

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>
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A "RNC Project Timetable" that lists: Target and direct communication, computer technology, Delaware project, direct mail, polling, and name list. 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Piece of paper labeled, "Campaign 1972-JSM. WHSF: SMOF H.R. Haldeman." 1 pg.
26	2	8/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From John Byington to Robert Odle. RE: Michigan Politics. 2 pgs.
26	2	8/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Letter	From S. John Byington to William G. Milliken. RE: The option of opening up the Republican Party to all people regardless of race, color, creed or philosophical bent. 2 pgs.

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26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Paper labeled, "WHSF: SMOF H.R. Haldeman." 1 pg.
26	2	8/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Compass Systems Inc. 2 pgs.
26	2	8/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: McCloskey and Florida Primary. 1 pg.
26	2	7/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Newspaper article from the Washington Post entitled, "Nixon Foe May Face Florida Primary Bar." 1 pg.
26	2	8/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The attached copy of the Evans and Novak column from the July 25 Washington Post. 1 pg.

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26	2	8/