad was very dependent on where the opposition was or had been. The network should also feed trouble as well as good things and should let us know when something is going to have adverse reaction so we can be ready to counter. We should also do a better job in having our Schedule C reinforce the President's statements. Perhaps we should indoctrinate our new Schedule C's. On mailing lists, he felt that an automatic mailing to, for example, company presidents, didn't make much sense because certain times of the year company presidents are too busy to read anything. It would be better to save material and send it to him when he's not busy just like a college president shouldn't get much stuff in the summer because he is probably gone. He feels that housewives are much more likely to read something than their husbands, and that the cover letter on our mailings should give information and abstract the article in a factual fashion. Looking toward the campaign, in the last three months of it everything has to work well. Everything should be pointed to economy of time and effort.

In total, it looks like there are several complimentary systems that are needed. Now we should set up a Muskie man so that he can start getting the feel and facts on Muskie. We should work towards a file system on opposition and Administration statements, look towards a set of fact sheets at the appropriate time, and start building a responsive network.

2. Information Retrieval -- There are three basic systems of information retrieval that I am familiar with. One is a full text retrieval system on the computer where you store the entire document on the computer and the computer indexes by word so that you can search by word. For example, you can look for combinations of the words Muskie, Kosygin, foreign policy, and all articles which have those three words occurring within 15 words of each other can be kicked out so that you can look at them. This eliminates the need to code articles. Coding is mainly a problem because you must code an article now for a campaign several years in the future without knowing what issues will be critical or what terminology will be used in the future, hence many good articles are coded incorrectly for the future. We have a company in Virginia we have discussed full text retrieval with on a fairly detailed basis. They did have a system for the Department of Defense where they put all of the Laird's and Packard's public statements on Defense. This worked very well.

The major disadvantages: The input side - we first looked at putting everything into the computer that nows goes on Micro-film. The cost of that would be in the five hundred thousand dollar a year range which is wasteful considering how little of it is really relevant; however, the more recent look at the minimum you would put in which would be the direct speeches and direct quotes, for example, on Muskie, estimated \$40,000 for one year's input on 8 - 10 people or the stable of potential opposition candidates. That's 40,000 for one year. If we wanted to add four year's quotes that would obviously be \$160,000. Putting the President and Vice President would cost more like \$280,000 per year.

A government system is being worked on now by NSC which will have all of the President's documents and statements on. This system however, will not be operational until late '72.

The second type of storage facility is a Micro-film capability such as the RNC has now. In this type the articles are stored on Micro-film and coded with about 4 or 5 parameters or titles per article. On the surface this mechanism would seem perfectly adequate as long as coding was done well.

The third type is strictly a manual file with sub-headings. The problem here is cross-filing the several types of subjects that are carried in many speeches or articles.

The key in all of these information storage and retrieval systems is that the information you get out is no better than the information you put in and the way that it is coded. I really think that a major factor in the demonstrated weakness of the current system is the lack of political savvy of the people putting the articles in. They put in many, too many standard articles and don't search out and find the really relevant pieces. This is where, of course, a Muskie man would have his biggest impact.

3. Mailing -- The mailing system we have now is relatively shallow, but reasonably effective at getting material out to people. The next questions are: is it effective? do people read it? are there not many more people to whom we should be sending more individually tailored material? Right now there are 130,000 names on our master mailing list. We are adding them at about 16,000 per month which would get us up to 400,000 plus names by mid-72. We have our names categorized by demographic group, i. e. mayors, police chiefs, county health officers, editors, etc. And, also by interest groups, i. e., revenue sharing, foreign affairs, etc. Obviously duplications occur which the computer must eliminate when we mail to both demographic and interest people. Looking at the demographic types, assuming it is a pyramid at the very top being the most important influence molders such as company presidents, editors, editorial writers, etc. and at the bottom is the voter. The question is how far down that pyramid do you go in mailing material. The cost of our average mailing now is 22¢. We will have to construct a picture of that pyramid in terms of size, influence and benefit of each of the horizontal layers then decide how far down the pyramid we should accumulate names. For example, we now have 47,000 precinct chairmen, but did not send these people the State of the Union booklet because of cost. If we aren't going to use these low level influence molders we shouldn't put them on the list.

A related issue is, should we be mailing to voters, if so we need to do both demographic and political analysis on them to ascertain what material sent to who for the greatest benefit per dollar. I talked to Vince Barbara of DMI who is the Spencer-Roberts computer mailing affiliate. They have an elaborate plan for matching the

demographic and political data and then mailing pointed letters. He says he has an analysis of the 14 key states with identified Republican counties and swing counties so that we could concentrate our dollars on the key areas. The RNC also has a re-districting program which gives demographic and political correlations. This program is being used by a few states. The dollar cost of doing this is quite variable. It would be in the \$10,000 - \$50,000 range for the survey assuming not too great a degree of political history on the precinct level. The third district in Minnesota was done for less than \$10,000 because of good organization and effort at the local level. The letters that followed would, of course, cost in the neighborhood of 10¢ - 15¢ per letter.

The major problem we have with mailing right now is a tendency to mail for the sake of mailing. We need to mail to X hundreds presidents, Y hundred editors and Z hundred academicians just because everybody thinks that is a good deal, but it may not have any effect at all if those people don't read. We do have a post card survey starting now, which may tell us whether people read what we send them. We do know that the editors do because we see editorials semi-frequently referring back to something we sent to them.

4. Campaign -- I talked to the campaign manager of the Bill Frenzel campaign in Minnesota, being acquainted with those folks. They had a telex set-up with the Republican Congressional Committee which worked fine mechanically, but they didn't get much information out of it which was worthwhile to them, nor did they get much help from the RNC really. They had an informal link to Murray Choitner which gave them more help than anything. They did feel it very desirable to get up-to-the minute, if anything advance information on items that were to happen so that they would be ready to respond or exploit and felt that perhaps two mailings addresses for written material, one for the candidate and one for the campaign manager would be appropriate, and some method of flagging material which was of particular relevance.

I have also touched base with Murray Choitner, Harry Dent, Chuck Colson, Jerry Warren on the systems we are talking about. I have had trouble getting real definitions as to what we need in that they all want everything available. Colson was easily the most interested person. He feels strongly that the political savvy is the key element which has been missing so far. I certainly agree. I also talked to Nofziger who was equally interested and nebulous.


RON BAUKOL

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By LA NARS, Date 3-23-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HALDEMAN ✓

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER *JM*

SUBJECT: Some thoughts on the relationship between
the White House, the RNC, and the
Campaign Structure

To insure the reelection of the President, it is important that the functional responsibility of the three groups mentioned above be clearly defined. We will have strong leadership at the Committee, continued strong leadership emanating from the White House and, if the Attorney General is the director of the campaign, strong leadership from the campaign. Definition of functions is particularly important in light of the strong-willed and possibly incompatible chairman and co-chairman at the RNC.

I. The RNC relationship is probably the most difficult, but a strong effort must be made to insure a reasonable working relationship with the Committee. The Committee must feel it is in the main stream while at the same time not having actual authority or responsibility over either the campaign or, of course, the President. Their primary mission should be:

A. To work with the party organizations in each state to develop strong candidates and build strong state organizations.

B. To have the chairman become our chief attach spokesman, hitting O'Brien and other Democratic leaders. If Nofziger goes to the Committee, his primary responsibility should be in helping Dole accomplish this objective.

CONFIDENTIAL

cc: Gordon Strachan

C. To become one of the support groups for the campaign organization. It should not have the primary substantive policy role in our 1972 campaign, although Dole and Evans should be included in the official policy making body that develops campaign strategy.

Specific resource capabilities that should be considered for the RNC are the following:

1. Continuing work in developing our opinion leader mailing list.
2. Efforts to develop capabilities relating to information retrieval and other computer oriented projects.
3. Continued survey research capabilities with the final decision making still being held at the White House and/or through the campaign structure.
4. A reorientation of their youth and heritage functions so that, instead of spending money on organizational charts of ineffective groups of Hungarian refugees, we concern ourselves with spending the dollars to insure votes for the President and our candidates in 1972. The results of this work should then be used by the campaign committee for direct appeal by the President.
5. The communications and research functions should be reevaluated. Both individuals heading up these areas are, in the opinion of most of the people who have worked with them here, not effective. If we are to get results from the resource structure, we definitely need better leadership in the communications and research areas.
6. Official convention activity should be under the control of the RNC. This activity should be closely monitored by the campaign committee and the White House to insure that the convention is a positive force for reelection of the President. If the convention is the normal dreary week of confusing TV we have missed a golden opportunity. The Democrats have restructured their convention to make it more appealing to the public. Someone should give creative thought to our convention immediately.

7. In the next six to nine months we will probably need field men in certain areas to begin work on the campaign. Positions at the Committee could assure low visibility until the campaign structure surfaces.

II. The personnel at the White House have a year and a half to build the President and his programs with the public. The various resource structures within the White House -- Klein, Colson, Malek, Timmons, the Domestic Council, etc. -- should be reoriented to this activity. They should not concern themselves directly with the campaign. Each office's responsibility should be carefully defined so that any campaign role does not become counter productive.

There are specific functions that the White House can perform better than the campaign structure i. e., the scheduling of the Cabinet probably should remain in Klein's office throughout the campaign rather than in the campaign organization; Malek's recruiting capabilities could be used to get talent for the campaign; Colson could continue high level special interest contacts here, while, at the same time, a second operation in the campaign could be directed to getting votes from these same special interest groups.

My point here is that free-lance operations should be discouraged. Clear lines of responsibility within all of these groups are essential to an effective, successful campaign.

III. The campaign structure can and should remain undercover for the next six to nine months. Certain functional assignments should be made soon so that exploration and evaluation of advertising, direct mail, Citizens for Nixon, etc. can be done immediately. It is my feeling that this could best be done by assigning individuals inside the government to these projects, as well as the possible use of outside individuals who are loyal Nixon supporters.

We should be exploring the use of available resources outside, such as mailing lists and information on youth that are available through companies like Readers' Digest and Pepsi Cola.

Now, while the campaign structure is in its formative stages, individuals within the government should be targetted for full-time campaign responsibilities when the structure surfaces so that there is an easy transition when we gear up for the campaign.

The most important areas for immediate exploration are the long lead time functions. We must begin now if we are to have alternatives ready when the time for decision arrives.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 21, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR The Attorney General
 H. R. Haldeman

FROM Jeb S. Magruder

SUBJECT Reorganization of the Republican
 National Committee

As you have suggested, new blood at the top of the Republican National Committee gives us the opportunity to make structural and personnel changes to strengthen the Committee and to enhance the Committee's usefulness to the President and the State Committees.

The RNC has been operating in the traditional between-election role of holding the party together. The emphasis has been directed towards organizational and program support for Republican candidates. Neither functional support for the White House nor service support for the State Committees has been provided by the RNC. Consequently, much of the \$6 million budget has been dissipated in "make work" efforts.

The key staff members of the RNC have been unable or unwilling to respond to White House directives. Sometimes, the problem is caused by Division Directors being "in over their heads," with insufficient technical or managerial experience to provide the leadership or technical direction required to assure implementation of requests. In other cases, the problem is caused by many staff members coming up from State Party organizations and not the President's campaign staff.

Coupled with the continued absence of the Deputy Chairman from RNC headquarters, these two problems confused lines of responsibility and authority, resulting in substantial in-fighting between Divisions and generally poor work. The Research Division, for example, was not given guidance by its Director and, therefore, was used by other Divisions for various projects, resulting in inadequate research production. Similar problems produced a wholly ineffective Communications Division.

MISSION OF RNC

The addition of Tom Evans as a full-time Co-Chairman will help resolve many of these problems. However, even Tom Evans cannot resolve all the problems and infuse new life into the RNC without a structure which supports the RNC's mission.

As we have discussed, the mission the RNC should perform over the next 18 months, and for which Senator Dole and Tom Evans are particularly qualified, is twofold:

- . to broaden the Administration's base of communications with the voters of America by developing and implementing a creative information and education program, which gives new slants to the President's policies and provides the Republican Party with the capability for consistent and effective attack on the opposition.
- . to provide limited, yet in depth, organizational and technical services to support the President's 1972 campaign effort and the needs of the State Committees.

With a Republican in the White House, the RNC does not have to, nor should it, create its own policy issues. The President's positions are the Chairman's positions and his role becomes one of selling and defending them. He also must become the Party's chief spokesman for consistent and effective attack on the opposition. In fact, he should develop the reputation as an outspoken leader of the Party machinery to such a degree that when an issue breaks, reporters automatically turn to him for reaction. Larry O'Brien receives this kind of coverage. The Republican Party does not.

The RNC should also develop needed services for national, statewide and local candidates. These services include demographic analyses, surveys, soft-ware packages, specific information on various

special groups, and campaign guidelines. The RNC's strength and usefulness to both the President and State Committees will depend directly on its ability to provide such services.

RECOMMENDED STRUCTURAL CHANGES

The RNC is currently organized around distinct program or operating responsibilities, as shown in Chart I. To shift from this orientation to mission support and to ensure the limited resources (50 professional personnel and \$6 million budget) are focused on this mission, the RNC organization should be modified, as shown in Chart II.

1. Tom Evans, as Chief Operating Officer, becomes primarily responsible for implementing the RNC mission and for coordinating all Committee activities through Mrs. Armstrong, a Deputy Chairman for Political Affairs, a Deputy Chairman for Communications, and four Division Directors. Tom Evans' desire to be "Mr. Inside", his take charge attitude, and his proven managerial skills make him particularly fitted for this role.
2. The position of Deputy Chairman for Political Affairs is retained. However, its function shifts from principal operating officer of the Committee to political service and get-out-the-vote functions (Administration Division and Political Division). This Deputy Chairman is to implement the RNC's mission of providing organizational and technical support services.
3. The position of Deputy Chairman for Communications is created to implement the RNC's mission of developing and implementing a creative information and education program. The Research Division and Communications Division, which many people have previously urged be combined, are linked under this Deputy Chairman. The prime functions of this office are:
 - to give the Research and Communications Divisions proper direction to ensure the compilation of necessary information for appropriate users in usable form and in a timely manner

- . to provide creative approaches to selling the President's programs. For example, brochures should be developed for the Manager, Heritage Groups which point out "What the President Has Done for the _____" (Polish, Italian, etc.); arrangements should be made for the President to be filmed with appropriate Heritage groups in appropriate places in the course of Presidential, "non-political" travels.
 - . to develop appropriate positions for attacking the Democratic Party and its leading Presidential contenders
 - . to provide the Chairman, on his speaking and political travels, with a high-level companion who can speak with authority to local press and local politicians
4. The Communications Division is broadened from the existing "production shop" to a creative marketing division with strengthened media services, the addition of a Special Groups feature desk and a speech writer, the tying together of all productions (publications, brochures, films, etc.) under a Communications Services Group, and the addition of a separate Direct Mail operation. With the increasing importance of direct mail, this operation should be separate and provided with the necessary resources to expand.
5. The Research Division retains a statistical research section, but loses data processing to the Administration Division. Statistical research is a creative function, while data processing is an on-going technical service function. Under the direction of the Deputy Chairman, this Division should supply the Chairman and Co-Chairman with creative substantive input on issues.

6. Mrs. Armstrong assumes control of three functions -- the Women's Division, Special Programs, and affiliate liaison (NFRW, YR, CYR, and RGA). If her role should become more public relations oriented, with a heavy speaking schedule on appropriate issues (consumer affairs and the economy, women's role in the 1970's, etc.), the operational functions of her job could be placed under the Political Division.
7. The Political Division is revamped to give special focus to Special Groups and to Political Service. An Assistant Director of the Political Division for Special Groups, as well as a Manager for each group, should assist to develop this significant service area.
8. A special assistant for scheduling and advancing is added to the Chairman's office to assure proper arrangements are made for the Chairman's travels. Ron Walker has advance men available who could fulfill this function well.
9. A general purpose special assistant is added to Co-Chairman Evans' office for his personal needs.

RECOMMENDED PERSONNEL ACTIONS

Since organizational shifts alone will not change the RNC, it is recommended that the following personnel actions be taken:

- . a replacement for Bob Hitt be found to take over the Administration Division
- . Bill Low remain as Director of the Political Division
- . Gordon Wade be replaced as Director of the Communications Division by a creative marketing type of person who also has broad management skills

The Attorney General
H. R. Haldeman
January 21, 1971
page 6

- . Robert Jungman be replaced as Director of the Research Division by a broad analytical thinker with some management experience
- . Frank Leonard be appointed as Manager of Communication Services

Very little is known about other RNC personnel to make a fair evaluation. Senator Dole and Tom Evans should assess their needs early and make the acquisition of top-flight personnel their first priority.

Fred Malek would be able to assist in the recruitment of needed top-level personnel. Some of these people might be found already within the Federal Government.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

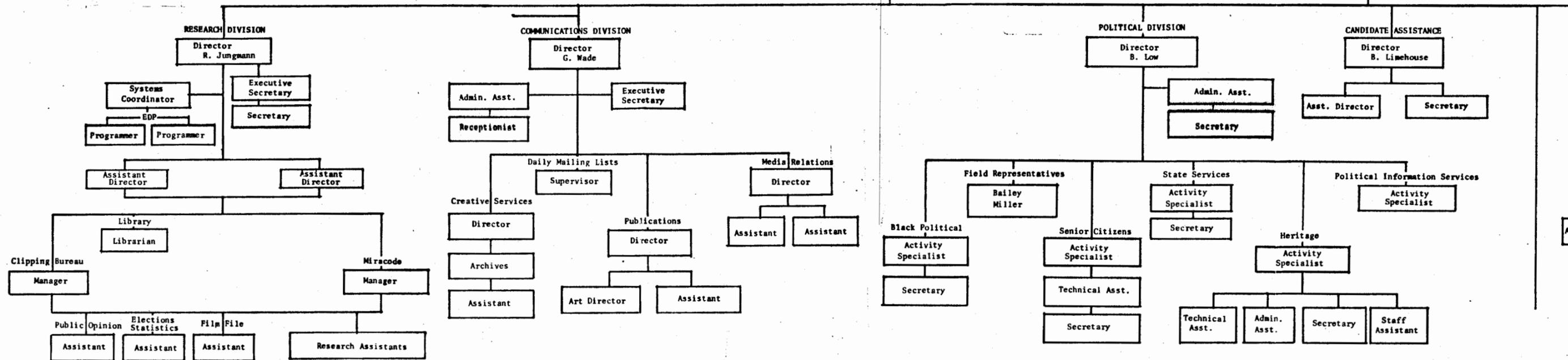
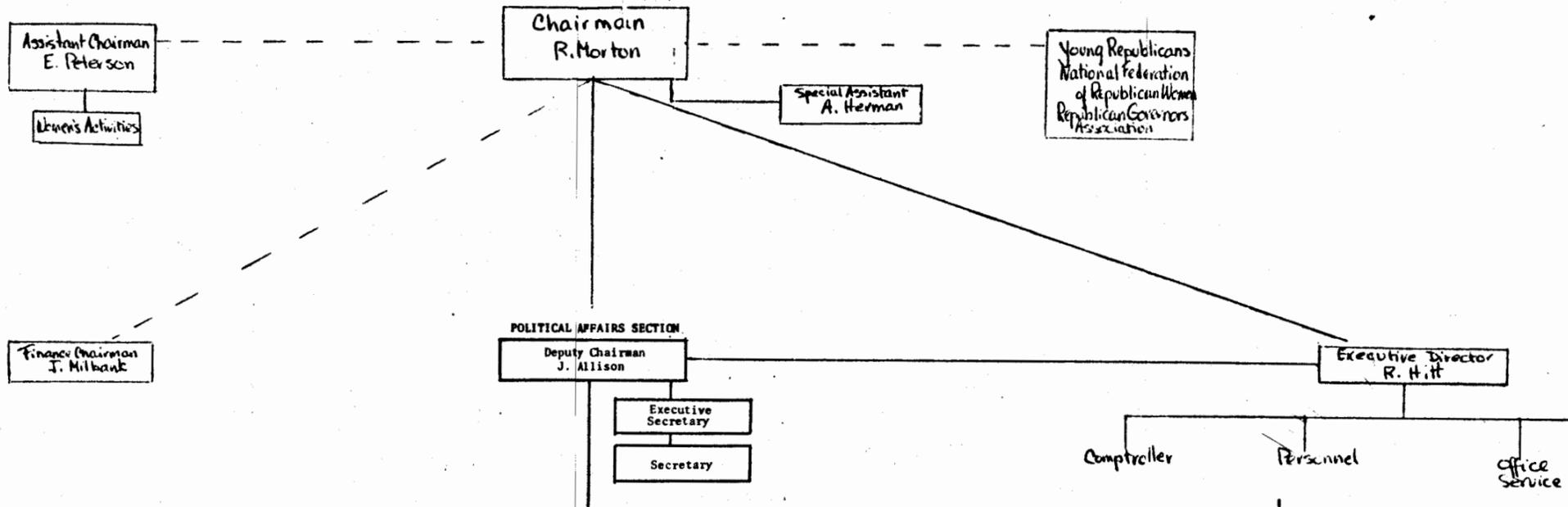
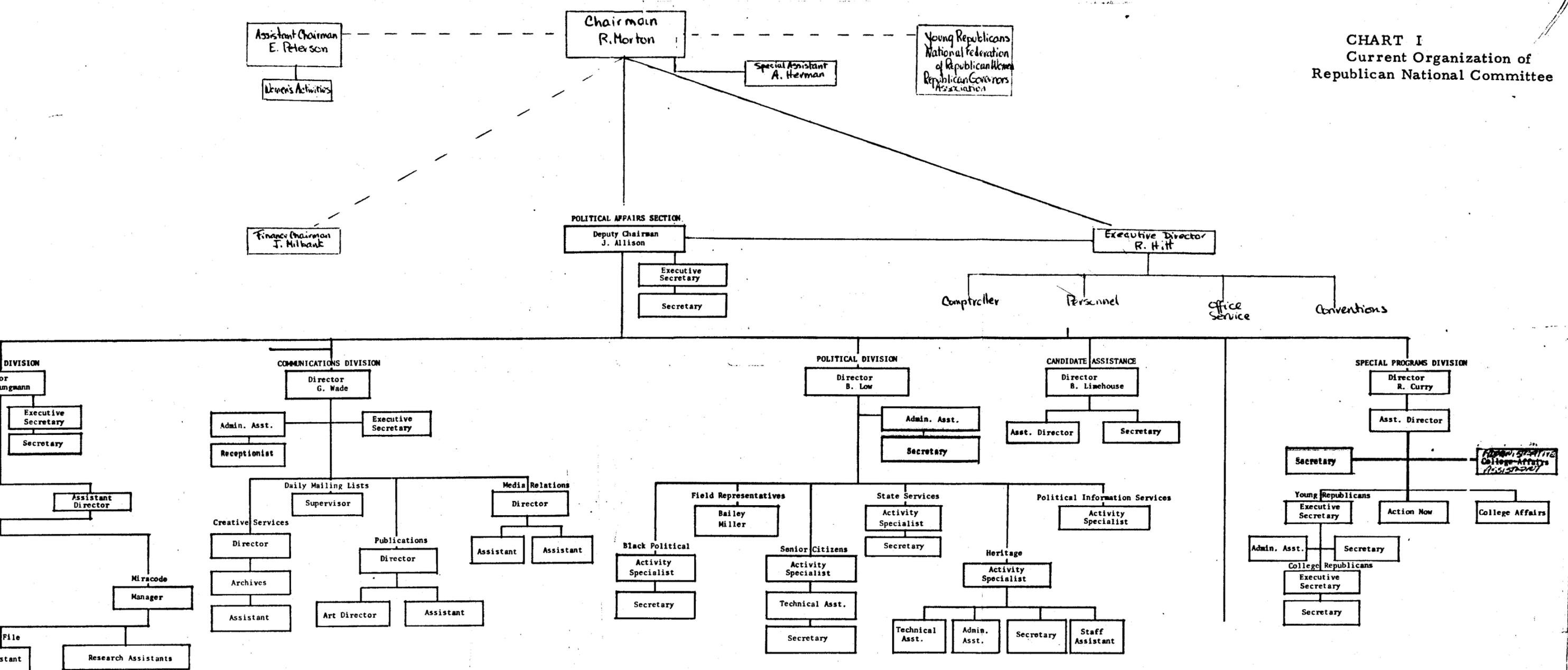


CHART I
Current Organization of
Republican National Committee



Supreme

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HALDEMAN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Campaign Task Forces

As you may know many of our staff political operatives both here at the White House and outside are thinking about Campaign 72. Each is haphazardly pursuing his own area of interest.

One approach to this problem is the pre-emptive Task Force. By establishing a Task Force in each of the key areas, the right thinkers are put on the right projects and the free-lancer is pulled into the system. This approach establishes target areas and thereby enables the Attorney General to establish a time frame for the campaign. One advantage is that it requires no one's full time effort so no elaborate outside organization need be established.

Suggested areas for the Task Force approach to be applied include:

- Advertising and Direct Mail;
- Polling, Computers and Research;
- Citizens Committees and the State by State Campaign Organizations;
- The 18 - 21 year old vote;
- The Black and Women's Vote;
- Middle America;
- And Democratic Contenders.

Each Task Force could have White House Staffers; individuals in Departments, such as Dick Moore, Stan Pottinger, and Don Santarelli; representatives from the RNC, such as Tom Evans or Lyn Nofziger and independent advisers such as Cliff Miller. Task Forces that should probably begin operating immediately include:

1. Advertising and Direct Mail The basic question seems to be what type of organization and approach is appropriate for the President in 1972. Suggested members for the group

include Chapin, Garment, Shakespeare, Rumsfeld and Nofziger. Rhatican could serve as the Project Manager for this Task Force.

2. Polling, Computers and Research Work has already begun on expanding our computer capabilities. A Task Force of Staff members who will know what we will need in 1972 as well as those with the technical background to determine the feasibility should be formed. The group could include Timmons, Huston, Price and Howard. Ron Baukol could act as Project Manager. The correct use and development of polling could be under the direction of Flanigan, Colson, Magruder, Dent and Safire. Dick Howard could serve as Project Manager.
3. Democratic Contenders They should be considered as a group as well as individually. The strategy of the group as coordinated by Lawrence O'Brien should be determined and appropriate responses developed. One member should be assigned to each contender to assure complete grasp on his strategy. The Task Force here for the group could include Buchanan, Price, Moore, Finch, and Nofziger. The Project Manager could be Rob Odle. The project Manager could also be a reliable person in one of the departments.

Since this is primarily a campaign tool which would draw on White House Staff members, if you approve I would like to discuss the idea with the Attorney General.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comment _____

MEMORANDUM FOR FILES

Meeting with Garment , Magruder, Strachan - February 10th.

Garment generally thinks that a non-campaign might be the most effective.

There will be so many campaign organizations and such a variety of activities from Muskie, McGovern, Kennedy, etc. that we might be best running a complete non-campaign.

This follows along the idea of a no convention.

We must begin thinking and ~~planning~~ planning now. We must also assure that we can accept the variety of views. ~~Garment~~ Garment is obviously concerned about our reputation for stifling dissent. The task force should be self-critical.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
December 8, 1970

E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By *Ep*, date *3-23-82*

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HALDEMAN

FROM: HERBERT G. KLEIN
JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Campaign 1972

This memorandum analyzes some areas on which this office might focus as we move toward November of 1972.

Now that the 1970 campaign wrap-up has ended, we would like to discuss in some depth the experiences we have had which would enable us effectively to explore alternative approaches to the forthcoming Presidential campaign. Decisions should be made now so that there is time to work organizationally in preparation for an effective campaign in 1972.

We will mainly concern ourselves in these recommendations with those areas in which we have had past experience; we shall suggest ways in which those areas might be further developed.

Naturally, our domestic and foreign policies, the state of the economy, the President's approach to the campaign, and the political operation will have a major impact on the outcome of the 1972 election. We do not plan to explore those areas in this memorandum, but rather will concentrate on the organizational support activities where we can be of most assistance.

We would view whatever activities we undertake as an extension of the President's office through you to the various sub-groups which will ultimately be involved in the campaign. There will be, in 1972, the

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

Citizens groups, the RNC, the media and creative agencies, the Cabinet, etc., all of which could be reached by the President and your office normally through the mechanisms we would set up. We are fully aware of the need for keeping in the background and this would be done particularly prior to the convention. We believe our office has set a record for handling things in this way. Obviously, there will be occasions also when the President and his key political advisers will want to deal directly with any of the above.

If you approve general concepts as outlined below, we can further develop concrete, specific and detailed suggestions.

ADVERTISING

Drawing on our experience in 1970, and spending a good deal of time in 1971 studying campaign advertising, we would gear up to handle all of the Presidential campaign advertising, including the print media; radio and television; brochures; direct mail, both by the use of mailings to our hundreds of opinion-leader mailing lists and specific voter mailings where appropriate. Again, this would mean working through a group set up at the National Committee or at the campaign headquarters, but it would best use the mechanisms we have set up during the past years. It would mean also that we would be consulting with outside experts we have built up a relationship with.

Our proposal here is that we use the first part of 1971 to look at a number of preferably small creative advertising agencies and also at various individuals involved in advertising (e.g.: media buyers, copy writers, and creative people). We would put together a number of various combinations of individuals and agencies who could handle a national campaign.

Then, in November of 1971, we would present the best of these various approaches and combinations to you and others you might select. A decision could be made at that time as to which approach we wanted to take.

The point here is that we would spend the necessary time to study all the various agencies and individuals -- for example, direct mail plays a greater role in each election and will probably be very big in 1972 due to criticism of and possible regulation of the use of television. We would

carefully study all the large direct mail houses in 1971 to find out what should be done in 1972. Obviously, the direct mail must be specifically targeted, both politically and as to residents within key geographical areas. This makes the mail house selection all the more important.

Such an experience in 1971 would enable us to put together Presidential radio and television advertising, campaign films of the President with certain candidates, radio tape endorsements, etc.

Therefore, we propose that we be given permission to commence such a study which will result in a presentation to you next fall of the best alternatives.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

SCHEDULING

Again, drawing on our experience in 1970, the Scheduling Office would coordinate the political activities of (1) the First Family; (2) Cabinet members, Administration officials and key White House staff who would function as "surrogate candidates" as in 1968 and; (3) celebrities. This office would perform its customary job of filling requests for speakers, but it would also decide where our people ought to be, and then find forums for them to appear.

A list of 1972 key states would be developed as soon as possible and updated as often as necessary between now and the election. Appearances by Cabinet members and others would place emphasis on these key states immediately. Primary contacts in each state should be identified as soon as possible so that the head of the scheduling operation could initiate personal contact. The various state GOP and citizens organizations would be instructed to contact the scheduling office regarding VIP appearances.

We propose that we continue our efforts in scheduling the Cabinet and other Administration officials, stepping up our activities in January of 1972 to focus almost exclusively on the key states.

In the past, most of the speeches have been made in response to invitations. These are a good source, but we are compiling a list of national

association and organization conventions so that we may actively seek spots on the programs of those conventions which are advantageous to us. We also will seek information from the Cabinet officers regarding major invitations they turn down so the possibility of filling these could be reviewed. We are looking here at service clubs, fraternal organizations, labor unions, ethnic groups and others. We believe this office also can contribute more to suggestions as to possible Presidential appearances which again would be ones we would look for rather than waiting for invitations to come in.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

We propose further that we schedule celebrities and the First Family (not including, of course, the President) beginning in June of 1972. During 1971 we would set up our celebrities program drawing on our experience in 1970.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Advance men, schedule coordinators, transportation coordinators, a pool of private aircraft, access to speechwriters, etc., will have to be available to the Scheduling Office in 1972 -- but not until then.

The next section in this memorandum is "Broadcast Scheduling". It is obvious that the person in charge of broadcast scheduling would work very closely with the Scheduling Office to make certain that every time an Administration official is sent out, that person would appear on local and/or regional radio and TV talk shows.

BROADCAST SCHEDULING AND LIAISON

As mentioned above, this "office" would work closely with the scheduling operation to place our traveling officials on TV. We have a good, updated card file on several hundred radio-TV talk shows, many of which were used during the campaign. We know which are cooperative and which have impact.

This office should also continue as the Administration contact point for all national television including the Sunday interview programs and late night talk shows. This avoids the problem of working at cross purposes within the Administration and gives us clout when attempting to get our

people on these shows. This will be available in 1972 when we want to get out our line each week.

Prime time special TV interviews have obvious impact. The 25 special prime time, half-hour regional shows we arranged in the 1970 campaign can be substantially increased now that we have a foundation of cooperative station management people to work with.

The group station approach for interviews should be continued. This was effective last time where we hit several key stations in a group set-up with a single interview. Westinghouse, Cox and RKO General, among others, were eager to cooperate and we can expand on this by working with the major groups which together comprise a formidable TV-radio network. We are now well plugged into the Washington bureaus of the groups which generate much material for their stations.

During the campaign we learned that there is a growing availability of top government officials to tape half-hour shows even in areas where there are no regular talk shows. These are important in smaller states which will have a major bearing on the election or in medium sized cities such as Springfield, Illinois and Sacramento, California.

Where the Vice President is concerned, city or state-wide TV hookups should be encouraged rather than giving a single station an exclusive. Most stations will cooperate on this and did in North Dakota and North Carolina.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

We want to stress here how important it is that the Scheduling Office, which would plan the travels of the Cabinet, Administration spokesmen, the First Family and celebrities, work closely with this "Broadcast Scheduling and Liaison" office. By itself, a scheduling office can have little effect -- but working in close harmony with the other people in our office who have expertise in print and broadcast journalism, our scheduling operation can operate as a traveling press office for the Cabinet member or celebrity on the road. For example, when the President travels, the Chapin-Walker tour office plans the trip and the Ziegler press office handles the media. It is important that when Administration

spokesmen ("surrogate candidates") travel, they can rely on this office to (1) find the correct forums and; (2) get them in the local and regional press and on local and regional TV. Unless we do a good job with the second category (which we can do from this office), finding the forums, getting the speakers, and advancing them means relatively little.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Also, this broadcast operation can work closely with the developing Chapin-Walker tour office to assist in top notch TV coverage of all Presidential addresses and appearances. We would keep a video film library of Presidential speeches (especially on the stump) for possible rebroadcasts. This would be done through the Navy Labs as we have discussed in the past. Two top-flight Navy cameramen could accompany the President to insure high quality film. This type of preparation would protect against media coverage and presentations of non-Presidential quality.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

ATTACK AND RESPONSE DESK

This office will focus on keeping track of the opposition and providing assault material to keep them off balance. The success of such an operation depends on having, as soon as possible, the statements of the opposition. Once they come out (which we get from our research operation), we can get to work immediately on counterattacking through the scheduling operation: finding who is traveling, who has a forum, who can speak out. Additionally, in this connection, the Response Desk can move swiftly to get the Administration line out to all spokesmen and our people on the Hill (through Nofziger) so that everyone has an answer in case he's asked.

Now is not too soon to start compiling good, comprehensive fact sheets on specific policy areas, such as farm, the draft, manpower retraining, trade, etc. Comprehensive sheets on these topics can be used with good effect from now all the way to the campaign. The summer and fall of 1972 will be too late to get across the substantive correctness of the Administration's accomplishments.

It is most useful for the individual candidates to receive material before or right after a given event. The RNC should use more phone contact

with the Senate races and utilize more greatly the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee's telex hookup. For the Presidential campaign, getting key information to speakers ahead of the event will be particularly important.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

In 1968, there were hundreds of requests by magazines and newspapers for statements or written interviews by the candidate. Working with the Keogh staff, the Response Desk should begin during late 1971 to gear up for the deluge of requests so that we may take proper advantage of them.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE REORGANIZATION

Proposals relative to our liaison with the RNC will be forthcoming after the structure of the Committee under its new chairman has been determined. However, we should give consideration as to whether the research and communications departments at the RNC ought to be organized under the direction of a single head who would, in addition to reporting to the Republican National Chairman, develop a close relationship with this office. In other words, it might be useful to maintain the research and communications department at RNC while having someone in whom we have confidence oversee those two operations and undertake responsibility to see that they get the job done.

A consolidation of this nature would result in a greatly improved and more responsive RNC press operation, clipping and retrieval system and mailing system. Our having one person to make sure the job gets done will avoid the possibility of the two departments working at cross purposes.

The proposal here is that we work with the new RNC chairman in suggesting the consolidation of the research and communications departments with an eye to improving the operations just described.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

A separate memorandum, which was sent over earlier, outlines some of the thoughts with respect to National Committee publications and guidance of those publications by an editorial board made up of some of the creative White House staff members. There also is a need in this structure for someone of stature and press respect to be head of the press department of the National Committee.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

As you have previously approved, in connection with the research and retrieval systems, we would step up our efforts in collecting newspaper clippings and data on potential Democratic Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates and also Democratic spokesmen such as Fulbright. We would go back and pick up old quotes and stay on the alert for new ones.

We found that the current research and retrieval operation at the RNC did not fill our current needs or the needs we expect to have in 1972. Too much time was spent on general clipping and too little in Democratic candidates' home states, e. g.: Maine. Consequently, we are currently working hard with the RNC to get their system moving and we will discuss with the new RNC chairman the need for a man with enough political savvy to run this operation. We will also focus on issues in addition to candidates.

The system we are aiming at is a full text retrieval computer system where the full text of the document is entered -- retrieval is then done by searching for key words which appear in the text. This can be done within the budgetary limits now set at the RNC -- we expect to have, within these limitations, the best system possible.

CITIZENS FOR NIXON/AGNEW

As the various Democratic candidates for the Presidency begin to set up "citizens for" organizations and offices, we should also. This should be done on a small scale during 1971 so that our massive citizens effort can be well underway in 1972. Just as the 1968 citizens operation got going much sooner than the 1960, the 1972 organization should be put together in 1971. We would begin by setting up a group of young people in their 20's and 30's in a Washington office building -- we would like to

take a hand in the recruitment of these people and direct them to some extent over the next few months. Each of them would be assigned a region of the country much as the Ellsworth-Kleindienst operation in 1968 assigned various people responsible for certain geographical sections. The purpose of this would be to find in each state the citizens group leaders with whom we would work in the 1972 campaign. Persons such as Charlie McWhorter could be utilized in this connection.

Ultimately, the purpose of the citizens operation would be to involve tens of thousands of people on behalf of the Nixon-Agnew ticket; hundreds of store fronts should be used throughout the country to enlist support for the President. Using this organization and the store fronts, we could begin to organize various ethnic and special interest groups to support the President (e. g.: Italians for Nixon).

Although we would, of necessity, have to finance the initial stages of the citizens operation, and also a Washington headquarters, the citizens operations throughout the country ought to be self-supporting. We would give them the ability to buy materials through a catalog of campaign materials which would be made available by the Washington headquarters.

Our proposal now is to set up in the early months of 1971 a small citizens operation in a Washington office building, manned by several young people who we would hire after consultation with Messrs. Chotiner, Dent, Finch, and Mitchell, the new Republican National Chairman, and whom-ever you might designate.

This office would work closely with Attorney General Mitchell if he is, as we assume, to be actively involved in the 1972 campaign. The finance people could also have offices with the citizens group, although the two operations would probably be kept separate as they were in 1968.

This office has worked with Mr. Mitchell and the others mentioned above in the 1970 campaign, and could continue this relationship very effectively in 1972. We would work on the organizational end of the citizens group -- the political dealings would be left to the political offices at the White House.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

We could recruit young people to work on the citizen's effort, in part, by our Administration officials who speak before the various Jaycee groups, YR's, and other youth-oriented organizations. This would have to be, of course, closely coordinated with whoever is selected as chairman of the overall citizens' effort.

Since it would be difficult to get the more experienced political operatives for a full year-and-a-half, these young people could lay the necessary groundwork so that the 1972 Nixon field operation would be ready in the spring of 1972 for the more experienced types (as in 1968, Sears, McWhorter, Kleindienst and Ellsworth) to take over.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

WHITE HOUSE-RNC COMMUNICATION

We will explore with WHCA and other people with technical know-how the various telephonic and electronic devices which would provide better White House-RNC communication so that paper could be transmitted back and forth more quickly than by messenger.

PRINT MEDIA LIAISON

With the addition of Van Shumway to the staff, our office will have the ability to get our line out in the print media as the Broadcast Liaison shop gets it on the air. Shumway can spend 1971 getting to know every key reporter, bureau chief, and columnist in Washington -- whereas Mr. Klein is the best person to get out our line to these people, his time is naturally limited and Shumway can assist him in this connection. Then, when a campaign game plan calls for getting a line in print, we can draw upon our contacts and move swiftly to plant our line -- just as our project managers move quickly in their fields. Also, we can use this concept to quickly plant leaks.

This work would be, of course, augmented by the National Committee staff and further developed in special interest areas by the citizens organization.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

POLLING

We propose to continue coordination of the polling and simulation activities between now and November of 1972 with the exception of the "quickie" telephone surveys which have been conducted directly from your office.

Between now and June of 1972, we would plan approximately six to eight field polls (perhaps four polls in 1971 and three in the first six months of 1972). Then, in the remainder of 1972, quickie telephone surveys as appropriate. In the fall of 1971, we would want to plan for the spring of 1972, and probably poll on a closer time cycle, with concentration perhaps on the key states.

These polls would continually check the President's image and also issues as they come into play. We would also move ahead with the simulation experiments as outlined in Mr. Magruder's memorandum to you dated July 9, 1970.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

CONVENTION

Although we do not, of course, expect a challenge to the President's nomination at the Republican National Convention in 1972, we nevertheless ought to be prepared for any eventuality which might create a floor fight either on the nomination of the President or the Vice President, or on any issue or platform plank before the convention. This means, during early 1972, that we should prepare extensive background data on each delegate and alternate to the convention as they are selected beginning in New Hampshire. The person who kept these records for the President in 1968 is, as you know, on the staff in this office and could supervise the collection of similar data in 1972 -- the records could be housed at either the RNC or the citizens headquarters. In 1968 we had the most extensive records in American political history and we should do no less in 1972 in order to control what happens on the convention floor.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Furthermore, we can work with others involved in the campaign to make certain we have the proper communications equipment in the President's hotel command center, the convention hall trailer, etc. At least one person on this staff was actively involved in this area in 1968.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Lastly, because the Presidential Press Secretary will not arrive at the convention until the President arrives, this office can take the lead in establishing a Press center at the convention which is operative as soon as the first reporter arrives at the convention city. Naturally, this Press Center would work closely with the press officers of the RNC and the citizens. Herb Klein could act as the spokesman at the Center and Ron Ziegler, of course, would use the Center when he arrived with the President.

The Press center would depend on the National Committee for the routine logistical work, as in the past. When purely partisan announcements or statements are necessary, RNC or citizens personnel could make them.

In 1968, we gained a major foothold by moving more rapidly in press activities than any other candidate which gave us the advantage of constantly making news. We must make certain we are prepared to do this again in 1972. This is particularly important in a convention where, presumably, there will not be a challenge to the President's or Vice President's nomination and where the reporters will be left to make up their own stories, which inevitably will be based on divisiveness.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

There is also a major need for coordinated activity to streamline the entire convention. We believe this office could make major inputs into this area in matters ranging from the problem of press on the floor of the convention hall to the best use of television. There needs to be considerably more input from others with creative ideas in Keogh's shop and from the political operatives.

We do not believe this convention should be an Atlantic City "Kingmaking" operation, but should be designed to hold TV audiences which we want to reach. This has never been accomplished since TV began at this type of convention. The National Committee has a study regarding the convention problem and we will look at it as a basic, continuing activity perhaps headed by you so that we can examine the whole problem.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

1/21 - Maguider, Allison, Teleaven.
Riets, Rhatigan

M - catalogue resources for 70 Campaign
at H's request.

- 5-min spots for candidates ~~for~~
except Brock + Bush.
- Used Al Scott, Jorgensen, pick-up
approach.

- Impt Resources -

Direct Mail

Info Retrieval

Research - Anderson thinks may be harder.

- Talked to many in elec + other who
didn't pickup

- H thinks we should pick up
indiv's to form our own
team - rather than pull
in full agencies -

- T - no one happy w/ Fuller Smith

- w/in 6 mos, draft work done
as to resources, when AG
reads up then go to a
variable budget presentation

- nothing will surface for 6-9 mos

- no time crunch, as we discuss
in course of next 4-5 mos.

Allison - polling catalogued in
68 + 69

M - now Dirge + ORC preparing
poll samples

M - decisions will be made by AG +
H + T, not here

A - 3 Routes

① AT + R put together an agency
- T + R as the creative part

② just creative part
TV + all writing,
billboards, copy etc.

③ just agency - they set up +
no creative

Ruth Jones - best for buying time

T - separate w/ Camp but

here in Wash

- Garment, T, Shales as Troika,

T was w/in Fuller Smith

w/ an office

M - Carruthers - does direct TV work
for TT w/a man here

- during camp if doing good
job - may control + direct

- film collection by Navy Lab

- overseen by Carruthers
under H. + D.C.

- did "conversation" + TT pleased.

T - Carruthers will pull all 2 yr
past film? but generally bad.

all the campaign - 68 materials
are at RNC + should be
pulled together + catalogued.

A - if we were to do this we would
need timing control

- M - By 9/1 AT + R needs
to know for TT ~~for~~ in '72

- Ritty was Camp Dir in Tenn for Buck

A to see AG in next 2 wks on Organiz

T - Garment to be involved?

M - the huge legis program
may require Garment

- rather some will be pulled
out of UH - open the Garment.

- good knife to Allison on
communicating to UH staff

- E staff interested in Gomes
Program; auffree
floaters as is in pol area.

- Garment respon for all
the creative input for
Morgan

T - during 65, 50 states were
very indep in their elec
strategy; was a surprise

AG - will pick strong, his men
in state chm slots

T - Factory advertising + good
Dealer Organization

A - RNC can be used + could in '68

M - proposals on combo

T - compensated by commissions,
worked on 15%

A - only firm that negotiates w/ the
cash's adver agency for a % of the
commissions (15%).

M - the commissions or fee will be best
65 - 15-20 mil in advertising,
so comm is 3 mil

T - people working in TV now (Cannthers)
could go on payroll of the 15%

M - direct mail? done by AT+R?
A - must be coordinated + content done outside.

M - HHH - Allen Tyne, the best direct-mail very effectively.

Readers Digest - Direct Mail,
AT+R → technical use for
RD in finances of RNC

R - agencies take as profit on the 15%, you get profit at 1-2%

M - initial ~~request~~ request for creative, theme, % of billboards, TV etc - what type of use of it.
- Not a full presentation, but imp't decisions re theme.

T - get copy of AAAA.
Pd Campaign Toolkit → "Anderson"

2/1 - Commune Bldg
1225 19th St office
all 3 are in D.C.

A - lack w/ generalized idea.

Campaign '72 - 1/12/71

TWE, Jamey McKeon, Dick Wiley, JSM

① GS check where each US county has placed a Repub on the preferred FHA closing list - analogous to that done in Mass by TWE

② Cts - how do you utilize Colson's special int grps:

a) 68 - CWC in special (major) issues w/ Harlow + Tower

b) Does he do hi level message?

c) TWE would set up in House lit com - in WH now, break out in 6-8 mos.

d) RNC - computer, mlg, demop. but the RNC Heritage, etc will be wasted unless we ff TWE memo of 1/8/70.

1) Press releases in dip lang's

2) new Heritage Amn

3) Vets - we know who not to appoint

③ TWE lists of Cts contacts + phone contacts - to be updated by GS

④ JSM not opposed to proliferation for its own sake; developing now in WH - many will be drying off as chiefs.

TWE thinks
for better
(to have more control)

- ⑤ How do we use resources of
WH for Camp
- Malek - personnel
 - Buchanan/Safire
 - Centralized management

- ⑥ M - define reasonable parameters
for WH resources for AG

- ⑦ What do you do w/ men running G?

E - stats - number of people
not matched - most IT
appts

Col Of - surrogate Cand's
on the road.

- do nothing up to

Sept, then unified scheduling

Regulatory agency - indep -
would leave part time

E - all now planning
done by WHS at
no cost.

- issue studies by Fdn

- Funding - TWE → CWC &

- Corps - can do

research on issues;
real demographic
study + mlg lists

Ex - Pepsi & Youth
for 18 yr vote.

- Readers Digest -

best info + mlg lists

X

X

⑦ Al Cole at Readers - early \$;
assistance drafting compelling
fund raising letter.
- best direct mktg - now Readers
before FTC on their campaigns.

⑧ Before hitting FC - Readers, Lepi,
Marriott, etc - get something
very specific.

⑨ Polling man - besides Berge
Demog man - source - Readers?

⑩ Small Unit - 3-4
Computer
Advertiser
Cits Oper |

⑫ E -

- ① Schedule line of \$ + time line
- ② Cits - Comp org
- ③ Resources avail - what's free

RNC -

E on budget comm + off yr much
\$5.9 mil - E convinced few mil
of fat that can be used for
the IT - JSM request for \$750,000;
go thru their line by line budget
M - Dole doesn't delegate
- Pasztor - no budget control
~~Check~~ E - check Mike Szasz
for bad checks in past

⑭ Nationalities

F

- a) Press rel in langs
- b) getting thru surveys - who we can reach
- c) Call in Pasztor + lay WH about on the line
- d) Alloc of some money
- e) Galbreath + Johnson (VA) - ag excellent on this

Who is to review budget

⑮ Must funnel + effectively use Resources

⑯ WH Inerts - Reward

Ex - Spitzer on ag should be invited + used.

⑰ RNC St by st analysis - M

⑱ Outside Groups:

Tell st to Honor - front for ads

Am for Win Peace - could be

much more substantial

Ex - of major issue / int grp

Top - 10-15% orgs

Middle - asked by WH

Speakers - Fowler - in WH?

Being run by old War Veterans

M - get in + get out so don't burn.

(as happened to Spilley)

- can we use Frank Barnett

Mr Michaels - more than they use us.

F - TR Commission on Drug Abuse - 7

members just being appointed

Krogh + Nat'l Fdn ag/Drug Abuse

What sort of org does want

to set up + use + then get out of.

F - watch + pace Am for Win Peace

E - Early imp decision - getting top acts in - where by orgs like Am for Win Peace (E says slow it down for while + then juice before 72) or by some other source (M).

M - now not time to get in field, but now is functional time, ~~time~~ budget + Resource analysis.

E - eval of 68 personnel

E - go after - minor is gips by budget analysis of RNC, specialist fir/ Readers Dig, catalogue of - minor issues (abortion, gun control in Pa).

- Catalogue issues + TR position.

- Catalogue posi + aim at people, rather than get TR to say something

E - Must get gd people early at st level - they must run program as submitted to them early

- Nixon Club program - if properly done, names sent in rally + sent back by computer to st org

- Jack Down - some small work in Cal

Booths - by Sen. - Secy Of or Cong Quarterly
Finances | ex - NH -

6 Sept

Primary | "Favorable to Nixon" - committed? no

↳ filing dates etc

Check Cong Comm

? of permission very imp when
unannounced cond's.

RRC Reorg

McLean, White, Bankol, Magruder

- ① H + AG will work w/ Evans + Dole in the reorg. No detailed discussion
- ② McLean will do work but we have inputs.
- ③ Bob Pitt leaving - do we replace the job of Eric Bir.
 - ad Herman - chief correspondent + counsellor to give ongoing continuity
- ④ Depts that we could have impact
 - Political - Bill Howe
 - Research - Jungman
 - Communic Dir - Wade
 - What's underneath?
- ⑤ Packard:
 - Allison + Norton undercutting WH in Dole's eyes by emphasizing Evans
 - Nofziger will go to RNC to be thinker w/ Dole, who is close to WH will act as liaison
 - Howe, Poole - been saturated w/ date AG/WH
 - Should stay: MW, RB, GS, JSM
 - Wade goes: GS, MW
 - Jungman - good technical grasp, good computer man, not results oriented.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 22, 1971

FOR GORDON STRACHAN

FROM JEB MAGRUDER

FYI - This is the guy who was
Director of Communications at
the Committee.

FOR THE 1972 NIXON CAMPAIGN

With the thinking and planning for the 1972 campaign to re-elect President Nixon already well underway, the purpose of this paper is to present comments, suggestions, and recommendations for structuring the advertising organization in that campaign.

The Role of Advertising in the 1972 Campaign

In the 1972 Nixon Campaign, the role of advertising will be especially important, and could be a crucial factor, because:

- A. The extreme amount of publicity given to the role of advertising in the 1968 Nixon Campaign via "The Selling of the President, 1968", as well as the news media, will focus greater attention than ever before on the 1972 Nixon Campaign advertising program;
- B. Continuing preoccupation with the subject of political campaign advertising spending in general as exemplified by regular news media coverage in feature stories, television specials, etc., the 1970 campaigns, and the recent bill passed by the Congress and vetoed by the President, will all be working synergistically to make political advertising spending an issue in 1972;
- C. There are already some indications of negative voter reaction against blatantly heavy advertising spending that gives the impression of trying to "buy" an election. The Ottinger campaign in New York State is, according to some private reports, one example of this.

(It should be anticipated that the Democratic Party will make a decided effort in 1972 to build a major issue out of the above points.)

- D. The 1972 Campaign will offer the Republican Party a unique opportunity in that it is the first year, since the full emergence of television as a campaign tool of profound impact, in which the Party is certain of its Presidential candidate and major programs far in advance of the state Primaries and the National Convention. (It may be that this will be the first year that either major party has enjoyed this advantage to a full extent because, in 1964, the country and the political scene were still reeling from the impact of the Kennedy assassination and its uncertain carry-over effects) Thus, the Republican Party will have an unparalleled opportunity for advance detailed planning and development of its national advertising program.

Structuring the Advertising Machinery

The biggest problem in structuring an advertising organization for any political campaign is to find, or develop, the machinery to get the job done, ie: the advertising agency and its system of suppliers of goods and services who can execute the plans in the most effective and professional manner possible. For a national political campaign it can be an enormous problem.

The immediate reaction to this problem is to turn to large, established, and highly reputable national advertising agencies. However, that alternative fades as a practical possibility considering that most major agencies do not want and will not take on a major national campaign because of possible problems with primary clients, the disruption it causes in service and personnel, lack of experience in the field, and the uncertainty of the whole thing. Thus, a campaign committee is sometimes left with a choice of a very few large, but often not truly top-echelon agencies who have the space and structural framework to take the effort on, but who also may well be interested in handling the account in order to bolster a sagging reputation, etc. The result is often adequate but not outstanding organization and people.

Using established advertising agencies also presents problems for the campaign committee. The committee loses some control over both the expenditure and accounting of the advertising funds (the latter was a problem in 1968); an almost inevitable personnel problem is created by the necessary imposition of key campaign people over agency personnel; security becomes more of a problem; there is no assurance that the majority of the personnel assigned to the account will be personally committed to the cause and in a political campaign, better and more effective work comes from those who are personally committed than from those who are doing it strictly for mercenary reasons on a short term basis; in the world of today's advertising agencies, it is more than likely that the majority of "creative" people will be inimical to a national Republican campaign; because of the type of contractual agreement most agencies would require, the financial aspects of hiring a regular advertising agency would be costly when the money could be used more effectively in winning the election.

While there are undoubtedly exceptions to the rule and it might be possible to find a top notch agency both willing and able to handle a national political campaign without many of the potential problems outlined above, there are two other alternatives for the 1972 Nixon Campaign which offer a better way, and therefore, are recommended:

1. Setting Up A Special Agency for the Campaign

This method, which has been undertaken before, involves setting up a "house" agency for the specific purpose of handling the advertising for the specific campaign. It is staffed by experts in the political advertising field plus any additional personnel needed from established agencies through the AAAA "anchor and loan" system. It has these advantages:

- 4-
- There are no client conflicts nor problems of disruption of agency services to the regular list of clients;
 - Personnel can be chosen selectively on the basis of past experience, special expertise, personal commitment, and loyalty (there are a number of key people who worked in the 1968 Campaign who could form a nucleus tomorrow or be available whenever they are needed as they now operate on an individual consulting basis);
 - Because it is an organization set up for just one purpose, the Campaign Committee has direct control of the operation (the Committee's "Advertising Manager", referred to earlier, could well be the "President" of this special agency);
 - Much better control of finances, both in terms of expenditures and for legal reporting purposes (while "seed money" would be necessary at the beginning, once advertising is produced and placed such an agency would be able to operate on income from media and production commissions thus freeing more dollars for direct campaign purposes, and would be less costly in general because there is no need to show a profit, etc.);
 - A much greater degree of security would be achieved;
 - A great degree of flexibility is attained in that the Campaign Committee can decide to start with a small nucleus and expand as the campaign progresses and needs arise;
 - The Campaign Committee gets and pays for only those services which are needed and directly involved with the specific campaign. The special agency acts as the coordinating center for special services as well, i.e.: a field advertising program, possibly research, contact with various state and local agencies, etc.

2. Hiring a Specialized Political Advertising Firm

The past few years has seen the establishment and growth of firms who specialize in political campaign advertising. I do not know of any, as they are presently structured, who have the experience or the close knowledge of the Nixon operation to be able to handle such an assignment. However, I understand that the Allison/Treleaven organization may very well expand to the point where it would be a logical choice. It probably would (and certainly could) include many of the same people who worked in the 1968 Campaign who would be a part of the "special agency" outlined in the point immediately above.

The hiring of this firm, or one like it, would give the Campaign Committee many of the same advantages as the creation of a "special agency" except that there would

be a little less direct control and the financial situation would be a bit different (and perhaps a little more costly because of a profit factor). At the same time, it would obviate the necessity of building an organization "from scratch" and if such a firm were to be inclined, or even encouraged, to take on some key campaigns for Senator and Governor, it could be a way of assuring the best coordinated political campaign in history.

Considering the importance of the advertising function in the 1972 Nixon Campaign, I believe that the suggestions and recommendations I have outlined herein would significantly increase the effectiveness of the advertising portion of the campaign plan. Because of the volatile nature of a political campaign and of advertising, the problems will never be entirely eliminated, but these recommendations are presented with the objective of greatly minimizing them in the 1972 Nixon Campaign effort.

Richard W. Garbett

October 30, 1970

Zeroing In

More Magazines Offer A Chance to Aim Ads At Specific Groups

Time Slates a New Edition For Businessmen; Others Focus on the Well-to-Do

Newsweek and Life Hold Off

By THOMAS J. BRAY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK—If you earn about \$13,000 a year and live in a generally affluent area, chances are that your forthcoming issues of Look magazine will contain advertisements for such "quality" products as Chanel No. 5, Seagram's Crown Royal whisky and After Six tuxedos.

If your scale of living is significantly more modest, however, chances are equally good that you won't see the ads. Your copy of Look will include only the usual national and regional advertising for everything from beer to savings and loan associations.

The discrepancy between the two editions stems from a relatively new advertising technique spreading throughout the industry. Usually referred to as demographic advertising, it is a further refinement of the regional editions that swept the publishing industry during the 1950s and 1960s. Demographic advertising seeks to make advertising even more efficient by delivering it only to those magazine subscribers who are considered most likely, for reasons of income, occupation and the like, to buy the goods or services involved.

Newsweek Says No

Time magazine, for example, hopes to attract more business-oriented advertising with a special edition of Time that will go to 1.4 million readers who say they are businessmen, almost a third of Time's total U.S. circulation of 4.25 million. The Reader's Digest this summer will start a demographic edition aimed at its most affluent readers. And last fall both McCall's and Better Homes & Gardens started up special editions for relatively rich readers.

But there are other magazines where executives question the concept. Officials of Newsweek argue the plan is premature at best. And even executives at Time's sister publication, Life, question the value of demographic marketing. "Frankly, we'd be scared to death that advertisers would come to us only in terms of our demographic advertising. A magazine could lose a lot of national advertising that way," a Life advertising executive said recently.

Another executive at another magazine says it is not impossible to obtain accurate data on subscribers. "If magazines really used reliable methods to find out incomes, ages, educational levels and other things about their readers, they would go broke," he asserts.

Both Time and the Reader's Digest are relying on questionnaires to determine which

readers get the demographic editions. Time asked millions of its subscribers whether the head of their household was a businessman, and most likely anyone who replied "yes" will get a "Time B" edition. Similarly, people who checked high-income blanks for the Reader's Digest will get the special edition. More important, those businessmen or rich people who didn't answer the questionnaires won't see the specialized ads directed at them.

Using Zip Codes

Look's demographic edition, called Top-Spot and the McCall's and Better Homes editions appear to be less precisely aimed. They are based in large part on Zip codes. Look, for example, has 7.5 million subscribers and some 1.2 million of them whose Zip code indicates an area of relative affluence receive the edition with the ads for the so-called quality products. But, critics point out, Zip codes often cover large areas and can include a wide variance in the type of people who live within them.

In Des Moines, the city where Look has most of its noneditorial facilities, one of the Zip codes singled out includes a neighborhood of middle-to-lower class blacks and whites as well as some of the richest people in the city. One critic says: "And what good is Top-Spot or any other so-called high-income edition if the subscriber within a household is an elderly woman living off her rich son-in-law, or if the magazine is lying around a doctor's office for the occasional amusement of patients, rich and poor alike?"

Most proponents of demographic marketing concede the system is rather hit or miss, but they insist it hits more than it misses; they say they spot check to keep the specialized lists as

accurate as possible. More important, they have persuaded some major manufacturers of this. "Look's demographic edition helps us reach the kind of audience that we want without having to pay for a full national ad," says an official of Norman, Craig & Kummel, a New York ad agency that handles the Chanel perfume account. "We never used to advertise in Look. Now Look accounts for a significant share of Chanel's ad budget in the print medium."

McCall's says its demographic edition has attracted 46 new advertisers since it was launched last fall. And a spokesman says that only two advertisers have switched existing ads from a national basis to the demographic edition. An official of Cowles Communications, which owns Look, says that Look's \$4 million in revenue from Top-Spot ads accounted for the magazine's small gain in ad revenue last year.

So even though it isn't clear that the demographic editions go to the intended audience, it does seem clear that the editions produce revenue. Thus, most major magazines are at least investigating the concept. Even Newsweek and Life indicate they are studying the idea.

Actually, demographic marketing is not a brand-new idea. Time has had special editions for educators, students and doctors since the early 1960s. But students and doctors, at least, can be spotted more easily than businessmen.

Doctors usually have a "Dr." or "MD" on their subscription application, and students can apply under a special rate that makes them easy to single out.

Advertisers pay considerably more to reach each reader of a demographic edition than to reach each reader of a national edition. A four-color, full-page ad in the special Reader's Digest edition, for example, will cost \$11.25 for every thousand subscribers, compared with only \$3.33 per thousand in the regular edition. But, since the ads presumably are reaching only the people they're aimed at, response

The cost-per-thousand of demographic advertising rises sharply as the size of the group being reached diminishes. This is one reason, industry sources say, that Time's demographic editions aimed at college students, educators and doctors haven't proved overly popular with advertisers. Revenue from the three editions combined still only amounts to about \$1 million annually after more than five years. (Time's total U.S. ad revenue is \$95 million a year.)

One solution may be a concept developed over the past year or so by a small, fast-growing outfit known as Magazine Networks Inc. Publishers are close-mouthed about the concept—it appears to challenge many accepted practices as well as many well-entrenched personnel—but insiders say it poses exciting possibilities.

Magazine Networks has already put its idea into practice in one area: Aiming advertising at servicemen abroad. The concept works this way: No single magazine has a substantial enough subscription list among the 1.5 million or so servicemen abroad to warrant a demographic issue aimed at them, but several magazines together reach a large proportion of the servicemen. (Identifying servicemen abroad is no problem: All give APO addresses on their subscription order blanks.)

Magazine Networks then sells and prints up the advertising for the magazines—including Sports Illustrated and True—going to overseas servicemen. Because the ad sales and production efforts are centralized, the cost to each advertiser is far less than if each separate magazine were billing him.

Officials at Magazine Networks concede that they aren't sure if the concept is workable in other demographic areas. But it's clear that several large publishing companies are studying the idea closely.

In Demographic Editions, Not Only the Ads Differ

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

NEW YORK—In some cases, editorial content as well as advertising is different for a magazine's readers in different areas.

The editorial content of Farm Journal, which has a circulation of 2.6 million, varies from region to region depending on whether the readers are hog farmers, cattle ranchers or dairymen. And Look magazine's high-income edition not only includes advertising for high-priced goods and services that doesn't appear in the other six million copies of Look, but it also contains articles on subjects that Look figures will appeal to affluent readers.

In one recent issue of Look, for example, the high-income edition included articles on Andrew F. Brimmer, the Negro who sits on the Federal Reserve Board, on the growing activist sentiment among young professional people and on a non-flyer who managed to land a small executive aircraft when his brother-in-law died at the controls.

But most publishers think that editorial demographics may prove self-defeating. Even Look officials don't like to broadcast the differences. The extra articles aren't even listed in the table of contents. "If the other readers found out, they might feel slighted," says a spokesman.

THOMAS W. EVANS
20 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

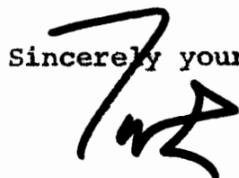
January 8, 1971

Dear Jeb:

Attached is a brief memo which might serve as
a starting point for our discussion Tuesday.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'T. Evans', written over the typed name 'Sincerely yours,'.

The Honorable Jeb S. Magruder
The White House
Washington, D.C.

cc: Gordon Strachan

BY HAND

FOR: Jeb. S. Magruder

FROM: Thomas W. Evans

January 8, 1971

A CITIZENS CAMPAIGN FOR 1972

There are more Democrats than Republicans in this country and more Independents than both. Among the young people a majority consider themselves Independents. Therefore, President Nixon must go well outside the bounds of his own party registration (as he did in 1968) in order to be re-elected.

ANALYSIS

Methods. Television will be a significant factor in convincing Independents and Democrats to vote for President Nixon as will the aggressive get-out-the-vote activities of the Republican organization. The most important factor, of course, will be the maximum utilization of the Office of the President, who is the leader of all the people. A necessary element of this campaign will be an active "Citizens" committee (Citcom).

Citcom Objective. Citcoms, both nationally and at the local level, will be formed to recruit Independents and Democrats to work for campaign organizations, especially in states or counties where the Republican organization is weak. In addition, Citcoms can be used to persuade (e.g. through newspaper ads, television commercials and mailings) where Republican sponsorship of such media might be suspect. If properly utilized, as in the Willkie campaign of 1940 and the Eisenhower campaign in 1952, Citcoms can generate an enthusiasm impossible for the regular party organization to attain.

Scope of this Memorandum. This memorandum will be, at best, a check list for our coming discussion of the campaign. To thoroughly review all of the elements raised in this brief paper would take a number of weeks, but the project must begin now. Points to be discussed include a timetable, budget, personnel, form of organization, evaluation of the 1968 citizens effort, and, of perhaps immediate concern, the question of how and to what extent to utilize the dollars set aside in the \$5.9 million Republican National Committee budget for 1971 for areas (e.g. Veterans; nationalities or heritage) which are traditionally included in the citizens area of the campaign.

Traditional Citcoms. There is a tendency in political campaigns to do things as they were done before. Citcoms have become part of this methodology, with an organization set up for every state, frequently with the same personnel that served four years before. I believe that this is an error. Although we may decide to

January 8, 1971

have at least a token Citcom within each state, it is important to determine early the areas in which the major effort is needed and to concentrate on those states. The delicate business of working with the state Republican organization, instantly jealous and chary of any rival political organization within the state, must also begin early. Using the same committees as before is generally a mistake. This deprives the Citcoms of the aura of spontaneity which they should have at the local level and conveys the appearance of just another old political organization. There are exceptions to this of course and they must be recognized early.

Special Interest Groups. Groups such as Veterans, doctors, aged, nationalities (heritage) are generally in the citizens panoply. The reasoning is that one's identity as a "Veteran" transcends party lines and therefore an appeal to this particular identity of the voter should not be made by the national or local party organization. If used in the same way as they have been in the past, with the same sterile hacks leading these groups as do every four years, they will not be productive. However, if keyed into the legislative elements in the Nixon program, they can be quite effective. At the present time, most of these groups are included in the RNC budget and their programs should be reviewed immediately to make sure that this money is being spent in the re-election of the President, rather than in some self-perpetuating aim of the RNC or the particular leaders of these various groups.

Issue-Oriented Groups. For the purposes of this memo, I shall refer to these groups as "major-issue groups" and "minor-issue groups." Thus, a group like the Tell It To Hanoi Committee or Americans for Winning the Peace is formed on a major issue of supporting the President in his quest for peace. These committees can draw Independents and Democrats of prominence in their membership and can be used for mailings of a "non-partisan" posture endorsing the President's position. These groups can be most useful, but their utility may diminish somewhat with the frequency of their use in the political campaign.

X
It is in the "minor-issue groups" that I believe the most effective modern campaigning can be accomplished in the citizens area.

Examples of "minor issues" are gun-control or restrictions on spending by U.S. citizens travelling abroad or trade restrictions on textiles. The issues are "minor" only to the extent that they do not seek the broad consensus or have the broad appeal that the issue of the Vietnam War has, for example. But these issues may be decisive in obtaining the support of hunters or travel agents or textile manufacturers or workers.

Effective work in the minor issue area requires a good deal of preparation and considerable lead-time. The point here is to exploit the President's positions on specific issues. Thus, in

January 8, 1971

1968, when the candidate had made a statement to the effect that he thought LBJ's restrictions on tourist spending abroad to be ill-advised, this statement was published by our Citcom at that time in the travel agents' national magazine and an organization of Travel Agents for Nixon was set up. A most important factor here is obtaining the appropriate mailing list to circularize this group. Also, knowledge of trade association journals or other journals which appeal to special groups is important. (An article from the March 17 1970 WALL STREET JOURNAL which describes the way that magazines are publishing demographic editions in which different ads appear in different sections of the country is helpful in understanding what could be done here. Of course, we do not want to publish demographic editions of any national political or Citcom magazines. But we would want to zero in, by mailings and other methods, on people who would have special receptivity to Nixon positions. In certain instances, this can be keyed to fund-raising as well.

PRIORITIES

A small unit should be established to carry out the work that has to be done throughout 1971 in designing the Citcom campaign. One man should study the use of the new demographic methods and should become familiar with marketing references and techniques of current use in advertising and business. Also, this man should review some of the personnel active in this field to see who might be brought into the campaign as a specialist in this area if necessary. At the same time, each of the projects and the personnel of the 1968 Citizens effort should be reviewed. To the extent that projects failed to meet the test of an effective Citcom -- to recruit and persuade -- they should be abandoned. Mailing lists should be located and priced. Trade associations (and their own group, The Society of Association Executives) should be reviewed so that they can be plugged in at the earliest instance. Of course, the Nixon program should be analyzed from a "major issue" and "minor issue" standpoint so that favorable statements by the President can be utilized to appeal to these groups. Favorable statements by Democrats and Independents (e.g. on family assistance, revenue-sharing and the New Federalism generally) should be cataloged for maximum exploitation during the campaign. All of this work should be begun immediately. Out of it will come a comprehensive plan for the Citcom effort in 1972.

BUDGET

All of the work for 1971 should be accomplished under the budget of the Office of the President and the budget for the Republican National Committee. I am particularly concerned about this latter area. The RNC staff should be given assignments to aid in the 1972 campaign planning. This can be done, of course, without

January 8, 1971

having any of those staff members familiar with the "big picture" of the campaign at this time. It may be that certain staff specialists should be hired by the RNC to do this work. In addition to the RNC, corporations and foundations can supply some of the special studies needed. My point is that no great additional expenditure need be set aside to begin the Citcom work now.

THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

The Presidency itself is the great asset which the opposition does not possess. Consider two examples in the Citcom area: (1) endorsements by prominent Democrats and Independents can be most important in the 1972 campaign. It is undoubtedly too early to obtain these now, but a study should be made by a Citcom unit on the White House staff of potential endorsers of the President and the cultivation of some of these people can begin now, with appropriate invitations and letters. (2) Pro-Administration enthusiasm should be noted and exploited. At the upcoming White House Conference on Youth, a special report should be made of favorable comments and these people should be cultivated. (The entire youth area deserves special examination, an assignment which may be too broad for the Citcom unit.) As a general policy, mailings from the President and releases to special publications can be increased in late 1971 and further increased in 1972. This activity may be the preserve of some other members of the staff, but the Citcom unit should at least be kept informed. In a sense, the entire campaign will be an effort to maximize the recognition in all quarters of the credit which the Administration should receive for the job it is doing. At a time when most of the campaign staff is focusing on the "major issues," the special function of the Citcom unit will be to insure that "minor issues," which may well decide the outcome of the election, are properly exploited.

THOMAS W. EVANS
20 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.

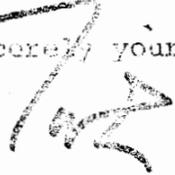
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January 8, 1971

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Methods. Television will be a significant factor in convincing Independents and Democrats to vote for President Nixon as will the aggressive get-out-the-vote activities of the Republican organization. The most important factor, of course, will be the maximum utilization of the Office of the President, who is the leader of all the people. A necessary element of this campaign will be an active "Citizens" committee (Citcom).

Citcom Objective. Citcoms, both nationally and at the local level, will be formed to recruit Independents and Democrats to work for campaign organizations, especially in states or counties where the Republican organization is weak. In addition, Citcoms can be used to persuade (e.g. through newspaper ads, television commercials and mailings) where Republican sponsorship of such media might be suspect. If properly utilized, as in the Willkie campaign of 1940 and the Eisenhower campaign in 1952, Citcoms can generate an enthusiasm impossible for the regular party organization to attain.

Scope of this Memorandum. This memorandum will be, at best, a check list for our coming discussion of the campaign. To thoroughly review all of the elements raised in this brief paper would take a number of weeks, but the project must begin now. Points to be discussed include a timetable, budget, personnel, form of organization, evaluation of the 1968 citizens effort, and, of perhaps immediate concern, the question of how and to what extent to utilize the dollars set aside in the \$5.9 million Republican National Committee budget for 1971 for areas (e.g. Veterans; nationalities or heritage) which are traditionally included in the citizens area of the campaign.

Traditional Citcoms. There is a tendency in political campaigns to do things as they were done before. Citcoms have become part of this methodology, with an organization set up for every state, frequently with the same personnel that served four years before. I believe that this is an error. Although we may decide to

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have at least a token Citcom within each state, it is important to determine early the areas in which the major effort is needed and to concentrate on those states. The delicate business of working with the state Republican organization, instantly jealous and chary of any rival political organization within the state, must also begin early. Using the same committees as before is generally a mistake. This deprives the Citcoms of the aura of spontaneity which they should have at the local level and conveys the appearance of just another old political organization. There are exceptions to this of course and they must be recognized early.

Special Interest Groups. Groups such as Veterans, doctors, aged, nationalities (heritage) are generally in the citizens panoply. The reasoning is that one's identity as a "Veteran" transcends party lines and therefore an appeal to this particular identity of the voter should not be made by the national or local party organization. If used in the same way as they have been in the past, with the same sterile hacks leading these groups as do every four years, they will not be productive. However, if keyed into the legislative elements in the Nixon program, they can be quite effective. At the present time, most of these groups are included in the RNC budget and their programs should be reviewed immediately to make sure that this money is being spent in the re-election of the President, rather than in some self-perpetuating aim of the RNC or the particular leaders of these various groups.

Issue-Oriented Groups. For the purposes of this memo, I shall refer to these groups as "major-issue groups" and "minor-issue groups." Thus, a group like the Tell It To Hanoi Committee or Americans for Winning the Peace is formed on a major issue of supporting the President in his quest for peace. These committees can draw Independents and Democrats of prominence in their membership and can be used for mailings of a "non-partisan" posture endorsing the President's position. These groups can be most useful, but their utility may diminish somewhat with the frequency of their use in the political campaign.

It is in the "minor-issue groups" that I believe the most effective modern campaigning can be accomplished in the citizens area.

Examples of "minor issues" are gun-control or restrictions on spending by U.S. citizens travelling abroad or trade restrictions on textiles. The issues are "minor" only to the extent that they do not seek the broad consensus or have the broad appeal that the issue of the Vietnam War has, for example. But these issues may be decisive in obtaining the support of hunters or travel agents or textile manufacturers or workers.

Effective work in the minor issue area requires a good deal of preparation and considerable lead-time. The point here is to exploit the President's positions on specific issues. Thus, in

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1968, when the candidate had made a statement to the effect that he thought LBJ's restrictions on tourist spending abroad to be ill-advised, this statement was published by our Citcom at that time in the travel agents' national magazine and an organization of Travel Agents for Nixon was set up. A most important factor here is obtaining the appropriate mailing list to circularize this group. Also, knowledge of trade association journals or other journals which appeal to special groups is important. (An article from the March 17 1970 WALL STREET JOURNAL which describes the way that magazines are publishing demographic editions in which different ads appear in different sections of the country is helpful in understanding what could be done here. Of course, we do not want to publish demographic editions of any national political or Citcom magazines. But we would want to zero in, by mailings and other methods, on people who would have special receptivity to Nixon positions. In certain instances, this can be keyed to fund-raising as well.

PRIORITIES

A small unit should be established to carry out the work that has to be done throughout 1971 in designing the Citcom campaign. One man should study the use of the new demographic methods and should become familiar with marketing references and techniques of current use in advertising and business. Also, this man should review some of the personnel active in this field to see who might be brought into the campaign as a specialist in this area if necessary. At the same time, each of the projects and the personnel of the 1968 Citizens effort should be reviewed. To the extent that projects failed to meet the test of an effective Citcom -- to recruit and persuade -- they should be abandoned. Mailing lists should be located and priced. Trade associations (and their own group, The Society of Association Executives) should be reviewed so that they can be plugged in at the earliest instance. Of course, the Nixon program should be analyzed from a "major issue" and "minor issue" standpoint so that favorable statements by the President can be utilized to appeal to these groups. Favorable statements by Democrats and Independents (e.g. on family assistance, revenue-sharing and the New Federalism generally) should be cataloged for maximum exploitation during the campaign. All of this work should be begun immediately. Out of it will come a comprehensive plan for the Citcom effort in 1972.

BUDGET

All of the work for 1971 should be accomplished under the budget of the Office of the President and the budget for the Republican National Committee. I am particularly concerned about this latter area. The RNC staff should be given assignments to aid in the 1972 campaign planning. This can be done, of course, without

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having any of those staff members familiar with the "big picture" of the campaign at this time. It may be that certain staff specialists should be hired by the RNC to do this work. In addition to the RNC, corporations and foundations can supply some of the special studies needed. My point is that no great additional expenditure need be set aside to begin the Citcom work now.

THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

The Presidency itself is the great asset which the opposition does not possess. Consider two examples in the Citcom area: (1) endorsements by prominent Democrats and Independents can be most important in the 1972 campaign. It is undoubtedly too early to obtain these now, but a study should be made by a Citcom unit on the White House staff of potential endorsers of the President and the cultivation of some of these people can begin now, with appropriate invitations and letters. (2) Pro-Administration enthusiasm should be noted and exploited. At the upcoming White House Conference on Youth, a special report should be made of favorable comments and these people should be cultivated. (The entire youth area deserves special examination, an assignment which may be too broad for the Citcom unit.) As a general policy, mailings from the President and releases to special publications can be increased in late 1971 and further increased in 1972. This activity may be the preserve of some other members of the staff, but the Citcom unit should at least be kept informed. In a sense, the entire campaign will be an effort to maximize the recognition in all quarters of the credit which the Administration should receive for the job it is doing. At a time when most of the campaign staff is focusing on the "major issues," the special function of the Citcom unit will be to insure that "minor issues," which may well decide the outcome of the election, are properly exploited.

Chapman

Zeroing In More Magazines Offer A Chance to Aim Ads At Specific Groups Time Slates a New Edition For Businessmen; Others Focus on the Well-to-Do Newsweek and Life Hold Off

By THOMAS J. BRAY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
NEW YORK—If you earn about \$12,000 a year and live in a generally affluent area, chances are that your forthcoming issue of *Look* magazine will contain advertisements for such "quality" products as Chanel No. 5, Stouffer's Crown Royal whiskey and After Six tuxedos.

If your scale of living is significantly more modest, however, chances are equally good that you won't see the ads. Your copy of *Look* will include only the usual national and regional advertising for everything from beer to wings and loan associations.

The discrepancy between the two editions stems from a relatively new advertising technique spreading throughout the industry, usually referred to as demographic advertising, it is a further refinement of the regional advertising that swept the publishing industry during the 60s and 70s. Demographic advertising seeks to make advertisements even more effective by delivering it only to those magazine subscribers who are considered most likely, for reasons of income, occupation and the like, to buy the goods or services involved.

Newsweek Says No
Time magazine, for example, hopes to attract more business-oriented advertising with a special edition of *Time* that will go to 1.4 million readers who say they are businessmen, almost a third of *Time's* total U.S. circulation of 25 million. The *Reader's Digest* this summer will start a demographic edition aimed at its most affluent readers. And last fall both *McCall's* and *Better Homes & Gardens* started up special editions for relatively rich readers.

But there are other magazines where executives question the concept. Officials of *Newsweek* argue the plan is premature at best. And *Life* executives at *Time's* sister publication, *Life*, question the value of demographic marketing. "Frankly, we'd be scared to death that advertisers would come to us only in terms of our demographic advertising. A magazine could lose a lot of national advertising that way," a *Life* advertising executive said recently.

A executive of another magazine says it is not impossible to obtain accurate data on subscribers. "If magazines really used reliable methods to find out incomes, ages, educational levels and other things about their readers, they would go broke," he asserts.

readers get the demographic editions. *Time* asked millions of its subscribers whether the head of their household was a businessman and most likely anyone who replied "yes" will get a "Time B" edition. Similarly, people who checked high-income blanks for the *Reader's Digest* will get the special edition. More important, these businessmen or rich people who didn't answer the questionnaires won't see the specialized ads directed at them.

Using Zip Codes
Look's demographic edition, called Top-Spot and the *McCall's* and *Better Homes* editions appear to be less precisely aimed. They are based in large part on zip codes. *Look*, for example, has 7.5 million subscribers and some 1.2 million of them whose zip code indicates an area of relative affluence receive the edition with the ads for the specialized quality products. But critics point out, zip codes often cover large areas and can include a wide variances in the type of people who live within them.

In Des Moines, the city where *Look* has most of its noneditorial facilities, one of the zip codes singled out includes a neighborhood of middle-to-lower class blacks and whites as well as some of the richest people in the city. One critic says: "And what good is Top-Spot or any other so-called high-income edition if the subscriber within a house hold is an elderly woman living off her rich son-in-law, or if the magazine is lying around a doctor's office for the occasional amusement of patients, rich and poor alike?"

Most proponents of demographic marketing concede the system is rather hit or miss, but they insist it hits more than it misses; they say they spot check to keep the specialized lists as

accurate as possible. More important, they have persuaded some major manufacturers of *Look's* demographic edition helps us reach the kind of audience that we want without having to pay for a full national ad," says an official of Norman, Gulp & Kummel, a New York ad agency that handles the Chanel perfume account. "We never used to advertise in *Look*. Now *Look* accounts for a significant share of Chanel's ad budget in the print medium."

McCall's says its demographic edition has attracted 40 new advertisers since it was launched last fall. And a spokesman says that only two advertisers have switched existing ads from a national basis to the demographic edition. An official of Candler Communications, which owns *Look*, says that *Look's* \$4 million in revenue from Top-Spot ads accounted for the magazine's small gain in ad revenue last year.

So even though it isn't clear that the demographic editions go to the intended audience, it does seem clear that the editions produce revenue. Thus, most major magazines are at least investigating the concept. Even *Newsweek* and *Life* indicate they are studying the idea.

Actually, demographic marketing is not a brand-new idea. *Time* has had special editions for educators, students and doctors since the early 1960s. But students and doctors, at least, can be spotted more easily than businessmen.

Doctors usually have a "Dr." or "MD" on their subscription application, and students can apply under a special rate that makes them easy to single out.

Advertisers pay considerably more to reach each reader of a demographic edition than to reach each reader of a national edition. A four-color, full-page ad in the special *Reader's Digest* edition, for example, will cost \$11.25 for every thousand subscribers, compared with

The cost-per-thousand of demographic advertising rises sharply as the size of the group being reached diminishes. This is one reason industry sources say that *Time's* demographic editions aimed at college students, educators and doctors haven't proved overly popular with advertisers. Revenue from the three editions combined still only amounts to about \$1 million annually after more than five years. *Time's* total U.S. ad revenue is \$95 million a year.

One solution may be a concept developed over the past year or so by a small, marketing outfit known as Magazine Networks. Publishers are close-mouthed about the concept—it appears to challenge many accepted practices as well as many well-guarded secrets—but insiders say it poses exciting possibilities.

Magazine Networks has already put its idea into practice in one area: Advertising at servicemen abroad. The concept works this way: No single magazine has a substantial enough subscription list among the 15 million or so servicemen abroad to warrant a demographic issue aimed at them. But several magazines together reach a large proportion of servicemen. Identifying servicemen abroad is no problem: All five AFO addresses on a subscription order (Look's.)

Magazine Networks then sells and prints the advertising for the magazines—*Life*, *Sports Illustrated* and *True*—going to overseas servicemen. Because the ad sales and production efforts are centralized, the cost to each advertiser is far less than if each separate magazine were billing him.

Officials of Magazine Networks concede that they aren't sure if the concept is workable in other demographic areas. But they say that several major publishing companies are studying the idea closely.

In Demographic Editions, Not Only the Ads Differ

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
NEW YORK—In some cases, editorial content as well as advertising is different for a magazine's readers in different areas.

The editorial content of *Newsweek*, which has a circulation of 2.6 million, varies from region to region depending on whether the readers are hog farmers, cattle ranchers or dairymen. And *Look* magazine's high-income edition not only includes advertising for high-priced goods and services that doesn't appear in other six million copies of *Look*, but it also contains articles on subjects that *Look's* readers will appeal to affluent readers.

In one recent issue of *Look*, for example, the high-income edition included articles on Andrew F. Brimmer, the New York banker who sits on the Federal Reserve Board, the growing tourist trade in Hawaii, and young professional people and on a flyer who managed to land a small executive aircraft when his brother-in-law was at the controls.

But most publishers think that editorial differences may prove self-defeating. Even *Look* officials don't like to brook the differences. The extra articles in the high-income edition of *Look* cost more than the extra articles in the

Sample Org

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

H. H. "Bo" Callaway
Pine Mountain, Georgia
404-237-3314 (o)
404-663-2486 (h)

Regional
in Ga
4-6 states

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

John Schuler
P. O. Box 239
Leeds, Alabama
205-871-7243

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Miss Olive Spann
Chapman, Alabama 36015
205-376-2313

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred LaRue
212-661-6400

in NY

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Mr. Alfred W. Goldthwaite
Goldthwaite Building
436 S. Goldthwaite Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104
205-269-2501

under
"Bo"

UCNA CHAIRMAN

William M. Acker
Smyer, White, Reid & Acker
600 Title Guaranty Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35103
205-323-7195 (o)
205-879-4266 (h)

Too many
chairs - no
funding for NY

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Mr. James D. Martin
405 County Club Drive
Gadsden, Alabama 35901
205-546-7056

under
"Bo"

UCNA FIELDMAN

Pete Hannah
Frates, Fay, Floyd and Pearson
12th Floor Concord Building
Miami, Florida 33133
212-986-7613
201-635-8139
305-377-0241

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Bobbie Ames
Marion, Alabama 36756
205-683-2351

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. William H. Graham
8318 Louis Drive
Huntsville, Alabama 35802
205-881-4288

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Mr. Ed Allen
2510B Park Lane Court South
Birmingham, Alabama 35213
205-323-8391

ALASKA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Robert C. Mardian
315 E. Colorado Boulevard
Pasadena, California
213-449-2345 (o)
213-798-5445 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Governor Walter J. Hickel
Office of the Governor
Juno, Alaska
907-586-5246 (o)
907-586-2100 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Richard G. Kleindienst
202-628-6800

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Robert A. Davenny
P. O. Box 4-2050
Anchorage, Alaska 99501
907-272-4140

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Lloyd Burgess
P. O. Box 1410
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701
907-GL 2-1271

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Margee Fitzpatrick
Box 1712
Anchorage, Alaska 99503

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. John Holm
Box 1196
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701
907-456-6336

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Don Smith
Box 3516
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Joan Crosson
518 East Fifth Avenue
Anchorage, Alaska
907-279-3481 (o)
907-277-4750 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Alvin O. Bramstedt
Lathrop Building
Anchorage, Alaska
907-272-7461 (o)
907-279-1602 (h)

UCNA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mrs. Joan Crosson
518 East Fifth Avenue
Anchorage, Alaska
907-279-3481 (o)
907-277-4750 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Wes Phillips
P. O. Box 14131
Portland, Oregon 97214
503-238-0808 (o)
503-654-4980 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW

Eric Lee
518 E. 5th Avenue
Anchorage, Alaska
907-279-3481

ALASKA

Mr. C. Preston Locher
P.O. Box 4846

ARIZONA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Robert C. Mardian
315 E. Colorado Blvd.
Pasadena, Calif.
213-449-2345 (o)
213-798-5445 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Richard G. Kleindienst
202-628-6800

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Harry Rosenzweig
3300 N. Central Avenue
Phoenix, Arizona 85012
602-279-5596

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

John H. Haugh
5705 North Campbell Avenue
Tucson, Arizona 85718
602-887-0440

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Forrest C. Braden
700 Second Avenue
Yuma, Arizona 85364
602-SU 3-4348

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Benjamin F. Stephenson
P. O. Box 274
Sedona, Arizona 86336
602-282-7019

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

A. Sarg Magyar
114 South Palomar
Tucson, Arizona
602-793-8142

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Clinton Pardridge
6342 E. Malvern
Tucson, Arizona 85710

UCNA CHAIRMAN

William Moore
1535 East Broadway
Tucson, Arizona 85719
602-792-0110

UCNA FIELDMAN

Robert King
986 Baileyana Road
Hillsboro, California 94010
415-349-1401 (o)
415-342-1845 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Ron McCoy
617 E. Apache Blvd, Apt. 10
Tempe, Arizona
602-966-4756

ARIZONA

Frank P. Middleton
35 West Jefferson Street
Phoenix, Arizona 85003
Off: 602/258-6741
Hm: 602/265-3676

Mrs. John C. Pritzlaff, Jr.
Assist. Regional Director
719 N. Old Scottsdale Road
Scottsdale, Arizona

home: 602-947-2109

ARKANSAS

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

H. H. "Bo" Callaway
Pine Mountain, Georgia
404-237-3314 (o)
404-663-2486 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred LaRue
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Odell Pollard
P. O. Box 36
Searcy, Arkansas 72143
501-245-3536

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller
530 Tower Building
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
501-FR 2-7301

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Frank McGillicuddy
2000 Magnolia Street
Rivercliff Apts., Apt. 463
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202
501-MO 6-7889

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Robert Webb
4924 East Crestwood
Little Rock, Arkansas 72207
501-MO 3-3836

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Ed Allison
530 Tower Building
Little Rock; Arkansas 72201

UCNA STATE CHAIRMAN

James M. Coates
Fireman's Fund Ins. Co.
4th and Ringo
Little Rock, Arkansas
501-374-3341 (o)
501-663-4228 (h)

UCNA Executive Director

Glen Jermstad
P. O. Box 5269
North Little Rock, Arkansas
501-372-2291 (o)
501-753-6524 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Ron C. Romans
8113 Q Street
Ralston, Nebraska 68151
402-348-1916 (o)
402-342-1845 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW

Ronnie Kendrick
Arkansas Tech
Russellville, Arkansas
501-968-0389

ARKANSAS

Mr. Travis Beeson
304 Berg Avenue, N.W.
Camden, Arkansas
(501) 836-6566 (home); 836-6577 (office)

CALIFORNIA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Robert Finch
Office of the Lt. Governor
Sacramento, California
916-445-4711

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Robert Nesen
541 N. Oxnard Avenue N.
Oxnard, California
805-483-2258

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

James W. Halley
351 California Street
Room 505
San Francisco, California 94104
415-982-9036

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Thomas C. Reed
P. O. Box 694
Ross, California 94957
415-456-3477

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Eleanor R. Ring
801 Tolita Avenue
Coronado, California 92118
714-435-4524

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Louis Lombardi
1945 West Mountain
Glendale, California 91202
213-242-3963

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Steve Lewis
P. O. Box 563
San Mateo, California 94401
415-982-9110 (o)
415-347-3182 (h)

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Charles Leeta
12184 Melinda Circle
Saratoga, California 95070
408-253-4670

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Albert Hartounian, Jr.
3779 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California
714-239-6241 (o)
714-273-8537 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Robert King
986 Baileyana Road
Hillsboro, California 94010
415-349-1401 (o)
415-342-1845 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Steve Frank
Los Angeles Nixon for President
3257 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Ron Bates - Chairman
1920 N. Marianna, Apt. 314
Los Angeles, California
Ph. (213) 223-6725
Ph. (213) 224-3595

CALIFORNIA

Dr. Gaylord Parkinson
350 S. Magnolia
El Cajon, California
714/444-1101

COLORADO

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Ralph Clark
718 17th Street
Denver, Colorado
303-292-2300 (o)
303-756-0080 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Wm. L. Armstrong
c/o KOST
P. O. Box 98
Denver, Colorado
303-343-1430 (o)
303-364-4720 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Peter M. Flanigan
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Howard B. Propst
1765 Sherman Street, Suite 300
Denver, Colorado 80203
303-222-7764

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

William S. Powers
2910 Security Life Building
Denver, Colorado 80202
303-222-3526

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Daniel Gray
2850 East Flora Place
Denver, Colorado 80210
303-756-6909

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Robert Haver
1526 Alexander Circle
Pueblo, Colorado 81001
303-544-3245

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Jim Abbott
Box 481
Georgetown, Colorado 80444

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Leon Diner
2017 Holly Street
Denver, Colorado 80207
303-292-2916

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Mackintosh Brown
Equitable Building
Denver, Colorado
303-266-1761 (o)
303-623-1914 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Wes Phillips
P. O. Box 14131
Portland, Oregon 97214
503-234-0808 (o)
503-654-4980 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Dan Green
1036 14th Street
Boulder, Colorado 80302
303-443-1639

CONNECTICUT

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATORS

Congressman Brad Morse

James Timmis
c/o Peter Flanigan
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022
212-661-6400

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter M. Flanigan
212-661-6400

John Mitchell
212-661-6400

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Hazel Roessinger
French Road
Greenwich, Connecticut 06830
203-869-8722

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Howard E. Hausman
410 Asylum Street
Room 315
Hartford, Connecticut 06103
203-249-9661

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

John Alsop
P. O. Box 300
Hartford, Connecticut 06101
203-278-3300

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Norman Harrower, Jr.
144 Edgemoor Road
New Haven, Connecticut 06511
203-776-1926

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. James F. Collins
104 Westerly Terrace
Hartford, Connecticut 06105
203-236-0356

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Charles Riegel
99 Frances Drive
Manchester, Connecticut 06040
203-643-9704

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Malcolm Baldrige
Scoville Mfg. Co.
99 Mill Street
Waterbury, Connecticut
203-757-6061

Ralph Marcarelli, Co-Chairman
223 Black Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06515
203-389-0634

UCNA FIELDMAN

Robert Buzinski
Box 96
Mosinee, Wisconsin 54455
715-693-2713

CONNECTICUT

Gov. John Lodge
129 Easton Road
Westport, Conn.
(203) 227-6192

DELAWARE

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Donald Whitehead
44 Bromfield Street
Boston, Massachusetts
617-542-3420 (o)
617-344-6733 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Thomas B. Evans, Jr.
317 Delaware Avenue
Wilmington, Delaware 19801
302-652-4231 (o)
656-4454 (o)
656-0880 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Clayton S. Harrison, Jr.
407 Delaware Avenue
Wilmington, Delaware 19801
302-652-3132

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Harry G. Haskell, Jr.
1300 Market Street
Wilmington, Delaware 19801
302-OL 4-8764

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Clement W. Theobald
213 West 14th Street
Wilmington, Delaware
302-OL 6-3032

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Lois Marvel
2523 Turnstone Drive
Brookmead
Wilmington, Delaware
302-994-8597

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. F. Alden Townsend
RD 1, Box 11
Georgetown, Delaware 19947
302-856-6422

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

B. Wilson Redfearn
900 King Street
Wilmington, Delaware
302-654-6141 (o)
302-658-9825 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Edmund N. (Ned) Carpenter II
4072 Dupont Building
Wilmington, Del.
302-658-6541 (o)
302-654-7558 (h)

UCNA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Stanley Schneider
King's Ridge
Wilmington, Del.
302-656-4454 (o)
302-475-8907 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Robert Buzinski
Box 96
Mosinee, Wisconsin 54455
715-693-2713

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Bill Carter
101 Highland Avenue
Newport, Delaware 19804

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Perkins McGuire
800 - 17th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
202-298-8320

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Bernard I. Nordlinger
Southern Building
Washington, D. C.
202-783-1151 (o)
202-966-6540 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Richard G. Kleindienst
202-628-6800

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Gilbert Hahn, Jr.
1625 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
202-659-2644

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Carl L. Shipley
3740 Fordham Road, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016
202-363-2497

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. J. Willard Marriott
4500 Garfield Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007
202-WO 6-5370

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Elizabeth Weaver
4810 Sedgwick Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016
202-EM 2-7257

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Richard M. Simpson
3507 Parkston Road
Washington, D. C. 20016
301-656-3455

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Mr. Ben Cotten
c/o Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C.
202-783-1560

FLORIDA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATORS

Bo Callaway
404-237-3314

Brad Hays
202-783-4201

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Edward J. Stack
529 North Ocean Blvd.
Pompano Beach, Florida
305-525-0491 (o)
305-941-0400 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred LaRue
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Wm. F. Murfin
325 S.E. 6th Street
Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33301
305-525-6736

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

William C. Cramer
2600 Ninth Street North
St. Petersburg, Florida
813-862-6708

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Paula F. Hawkins
241 Dommerich Drive
Maitland, Florida 32751
305-644-0390

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Mary R. Grizzle
120 Gulf Boulevard
Belleair Shore
Indian Rocks Beach, Florida 33535
813-595-5597

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. William Cassady
10 East Camino Real, Box 254
Boca Raton, Florida 33432

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Bill Korp
P. O. Box 2524
Sarasota, Florida 33578

UCNA CHAIRMAN

William L. Pallot
Intl. Bank of Miami
627 S.W. 27th Avenue
Miami, Florida
305-642-2210 (o)
305-534-1621 (h)
212-581-8222

UCNA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

David Wells
3551 North Federal Highway
Fort Lauderdale, Florida
305-563-3366

UCNA FIELDMAN

Pete Hannah
Frates, Fay, Floyd and Pearson
12th Floor Concord Building
Miami, Florida 33133
212-986-7613
201-635-8139
305-377-0241

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Bill Christofferson
9235 S. W. 46 Terrace
Miami, Florida
305-226-5958

GEORGIA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATORS

Bo Callaway
404-237-3314

Brad Hays
202-783-4201

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Nolan Murrah, Jr.
R.C. Cola
1000 10th Avenue
Columbus, Georgia
404-322-4431 (o)
404-327-9195 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred LaRue
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

G. Paul Jones, Jr.
P. O. Box 96
Macon, Georgia 31202
912-788-4641
912-746-4433

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Howard H. Callaway
Pine Mountain, Georgia 31822
404-663-2281

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. John A. Cauble
Box 51, Route 6
Sunset Drive
Canton, Georgia 30114
404-479-3145

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Mobley Estes
1944 Country Club Road
Columbus, Georgia 31906

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. William C. Calhoun
2337 Kings Way
Augusta, Georgia 30904
404-733-9683

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Mr. Terry Moshier
55B Inwood Circle, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
404-874-5940 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Cicero Garner, Jr.
William Oliver Building
Atlanta, Georgia
404-524-7945 (o)
404-355-0486 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Pete Hannah
Frates, Fay, Floyd and Pearson
12th Floor Concord Building
Miami, Florida 33133
212-986-7613
201-635-8139
305-377-0241

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Robert Mardian
315 E. Colorado Blvd.
Pasadena, California
213-449-2345 (o)
213-798-5445 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Senator Hiram Fong
71 South King Street (hdqts)
Honolulu, Hawaii
808-510-137

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Richard G. Kleindienst
202-628-6800

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Edward E. Johnston
Room B-1
235 Queen Street
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813
808-581-136

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Randolph Crossley
P. O. Box 1061
Honolulu, Hawaii 96808
808-941-0744
808-931-161

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. George Kellerman
104 Wailupe Circle
Honolulu, Hawaii 96821
202-32-411

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Ellen Lai, Mrs. Patsy Chun
Mrs. Helen Choy (3 co-chairmen)
195 S. King Street, 7th Floor
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Richmond Jackson
Kahualani
1528 Mokulua Drive
Kailua, Oahu, Hawaii

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

John Butler
2895 Komaia Place
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

UCNA CHAIRMAN

John Lai
71 South King Street
Honolulu, Hawaii
808-510-137 (o)
808-568-947 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Robert King
986 Baileyana Road
Hillsboro, California 94010
415-349-1401 (o)
415-342-1845 (h)

IDAHO

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Robert Mardian
315 E. Colorado Blvd.
Pasadena, Calif.
213-449-2345 (o)
213-798-5445 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Richard G. Kleindienst
202-628-6800

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Roland C. Wilbur
P. O. Box 628
Lewiston, Idaho 83501
208-743-3701

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

David Little
Box 68
Emmett, Idaho 83617
208-365-4821

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Gwen Barnett
6525 Robertson Drive
Boise, Idaho 83705
208-375-7646

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Virginia Smith
Route 6
Caldwell, Idaho 83605
208-459-7192

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Oliver Baum
Box 576
Ashton, Idaho 83420
208-652-3526

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Lee Barron
Corrall, Idaho 83322

UCNA STATE CHAIRMAN

Lt. Governor Jack Murphy
State House
Boise, Idaho
208-342-6251 (o)
208-886-2289 (o)

UCNA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

William S. Campbell
P. O. Box 1738
Boise, Idaho
208-342-3541

UCNA FIELDMAN

Wes Phillips
P. O. Box 14131
Portland, Oregon
503-234-0808 (o)
503-654-4980 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Craig McMillin
2223 Maple Street
Caldwell, Idaho 83605

316 Anderson Hall
College of Idaho
Caldwell, Idaho 83605

P. O. Box 1738
Boise, Idaho 83701
342-3558

ILLINOIS

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Mr. Ray Arbuthnot
P. O. Box 267
LaVerne, Calif. 91750
714-593-2622

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Ray Page (Co-Chairman)
Room 302, State Office Bldg.
Supt. of Public Instruction
Springfield, Ill. 62706
217-525-2221

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Victor L. Smith
205 South Franklin
Robinson, Ill. 62454
618-544-2174

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Robert D. Stuart, Jr.
345 Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Illinois 60654
312-527-0600

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Hope McCormick
Butterfield & Winfield Roads
Warrenville, Illinois 60555
312-393-1875

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Josephine K. Oblinger
Rm 101, County Building
Springfield, Illinois 62701
217-528-5131 (o)
217-629-9897 (h)

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Frank Kenney
Route 2, Box 179A
Barrington, Illinois
312-426-3748

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

George Croker
7649 Taylor
Forest Park, Illinois 60130

UCNA STATE CHAIRMAN

William H. Rentschler
State Madison Building
22 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60602
312-237-2535 (o)
312-234-5210 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Ben Cotten
UCNA Headquarters
Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C. 202-783-1560

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Ralph Hahn
Consulting Engineers & Assoc.
1320 S. State Street
Springfield, Illinois

David Bowers
State-Madison Bldg.
22 West Madison St.
Chicago, Illinois 60602
312-236-2535

INDIANA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Jack Drown
1 Crest Road
Rolling Hills, Calif.
213-FR 7-1232

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Buena Chaney
111 North Capital Ave.
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

L. Keith Bulen
144 North Delaware Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204
317-635-8881

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Cecil M. Harden
302 Fifth Street
Covington, Indiana 47932
317-793-2094

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. F. E. Allmon
145 S. Ellsworth Place
South Bend, Indiana 46617
219-234-3527

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Emmett O. Guthridge
111 North Capital Ave.
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204
317-635-7561

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

John Jackson
Evansville, Indiana

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Charles E. Shearer, Jr.
P. O. Box 55391
Indianapolis, Indiana
317-925-6421 (o)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Maurice W. Coburn
25 E. Chestnut
Chicago, Illinois 60611
312-782-1829 (o)
312-944-7017 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Ken Payne
Students for Nixon
Indiana Volunteers for Nixon, Inc.
3620 Washington Blvd.
P.O. Box 55391
Indianapolis, Indiana 46205
Ph. (317) 632-8361

School Address: R.R.#4, Box 323
c/o AVY Sherlock
Bloomington, Indiana
Ph. (812) 824-4135

INDIANA

Orvas E. Beers
17th Floor, Lincoln Tower
Ft. Wayne, Indiana 46802
219/743-9706

IOWA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Richard L. Herman
10324 Rockbrook Road
Omaha, Nebraska
402-346-8092 (o)
402-391-0831 (h)

UCNA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Richard Berglund
Central National Bank Building
Des Moines, Iowa 50309
515-244-4201 (o)
515-277-5301 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

UCNA FIELDMAN

Ben Cotten
UCNA Headquarters
Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C.
202-783-1560

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

John E. Warren
933 Insurance Exchange Building
Des Moines, Iowa 50309
515-282-8105

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Charles E. Wittenmeyer
907 Davenport Bank Building
Davenport, Iowa 52801
319-326-3521

Senator Robert Rigler
New Hampton, Iowa
(515) 394-4322

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Elmer M. Smith
654 59th St.
Des Moines, Iowa 50312
515-279-5390

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Herbert Reed
215 E. Church St.
Panora, Iowa 50216
515-755-2123

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Thomas J. Godwin
Exira, Iowa 50076
712-268-2361

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

LeRoy Corey
2712 Cedar Heights Drive
Cedar Falls, Iowa

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Richard L. Herman
402-346-8092

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

McDill Boyd
251 F Street
Phillipsburg, Kansas 67661
913-LI 3-5242

Co-Ordinator

Robert Fegan
811 S. Adams
Junction City, Kansas
913-CE 8-5151 (o)
913-CE 8-3456 (h)

Hon. Chairman

Frank Carlson

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Don Concannon
Room 500
Jayhawk Hotel
Topeka, Kansas 66603
913- CE 3-9615

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

McDill Boyd
251 F Street
Phillipsburg, Kansas 67661

NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Richard Rogers
301 North 15th St.
Manhattan, Kansas 66502
913-539-3413

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Hobart Hoyt
Lyons, Kansas 67554
316-257-2124

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Francis Duffy
312 Vine
Abilene, Kansas 67410
913-CO 3-1001

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Martin N. Burke
P. O. Box 1055
Hutchinson, Kansas 67501
316-MO 5-7556

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Kenney L. Ford
c/o Kansas State University
Anderson Hall
Manhattan, Kansas
913-532-6364 (o)
913-539-4867 (h)

UCHA FIELDMAN

Ron C. Romans
81a3 Q Street
Ralston, Nebraska 68151
415-349-1401 (o)
415 342-1845 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Tom Snyder
820 South Osage
Wichita, Kansas 67213
Ph. (316) AM 7-8361

Kim Roberts
223 N. Socora
Wichita, Kansas 67212

KENTUCKY

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATORS

Linwood Holton
315 Shenandoah Building
Roanoke, Virginia
703-342-1825 (o)
702-352-2605 (h)

Brad Hays
202-783-4201

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred LaRue
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

John H. Kerr
463 E. Main St.
Lexington, Kentucky 40507
606-25206767

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Edwin G. Middleton
501 South Second Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40202
502-584-1135

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Harold B. Barton
1311 7th Street Road
Corbin, Kentucky 40701
606-528-2404

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Harry Hoe
Rep. State Headquarters
1619 Heyburn Building
Louisville, Kentucky 40402

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. C. M. McDaniel
210 Petersboro
Middleboro, Kentucky 40965
606-248-1467

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

James D. Frailie
2315 Blackburn Avenue
Ashland, Kentucky 41101
606-324-1155 (o)
606-324-2851 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Marvin Edwards
Edwards Sausage Co.
Lawrenceberg, Kentucky
502-839-3422 (o)

UCNA FIELDMAN

John W. Pettit
8814 Ridge Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034
301-298-6161

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mitch McConnell
Young Kentuckians For Nixon
Sherwyn Hotel - Third Floor
415 W. Walnut Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40202
Ph. (502) 582-1842

LOUISIANA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATORS

Bo Callaway
404-237-3314

Brad Hays
202-783-4201

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Charlton Howard Lyons
Room 605
Capital House Hotel
Baton Rouge, La.
504-342-7721

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred LaRue
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Charles DeGravelles
409 Azalea Street
Lafayette, La. 70501
318-232-7957

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Tom Stagg
406 Petroleum Tower
Shreveport, Louisiana 71101
318-424-3294

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Jean M. Boese
831 City Park Blvd.
Alexandria, La. 71301
318-445-2972

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Charles Farris
6300 Carlson Drive
New Orleans, Louisiana 70122
504-288-0263

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Henry Heitman
655 Waverly Drive
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70806
504-926-0503

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Rob Polack
4332 Claycut Road
Baton Rouge, La. 70806
504-343-1634

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Hon. Sam Jones
P. O. Box 910
Lake Charles, Louisiana
318-439-8315 (o)
318-439-3332 (h)

UCNA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Charlton H. Lyons
Jack Tar, Capitol House Hotel
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
504-342-5332
504-342-7721 Ext. 605

UCNA FIELEMAN

Pete Hannah
c/o Frates, Fay, Floyd,
and Pearson
12th Floor
Concord Building
Miami, Florida 33133
212-986-7613
201-635-8139
305-377-0241

MAINE

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATORS

Brad Morse

Stewart Lamprey
408 Union Avenue
LaConia, New Hampshire
603-524-2920

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter M. Flanigan
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Cyril M. Joly, Jr.
222 Main St.
Waterville, Maine 04901
207-872-5568

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Robert A. Marden
44 Elm Street
Waterville, Maine 04901
207-873-0188

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Brooks Brown, Jr.
Ramshead Farm
York, Maine 03909
207-363-5289

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Donna Tibbets
32 Norway
Bangor, Maine 04401
207-947-7210

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Converse Fenn
4 Riverside Avenue
Waterville, Maine 04901
207-872-6642

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Wilfred J. Sirois
43 Marlboro Avenue
Augusta, Maine 04330
622-7291

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Edward P. (Ned) Harding
24 Free Street
Portland, Maine
207-773-1775

UCNA FIELDMAN

Raymond Peck
142 East 80th Street
New York, New York 10021
212-MU 9-5460
212 TR 9-0096 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Susan Harding
24 Free Street
Portland Maine
773-1775

Box 4
South Freeport, Maine
(207) 865-6565

School Address:
c/o Roberts Union
Colby College
Waterville, Maine 04901
(207) 873-1131

MARYLAND

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Donald Whithead
617-542-3420

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Joseph M. Dukert
4709 Crescent Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016
202-363-7625

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

D. Eldred Rinehart
Smithsburg, Maryland 21783
301-824-4151

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Katherine Massenburg
5608 Purlington Way
Baltimore, Maryland 21212
301-ID 3-0590

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Sylvia Hermann
6900 Barrett Lane
Bethesda, Maryland 20014
301-OL 2-8699

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Sylvia Hermann

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Edward Denis
977 Battery Lane
Bethesda, Maryland
302-638-6040 (o)
301-657-8557 (H)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Charles P. McCormick, Jr.
McCormick & Co., Inc.
Light - Barre Streets
Baltimore, Maryland
310-539-6460

UCNA FIELDMAN

John W. Pettit
8814 Ridge Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034
301-298-6161

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Jerry Van Winter
1700 K Street, N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C.
Ph. 659-9233

14616 Pebblestone Drive
Silver Spring, Maryland 20904
Ph. 384-4778

MARYLAND

Cong. Rogers C. B. Morton
214 Cannon House Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20515

MASSACHUSETTS

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Congressman Brad Morse

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Co-Ordinator

Lt. Governor Frank Sargent
Office of the Lt. Governor
Boston, Mass.
617-727-3600

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter Flanigan
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Josiah A. Spaulding
146 Bowdoin St.
Boston, Mass. 02108
617-LA 3-7535

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Bruce Crane
45 Main St.
Dalton, Mass 01226
413-684-0100

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. H. Dunster Howe
142 Summit Avenue
Brookline, Mass. 02146
617-277-8684

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Nita Clifford
11 Albion Road
Wellesley Hills, Mass. 02181
617-237-2481

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. James W. Blackham, Jr.
33 Canterbury Road
Winchester, Mass 01890

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Miss Joan P. Gormalley
236 Lafayette Street
Salem, Mass. 01970

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Hon. Senator John Quinlan
State House
Boston, Massachusetts
617-785-0555

UCNA FIELDMAN

Raymond Peck
142 East 80th Street
New York, New York 10021
212 MU 9-5460
212 TR 9-0096 (h)

→ Mr. Donald Whitehead
Regional Director -
44 Bromfield Street
Boston, Mass.

office: 617 - 542-3420
home: 617 - 344-6733

Mr. Anthony Faunce
Regional Director -
14 Beacon Street, Room 108
Boston, Mass.

office: 617 - 742-1358
home: 617 - 259-8449

Mr. Gerhard D. Blicken
Regional Chairman
John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co.
200 Berkeley Street
Boston, Mass.

office: 617 - 421-6000
home: 617 - 262-3524

MICHIGAN

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Governor George Romney
Lansing, Michigan
517-373-3400

Vice Chairman

Sen. Emil Lockwood
Capital Savings & Loan Bldg.
Room 306
Lansing, Michigan
517-482-6271 (o)
517-485-6966 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Elly M. Peterson
404 E. Michigan Ave.
Lansing, Michigan 48933
517-487-5413

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Harold McClure
468 Luce Street
Alma, Mich. 48801
517-463-2081

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Elly M. Peterson

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Hon. N. Lorraine Beebe
24424 Fairmont Drive
Dearborn, Mich. 48124
313-565-1841 (h)
517-373-3543 (o)

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. C. E. Haynes
24686 Madison Ct., Apt. 272
Farmington, Mich. 48024
313-474-6893

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Tom Ahart
2984 Field Avenue
Detroit, Mich 48214
313-322-1955 (o)
313-924-8167 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

John Feikens
1225 Penobscot Building
Detroit, Michigan
313-961-6520

UCNA FIELDMAN

Maurice W. Coburn
25 East Chestnut
Chicago, Illinois 60611
312-782-1829
944-7017 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Bob Smart
Apt. 1, 508 South Division
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
Ph. (313) 662-2511/2512

MINNESOTA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Gene Trumble
7515 Wayzata Blvd.
Minneapolis, Minn.
612-544-4234 (o)
612-938-2644 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Hon. Ancher Nelsen (Co-Director)
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter Flanigan
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

George Thiss
4940 Viking Drive
Minneapolis, Minn. 55435
612-920-5750

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

George Etzell
Clarissa, Minn. 56440
218-756-2131

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Russell Lund
4814 South Lakeview Drive
Minneapolis, Minn. 55424
612-WA 7-9791

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. David Hartley
314 Norman
Eveleth, Minn.
218-741-5773

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Frederic Eastman
2013 Harriet Ave., S.
Minneapolis, Minn. 55405
612-333-5983

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Lowell Wagner
618 South 22nd Ave.
Moorhead, Minn. 56560
218-236-6222 (o)
218-236-6171 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Rudy Boschwitz
Plymouth-Minnesota Co.
3737 E. River Road
Minneapolis, Minnesota
612-788-9666 (o)
612-545-4193 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Ben Cotten
UCNA Headquarters
Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C.
202-783-1560

MISSISSIPPI

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATORS

Bo Callaway
404-237-3314

Brad Hays
202-783-4201

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred LaRue
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Clarke Reed
P. O. Box 894
Greenville, Miss. 38701
601-335-2341

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

James M. Moye
515 Fifth Avenue
Laurel, Miss. 39440
601-425-1438

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. James Hooper
800 - 8th Street, N.
Columbus, Miss 39701
601-FA 8-1816

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Fielding Wright
P. O. Drawer KA
State College, Miss.

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Kelsey McKay
316 Hickory
McComb, Miss. 39648
601-684-3230

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Hal Lewis
Box 310
Picayune, Miss. 39466
504-255-8585 (o)
601-798-2870 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Raymond Brown
1144 Beach Blvd.
Pascagoula, Mississippi
601-762-2271 (o)
601-762-1974 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Pete Hannah
c/o Frates, Fay, Floyd,
and Pearson
12th Floor
Concord Building
Miami, Florida 33133
212-986-7613
201-635-8139
305-377-0241

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mike Allred
Box 5398
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi
Ph. (601) 232-7211
232-7848

MISSOURI

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Richard L. Herman
402-346-8092

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Dorman L. Steelman
129 1/2 East High St.
P. O. Box 73
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101
314-636-3146

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Gene Taylor
P. O. Box 308
Sarcoxié, Missouri 64862
417-KI 8-3341

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. M. Stanley Ginn
303 West Boulevard, South
Columbia, Missouri 65201
314-GI 3-3980
314-OR 4-2282

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Maryetta White
1638 S. Maple St.
Carthage, Missouri 64836
417-358-4065 (o)
417-358-3504 (h)

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. J. Harrison Life
Route 1, Box 363
Hazelwood, Missouri 63042
314-HE 4-3688

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Thomas J. Mounier
1744 Exuma Drive
St. Louis, Missouri 63136

UCNA CHAIRMAN

John Latshaw
E. F. Hutton & Col
920 Baltimore Street
Kansas City, Missouri
816-221-7800 (o)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Ben Cotten
UCNA Headquarters
Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C.
202-783-1560

MISSOURI

Mr. E. W. (Brom) Bromwich
3131 Olive
St. Louis Missouri
314/FRI-3370

h) EVB-7189

MONTANA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Robert C. Mardian
213-449-2345

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Eldon Davenport (Coordinator)
1401 Cascade Avenue
Billings, Montana 59102
406-259-6917

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Richard G. Kleindienst
202-628-6800

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

M. F. Keller
3101 Fourth Avenue, North
Great Falls, Montana
406-452-9507

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

James E. Murphy
One Main St.
Kalispell, Mont. 59901
406-SK 6-3644

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Isabel C. Moberly
485 Judy Avenue
Shelby, Montana 59474
406-434-2420

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Wesley Castles
York Route, North of Helena
Helena, Montana 59601
406-227-5485

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Bert L. Ansberry
302 S. Willson, Apt. A-102
Bozeman, Mont. 59715
406-587-0018

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Verna Green
Box 1207
Bozeman, Montana
406-587-3153 (o)
406-586-6866 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

R.S. (Dick) O'Day
Highwood Star Route
Great Falls, Montana
406-452-5853

UCNA FIELDMAN

Wes Phillips
P. O. Box 14131
Portland, Oregon 97214
503-234-0808
503-654-4980 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

James Harrison
820 North Montana Avenue
Helena, Montana 59601

NEBRASKA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Jack Drown
1 Crest Road
Rolling Hills, Calif.
213-FR 7-1232

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

George Cook (Coordinator)
Bankers Life Ins. Co. of Neb.
Cotner & O Streets
Lincoln, Nebraska
402-434-3141 (o)
402-GA 3-6272 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Lorraine Orr
402 South Jefferson
North Platte, Nebraska 69101
308-532-3433

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Donald R. Ross
1406 Kiewit Plaza
Farnam at 36th
Omaha, Nebraska 68131
402-341-5421

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Clifton B. Batchelder
6875 State Street
Omaha, Nebraska 68152
402-453-3865

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Marvin G. Schmid
1305 L Street
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508
402-477-1644

Mr. Richard L. Herman
Regional Director
10324 Rockbrook Road
Omaha, Nebraska

office: 402 - 346-8092
home: 402 201 0221

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Dale Stubblefield
Shelton, Nebraska 68876
308-647-3607

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Arthur L. Knox
North 7th and Pine Tree Lane
Route 5
Lincoln, Nebraska
432-1265 (o)
435-6934 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Rev. Robert Palmer
1035 Fall Creek Road
Lincoln, Nebraska
or
Westminster Pres. Church
Lincoln, Nebraska
402-423-8573 (o)
402-489-2126 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Ron C. Romans
8113 Q Street
Ralston, Nebraska 68151
402-348-1916
402-331-6930 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Dan Wherry
865 Elmwood
Lincoln, Nebraska
Ph. (402) 477-1644

Nixon for President Committee
1305 L Street
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508
Ph. (402) 477-1644

NEVADA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Robert Mardian
213-449-2345

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMEN

Al Abner
Campaign Manager - South
KSHO-TV
3349 Valley View Bld.
Las Vegas, Nevada 89102
702-870-2020

John Laxalt
Campaign Manager - South
325 South 3rd Street
Las Vegas, Nevada
702-384-3790

Pete Kelley
Campaign Manager - North
Sweetland Building
Carson City, Nevada
702-882-1943

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Richard G. Kleindienst
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

George W. Abbott
P. O. Box 396
Minden, Nevada 89423
702-SU 2-2302

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

William Laub
1000 Rancho Circle
Las Vegas, Nevada 89107
702-878-8755

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Marvin B. Humphrey
30 Suda Way
Reno, Nevada 89502
702-322-9012

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Beatrice Wheeler
1117 Strong
Las Vegas, Nevada 89102
702-878-7085

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Louie Gardella
135 Boxer Drive
Reno, Nevada 89502
702-322-0092

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Alan List
Route 1, Box 603
Carson City, Nevada 89701
702-882-4500

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Hon. Clifton Young
195 South Sierra Street
Reno, Nevada 89501
702-323-1344 (o)
702-329-0587 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Robert King
986 Baileyana Road
Hillsboro, California 94010
415-349-1401
415-342-1845 (h)

NEVADA

Hon. C. Clifton Young
Breen & Young
195 Sierra
Reno, Nevada
702/323-1344

NEW HAMPSHIRE

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATORS

Congressman Brad Morse

Stewart Lamprey
603-524-2920

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Hon. David Sterling
Main Street
Hillsborough, N.H.
603-464-5590

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Peter J. Flood
Box 173, R.F.D. 1
Reeds Ferry, N.H. 03078
603-424-5229

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter Flanigan
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

John Palazzi
134 N. Main St.
Concord, N. H. 03301
603-225-9341

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

David Sterling

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Mildred Perkins
5 Glendale Road
Concord, N. H. 03301
603-225-9082

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Edwin M. Kirby
21 Snow Street
Penacook, New Hampshire 03303
303-753-4805

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. G. Winthrop Brown
Amherst, N. H. 03031
603-673-1128

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Warren B. Baker (Marie)
255 Main Street
Goffstown, New Hampshire
603-497-2475

UCNA FIELDMAN

Raymond Peck
142 East 80th Street
New York, New York 10021
212 MU 9-5460
212 TR 9-0096 (h)

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. Richard Howard
Highway Hotel
Concord, N.H.
603/524-2920

NEW JERSEY

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Bob Lee

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Nelson Gross
Gross & Gross
1 Essex Street
Hackensack, N. J.

Joe Intile - Co-Chairman
John Diman - Co-Chairman
Ann Flynn - Co-Chairman

headquarters
Military Park Hotel
Newark, New Jersey

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter M. Flanigan
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Webster B. Todd
Room 405
Trenton Trust Building
28 West State St.
Trenton, N. J. 08608

Director
Conover Spencer
Room 405 Trenton Trust Bldg.
28 West State Street
Trenton, N. J. 08608

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Bernard M. Shanley
570 Broad Street
Newark, N. J. 07102
201-MI 3-1220

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Katherine K. Neuberger
628 Middletown-Lincroft Rd.
Lincroft, N. J. 08608
201-741-1015

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Brian L. Barb
125 South Harrison St., Apt. 502
East Orange, N. J.
201-759-9300 (o)
201-678-2647 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

James Skidmore, Jr.
776 Broad Street
Newark, New Jersey
201-624-8404 (o)
201-624-9550 (o)
201-322-2021 (h)

Honorary Chairman:

C. Douglas Dillon

UCNA FIELDMAN

Robert Buzinski
Box 96
Mosinee, Wisconsin 54455
715-693-2713

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Jim Kopley
12 Plymouth Road
Clifton, New Jersey

Jeff Gingold
134 Skyline Drive
Watchung, New Jersey 07060
Ph. (201) 755-6696

NEW MEXICO

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Robert C. Mardian —
213-449-2345

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Richard Kleindienst
202-628-6800

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Robert Davidson
Mutual Life of Omaha Ins. Co.
610 Gold Ave.
Albuquerque, New Mexico

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Robert Anderson
P. O. Box 1000
Roswell, New Mexico 88201
505-622-5283

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Floyd W. Lee
San Mateo, New Mexico 87050
505-876-2511

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Edward Neff
1509 Sagebruch Trail, S. E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87112
505-299-2479

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. J. Welch Atwood
2120A 34th Street
Los Alamos, N. M.
505-662-3172

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Edward L. Lujan
Box 4995
Sante Fe, N. M. 87501
505-YU 3-3337

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Max Anderson
Rancher Exploration & Development Co.
4204 Coal Avenue, S. E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico
505-345-3311 (o)
505-344-8251 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Ron C. Romans
8113 Q Street
Ralston, Nebraska 68151
402-348-1916 (o)
402-331-6930 (h)

NEW MEXICO

Hon. Edwin L. Mechem (Former Gov.)
POST OFFICE DRAWER 578
Las Cruces, New Mexico
505/526-6655

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

James Timmis
c/o Peter Flanigan
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Governor Rockefeller
Albany, New York
518-474-8390

headquarters
450 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.
212-661-6400

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter Flanigan
John Mitchell
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Charles A. Schoeneck, Jr.
315 State Street
Albany, New York 12210
518-462-2601

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

George L. Hinman
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N. Y. 10030
212-CI-73700

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Keith McHugh
10 Gracie Square
New York, New York 10028
212-BU 8-2424

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Charles Knauss
Nixon-Agnew Campaign Comm.
Associated Press Building
50 Rockefeller Plaza, Rm. 1034
New York, New York 10020

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. John Rogalin
Cedar Hill Lane
Pound Ridge, New York 10576
914-PO 4-4210 (h)
212-PL 9-1700 (o)

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Joe Bruno
96 Ridge Street
Glen Falls, N. Y. 12801
518-793-3413 (o)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

John Gilhooley
New Yorkers for Nixon-Agnew
Commodore Hotel
New York, New York
212-688-4700

Mrs. Rita Hauser, Co-Chairman
Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022
212-661-6400
212-686-6000

UCNA FIELDMAN

Robert Buzinski
Box 96
Mosinee, Wisconsin 54455
715-693-2713

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW

Joe L. Forstadt
Nixon Headquarters
108 W. 34th Street
New York, New York
212-566-5456

NORTH CAROLINA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Brad Hays
202-783-4201

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Charles Jonas, Jr.
330 S. Tryon Street
Charlotte, N. C.
704-333-0456 (o)
704-333-3651 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred LaRue
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

James E. Holshouser, Jr.
P. O. Box 328
Boone, N.C. 28607
704-264-8528

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

J. E. Broyhill
Wilkesboro Road
Lenoir, N.C. 28645
704-PL 4-3421

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Louis G. Rogers
Route 3, Box 251A
Charlotte, N.C. 28210
704-588-1181

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Robert Griffin
19 Glenwood Road
Asheville, N. C. 28803

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Vance Hickman
2700 Tudor Road
Winston-Salem, N.C. 27106
919-723-2826

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

John Mellotte
P. O. Box 8346
613 Mendenhall Street
Greensboro, N.C. 27410
919-292-3011 (o)
919-273-2698 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Willis Smith, Jr.
Wachovia Bank Bldg.
Raleigh, North Carolina
919-832-6463

UCNA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Charles Jonas, Jr.
330 S. Tryon St.
Charlotte, North Carolina
919-832-6463

UCNA FIELDMAN

John W. Pettit
8814 Ridge Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034
301-298-6161

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

George Francis
P. O. Box 2222
East Carolina College
Greenville, North Carolina
Ph. (919) 758-1192

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Gene Trumble
612-544-4234

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter M. Flanigan
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Thomas L. Secrest
P. O. Box 207
Hettinger, N. D. 58639
701-567-2419

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Ben J. Clayburgh
729 Reeves Drive
Grand Forks, N.D. 58201
701-775-8080

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Joe Burgum
Arthur, N.D. 58006
701-967-6611

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Marian Bertsch
1256 Parkview Drive N.
Bismarck, N. D.

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Miss Dagny Olson
Box 618
Devils Lake, N.D. 58301
701-662-4351 (h)
701-662-2818 (o)

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Gen Harris
Cooperstown, N.D. 58425
2201 (o) 4444 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

John E. Davis
216 W. Owens Avenue
Bismarck, North Dakota 58501
701-223-7705

NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. Richard Elkins
Public Service Commission
Bismarck, North Dakota
(701) CA 3-8000; (701) 223-7697 (home)

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Cong. Bill Brock
1535 Longworth HOB
Washington, D. C.
202-225-3271

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

John S. Andrews
50 West Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215
614-CA 8-2481

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Ray C. Bliss
2315 First National Tower
Akron, Ohio 44308
216-762-8903

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Miss Martha C. Moore
501 Oakland Boulevard
Cambridge, Ohio 43725
614-432-2527

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Robert T. Morris
2619 Powhattan Pkwy.
Toledo, Ohio 43606
419-474-1365

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Katharine Kennedy Brown
Box 324
Dayton, Ohio 45401
513-228-9833

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Paul Matia

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Francis Dale
617 Vine Street
Cincinnati, Ohio
513-721-2700 (o)
513-871-5882 (h)

UCNA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Ted Gray
Sixth Floor
50 W. Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio
614-228-2331
614-469-3881

UCNA FIELDMAN

Maurice W. Coburn
25 East Chestnut
Chicago, Illinois 60611
312-782-1829
312-944-7017 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Tom Workman
50 W. Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio
Ph. (614) 228-2331
469-3396
469-3397

1119 South Cassingham
Columbus, Ohio
Ph. (614) 235-6796

OKLAHOMA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Brad Hays
202-783-4201

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Goodwin Broaddus
P. O. Box 1352
Enid, Oklahoma 73701
405-528-5578

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred LaRue
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

E. L. (Bud) Stewart, Jr.
103 Northwest 23rd St.
Oklahoma City, Okla. 73103
405-JA 8-3501

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Bud Wilkinson
1408 Brookside Drive
Norman, Okla. 73069
405-534-6269

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Dorothy Stanislaus
133 South Brewer
Vinita, Okla. 74301
918-256-4779

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Sam Turner
5652 S. Delaware
Tulsa, Okla. 74105
918-743-2472

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Orin Kimball
120 East Pratt Drive
Midwest City, Oklahoma 73110
405-PE 2-8800

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

John Meikle
1102 Marlboro Lane
Oklahoma City, Okla. 73116

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Goodwin Broaddus, Jr.
109 N.W. 23rd Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
405-528-5578

UCNA FIELDMAN

Ron C. Romans
8113 Q Street
Ralston, Nebraska 68151
402 348-1916
402 331-6930 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Anne Asplund
109 N.W. 23rd Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73103
Ph. (405) 528-5578

home - 1815 E. Maple
Enid, Oklahoma
Ph. (405) 234-5769

OKLAHOMA

Mr. Martin Garber
P.O. Box 1352
Enid, Oklahoma
405/233-1966
237-2756

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Brad Hays
202-783-4201

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Irving Enna
1029 S. W. Columbia Street
Portland, Oregon 97201
503-226-6343

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

George P. Stadelman
P. O. Box 143
The Dalles, Oregon 97058
503-296-2205

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Collis P. Moore
Box 225
Moro, Oregon 97039
503-JO 5-3527

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Frederic Young
12390 S.W. King Richard Dr.
Tigard, Oregon 97223
503-639-7103

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. John D. Venator
747 West Broadway
Eugene, Oregon 97402
503-345-5291

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Mr. Charles Keenan
830 S. W. Taylor's Ferry Rd.
Portland, Oregon 97210
503-246-3510

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Ted Gamble
2655 Greewold Place
Portland, Oregon
503-223-6604

UCNA FIELDMAN

Wes Phillips
P. O. Box 14131
Portland, Oregon 97214
503-234-0808
503-654-4980 (h)

OREGON

Hon. Howell Appling, Jr.
2235 N.E. Sandy Blvd.
Portland, Oregon 97232
503/234-6571

Mr. Alan Abner (Exec. Director)
2235 N.E. Sandy Blvd.
Portland, Oregon
503/234-6571.

PENNSYLVANIA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Don Whitehead
617-542-3420

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

John C. Jordon
P. O. Box 1624
Harrisburg, Penna. 17105
717-CE 4-4901

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Thomas B. McCabe
c/o Scott Paper Company
Philadelphia, Penna. 19113
215-SA 4-2000

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Miss Sarah Ann Stauffer
Rohrerstown, Penna.
717-392-6959

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Nolan Benner
c/o Republican Headquarters
112 State Street
Harrisburg, Pa. 17101
215-434-0484

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. George J. Thacik
Woodhurst
201 McLaughlin St.
Curwensville, Pa. 16833
814-236-1053

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

John Markle

UCNA CHAIRMAN

John Eisenhower
Valley Forge, Pa.
215-933-0461 (o)
215-933-1085 (h)

UCNA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dick Butera
400 DeKalb St.
Norristown, Pa.
215-933-8013 (o)
215-688-3699 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Robert Buzinski
Box 96
Mosinee, Wisconsin 54455
715-693-2713

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Eric Rabe
Nixon Headquarters
2nd & Locust
Harrisburg, Pa.

home- Box 765
Clearfield, Pa.
Ph. (814) 765-3668

PENNSYLVANIA

Arlin Adams
16th Floor, Packard Blvd.
Philadelphia, Penn
215/491-0426 (Off)
GE8-6565 (Home)

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Congressman Brad Morse

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Guy J. Wells
2200 Industrial Bank Bldg.
Providence, Rhode Island 02903
401-DE 1-2400 (o)
401-737-8753 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter M. Flanigan
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

G. George De Stefano
87 Weybosset Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02903
401-GA 1-2570

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Frederick Lippitt
108 Prospect Street
Providence, R.I. 02906
401-751-5667

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. D. Eldredge Jackson, Jr.
99 President Ave
Providence, R.I. 02906
401-PL 1-0566

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Marian Hollstein
Exeter, R. I. 02822
401-294-3798

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Agnes Vigcant
89 Spring Avenue
West Barrington, R.I. 02890
401-246-0837

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Robert Allocco
49 Marden Street
Cranston, R. I. 02910

UCNA CHAIRMAN

James W. Nugent
1602 Industrial Bank Bldg.
Providence, Rhode Island
401-331-2115 (o)
401-245-4626 (h)

UCNA CO-CHAIRMAN

George Vetter
2200 Industrial Bank Building
Providence, Rhode Island
401-331-2400 (o)
401-245-2966 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Raymond Peck
142 East 80th Street
New York, New York 10021
212-MU 9-5460
212-TR 9-0096

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Scott Bush
151 Weybosset Street
New Providence, R.I. 02903
Ph. (401) 272-3120
Dorm (401) 831-9123

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Gene Trumble
612-544-4234

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

D. Jack Gibson
Wilson Terminal Building
P. O. Box 1233
Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57101
605-336-3400 (o)
605-336-7533 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter M. Flanigan
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Charles A. Howard, Jr.
P. O. Box 248
Aberdeen, S. D. 57401
605-225-6326

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

D. Jack Gibson
P. O. Box 1233
Sioux Falls, S. D. 57101
605-336-7533

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Louise B. Humphrey
White River, S. D. 57579
605-259-3103

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Doris M. White
P. O. Box 1170
Rapid City, S. D. 57701
605-342-8129

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Charles H. Point
1705 Bruce Road
Sioux Falls, S. D. 57105
605-336-3168

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Mike Jackley
1933 Fulton Street
Sturgin, S. D. 57885

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Dr. Jack J. Early, President
Dakota Wesleyan University
1120 E. University Avenue
Mitchell, So. Dakota
605-996-6511 (o)
605-996-7427 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Wes Phillips
P. O. Box 14131
Portland, Oregon 97214
503-234-0803
503-654-4980

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Linwood Holton
703-342-1825

Brad Hays
202-783-4201

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Roy Acuff
Hendersonville, Tenn.

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred La Rue
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Claude K. Robertson
1412 Hamilton Bank Building
Knoxville, Tenn. 37902
615-523-1134

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Keith Spurrier
89 Goodwyn
Memphis, Tenn. 38111
901-458-8518

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

George E. Wilson, Jr.
P. O. Box 431
Harriman, Tennessee 37748
615-882-2420

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. John H. Stambaugh
Belle Meade Towers Apts.
Leake Avenue
Nashville, Tenn. 37205
615-352-8136

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. James Tuck
4403 Iroquois Avenue
Nashville, Tenn. 37205
615-292-9988

UCNA CO-CHAIRMEN

Mrs. Sam Furrow
301 Woodlawn Pike
Knoxville, Tenn.
615-573-5566
615-523-9122

Jack Shannon
1646 Texas
Memphis, Tennessee
901-948-4415 (o)
901-685-6477 (h)

UCNA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mrs. Marshall (Ruth) Trammel
UCNA State Headquarters
414 Union Street
Nashville, Tennessee 37219
615-256-2154

UCNA FIELDMAN

John W. Pettit
8814 Ridge Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034
301-298-6161

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

John Seward
Station B
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tenn.

901 Shady Lane
Johnson City, Tenn.

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

John G. Hurd
1020 Salinas
Laredo, Texas
512-723-3676 (o)
512-723-7338 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred LaRue
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Peter O'Donnell, Jr.
4275 First National Bank Bldg.
Dallas, Texas 75202
214-RI 2-7211

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Albert B. Fay
1801 Dallas Avenue
Houston, Texas 77003
713-CA 7-0511

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Tobin Armstrong
Armstrong Ranch
Armstrong, Texas

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Nola Smith
503 San Jacinto
Austin, Texas 78701

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Malcolm Milburn
2606 Pecos
Austin, Texas 78703
512-GR 708384

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Jim Oberwetter
3911 Duval
Austin, Texas 78751
512-453-0489 (o)
512-453-1063 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Ben Carpenter
Southland Center
Dallas, Texas
214-741-1321

UCNA FIELDMAN

Ron Romans
8113 Q Street
Ralston, Nebraska 68151
402-348-1916 (o)
402-331-6930 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Bill Bass
Nixon for President Committee
503 San Jacinto Street
Austin, Texas
512-477-9787

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Robert C. Mardian
213-449-2345

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Richard G. Kleindienst
202-628-6800

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Richard Richards
200 Kiesel Building
Ogden, Utah 84401
801-399-3303

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Kendall D. Garff
531 South State Street
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111
801-DA 8-3111

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Madge Fairbanks
2757 St. Mary's Way
Salt Lake City, Utah 84108
801-485-3120

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. R. Thae Wright
205 City & County Building
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111
801-354-4362 (o)
801-328-7307 (h)

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. David L. McKay
1348 Third Avenue
Salt Lake City, Utah
801-355-0366

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Bennie Williams
312 East South Temple
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111
801-364-3561 (o)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Rex J. Hanson
701 Kearns Building
Salt Lake City, Utah
801-359-7611 (o)
801-299-3225 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Robert King
986 Baileyana Road
Hillsboro, Calif. 94010
415-349-1401 (o)
415-342-1845 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Cong. Brad Morse

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter Flanigan
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

C. Douglas Cairns
925 S. Prospect Avenue
Burlington, Vermont
802-UN 4-5380 (o)
802-862-1959 (h)

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Edward G. Janeway
P. O. Box 117
South Londonderry, Vermont 05155
802-824-6330

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Consuelo Northrop Bailey
Strong Building
Burlington, Vermont 05401
802-UN 2-3791

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Richard Thurber
Charlotte, Vermont 05445
802-825-2851

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Richard L. Sykes
Box 10C, RFD 2
Brattleboro, Vermont 05301
802-254-6750

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Paul Bohn
Bennington, Vermont 05201
802-442-6402

UCNA CHAIRMAN

C. Douglas Cairns
925 S. Prospect Ave.
Burlington, Vermont
802-864-5380 (o)
802-862-1959 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Raymond Peck
142 East 80th Street
New York, New York 10021
212-MU 9-5460 (o)
212-TR 9-0996

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW

Robert Maguire
White Street
Springfield, Vermont
802-885-3426

VIRGINIA

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Harry Flemming
202-628-6800

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Linwood Holton
315 Shenandoah Building
Roanoke, Virginia
703-342-1825 (o)
703-342-2605 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter M. Flanigan
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Samuel E. Carpenter
976 Saigon Road
McLean, Virginia
703-EL 6-5431

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

I. Lee Potter
3120 North Wakefield Street
Arlington, Virginia 22207
703-KE 8-4133

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Cynthia Newman
3535 Half Moon Circle
Falls Church, Virginia 22044
703-256-5429

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Winston Crickenberger
3444 Malbrook Drive
Falls Church, Virginia 22044
704-256-4520
703-256-5074

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Mrs. George Burkhardt, III
3400 Russell Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22305
703-OV 3-4323

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Mason Green
2914 24th North
Arlington, Virginia 22207
702-JA 4-1400 (o)
703-528-3632 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Lawrence Lewis, Jr.
P. O. Box 432
Richmond, Virginia
703-648-5033 (o)
703-282-6283 (h)
703-829-2635 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

John W. Pettit
8814 Ridge Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034
301-298-6161

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Alan Rains
2601 Chain Bridge Road
Vienna, Virginia
703-938-8021

VIRGINIA

Hon. Harry Flemming
1625 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
202/223-6524

D. Dortch Warriner, Esq.
Warriner & Outten
332 S. Main Street
Emporia, Virginia 23847
703/634-3656

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Robert McGee
213-985-3333

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Murray Chotiner
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Gordon Clinton
420 Times Sq. Bldg.
Seattle, Washington
206-MA 4-6831

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Robert D. Timm
Route 6, Box 142
Olympia, Washington 98502
206-753-6420

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Harlan Anderson
819 West 23rd Place
Kennewick, Wash. 99336
509-582-2377

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Gwen Anderson
819 W. 23rd Pl.
Kennewick, Washington 99336
509-582-2377

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Warren Snider
Route 2, Box 508
Selah, Wash. 98942
509-MY 7-7632

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Bob Eberle
3229 74th S. E.
Mercer Island, Wash. 98040
AD 2-0093

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Gordon Clinton
420 Times Sq. Building
Seattle, Wash. 98101
206-624-6831

UCNA FIELDMAN

Wes Phillips
P. O. Box 14131
Portland, Oregon 97214
503-234-0808 (o)
503-654-4980 (h)

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Ron Robinson
Washington State Youth for Nixon
421 Times Square Station
Seattle, Washington 98101

C. Robert Ogden
(Chairman, Spoke and E. Washington)
North Coast Life Insurance Co.
Paulsen Building
Spokane, Washington 99201
509/TE8-4255

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Linwood Holton
703-342-1825

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Fred LaRue
212-661-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Thomas E. Potter
P. O. Box 1007
Charleston, W. Va. 25324
304-344-3446

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Arch A. Moore, Jr.
P. O. Box 308
Moundsville, W. Va. 26041
304-TI 5-5900

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Irvin Humphreys
1546 16th Street
Huntington, W. Va. 25701
304-522-2198

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. George F. Beneke
Oglebay View Acres
Wheeling, W. Va. 26003

Mrs. W. H. Ballard III
Peterstown, W. Va. 24963

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. George F. Beneke

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Mr. Bill Dunfee
945 Norway Avenue
Huntington, West Virginia 25705
523-5505

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Fred C. Davis, Jr.
Citizens Bank Building
Parkersburg, W. Va. 26101

UCNA FIELDMAN

John W. Pettit
8814 Ridge Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034
301-298-6161

WISCONSIN

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Wayne J. Hood
Train Company
LaCross, Wisc.
608-782-8000 (o)
608-782-8517 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

John K. MacIver
626 E. Wisconsin Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202
404-271-6560 (o)
404-962-2475 (h)

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Peter M. Flanigan
212-641-6400

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Ody J. Fish
135 Cottonwood Ave.
Hartland, Wis. 53029
414-367-2141

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

John E. Hough
P. O. Box 591
Janesville, Wisc. 53545
608-754-4461

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Byron Ising
514 Gehres Court
Oshkosh, Wisc. 54901
414-235-6319

WOMEN FOR NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Fred Hansen - Vice Chairman
8241 N. River Road
River Hills, Wisc. 414-352-2900

Mr. Charles O. Davis (Exec. Dir)
636 North Water Street
Milwaukee, Wis. 53202
414/276-0195

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. Ben Harff
2606 Wilgus Road
Sheboygan, Wisc. 53081
404-452-0105

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

John Gower
312 Terraview Drive
Green Bay, Wis. 54301
414-437-3211 (o)
414-336-5479 (h)

UCNA CHAIRMAN

Miller Upton, Pres.
Beloit College
Beloit, Wisconsin

UCNA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

F. Jack Pelisek
635 N. Water Street
Milwaukee, Wisc.
414-271-6560

UCNA FIELDMAN

Ben Cotten
UCNA Headquarters
Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C.
202-783-1560

YOUTH FOR NIXON-AGNEW

Tom Miller
1821 W. Highland
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233
414-273-4472
414-342-5923

NIXON-AGNEW COORDINATOR

Robert C. Mardian
213-449-2345

NIXON-AGNEW CHAIRMAN

Governor Hathaway
Office of the Governor
Cheyenne, Wyo.

Harold Hallbaum, Co-Chairman
Chugwater, Wyo. 82210
307-422-2411 (h)

YOUNG REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

Russ Ronley
2111 East 2nd Street
Casper, Wyoming 82601

NIXON-AGNEW COMMITTEE CONTACT

Richard G. Kleindienst
202-628-6800

GOP STATE CHAIRMAN

Clarence A. Brimmer
P. O. Box 241
Casper, Wyoming 82601
307-234-9166

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

Robert F. Gosman
P. O. Box 241
Casper, Wyoming 82601
307-234-2801

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Robert F. Gosman
P. O. Box 241
Casper, Wyoming 82601
307-234-2801

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Mrs. Jack L. Stacy
P. O. Box 96
Douglas, Wyoming 82633
307-358-2556

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Mrs. B. Brooks Nichols
1339 S. Mitchell
Casper, Wyo. 82601
307-234-3316

UCNA STATE CHAIRMAN

Harold Hellbaum
c/o Republican State Central Committee
Box 241
Casper, Wyoming
307-234-9166 (o)
307-422-2411 (h)

UCNA FIELDMAN

Wes Phillips
P. O. Box 14131
Portland, Oregon 97214
503-234-0808 (o)
503-654-4980 (h)

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

THE WHITE HOUSE

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

WASHINGTON

By cl NARS, Date 3-23-82

CONFIDENTIAL - EYES ONLY

December 30, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT H. FINCH
FROM: JEB S MAGRUDER
JAMES W. McLANE
SUBJECT: Campaign '72 Planning

This memorandum summarizes our understanding of your views on the need to begin thinking about and planning for the 1972 campaign. We have outlined our understanding of the objectives to be reached, the proposed action steps to achieve these objectives, and a plan of implementation which we intend to follow. We have also attached a list of potential candidates for required positions.

Objectives

The purpose of our immediate effort is to lay the groundwork for the '72 campaign by:

- . developing a small, low-visibility national organizational framework, giving priority first to primary States and then to key electoral States, and,
- . developing an appropriate network of functional and logistical support for the full-blown campaign effort in 1972, including the appropriate communication networks, information systems, and computer flexibility.

Action Steps

Several action steps will have to be taken in the next few weeks to begin moving toward these objectives. These steps, in order of priority, include:

1. Recruitment of "outside" State coordinators, with priority given first to primary States and then to key electoral States. This step will include field visits to key locations to open lines of communication, show the flag, and begin local operations.

2. Recruitment of 2 - 3 "in-house (located either here at the White House or at the Republican National Committee) desk men.
3. Recruitment of an "in-house" computer and software specialist to develop the necessary computer capability.
4. Recruitment of an "in-house" research specialist to monitor the opposition, both Democrat and Republican, to develop the necessary statistical foundation for campaign decisions, to monitor the polling operation, and to pull together appropriate State-by-State analyses of issues, voter behavior, and the like.
5. Inventorying and cataloging all existing resources which might be used in the '72 campaign, including those resources available in the White House, National Committee, Congressional Committee, State Committees, 1968 campaign records, etc.
6. Development of a detailed "game plan" of necessary activities between now and the start of the actual campaign.

Plan of Implementation

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Person(s) Responsible</u>	<u>Targeted Com- pletion Date</u>
Recruit "outside" State coordinators		
. visits to key areas (up to 10)	Finch/McLane	2/15/71
. screening of candidates	Finch/McLane/Magruder	3/1/71
. selection of team	Finch	3/15/71
Recruit 2 - 3 regional desk men, a computer specialist, and a research coordinator		
. identify candidates (see Attachment A)	Magruder/McLane	12/31/70

. initial screen of candidates	Magruder/McLane	1/22/71
. final screen of top candidates	Finch	2/1/71
. selection of team	Finch	2/5/71
Inventory and catalogue resources	Magruder	2/15/71
Develop a detailed "game plan"	Magruder/McLane	3/1/71

Attachment

Attachment A

POTENTIAL CANDIDATES FOR THE
'72 CAMPAIGN PLANNING STAFF

<u>Name</u>	<u>Approx. Age</u>	<u>Current Activity</u>
<u>"In-House" Regional Desk Men</u>		
Russell Byers	28	Assistant to the Under Secretary, HEW
Richard Dunnells	32	Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary, Urban Renewal, HUD
John Clarke	33	Assistant to the Director, OEO
Dan Todd	31	Special Assistant to the Chairman, CAB
Richard Mastrangelo	33	Assistant to the Secretary, HEW
Jerry Speers	28	Was campaign manager for father's Congressional race in Maine
Michael Kahl	29	President of his own consulting company

Computer Specialist

Research Coordinator

Bruce Farrell	31	Mass. Governor's planning staff; re- search coordinator for Mass. Gubernatorial campaign in 1970
---------------	----	--

"Outside" State Coordinator

Allan Shea	39	Director, National Alliance of Business- men, New England
Philip Richer	37	Marketing Manager, New England Telephone Company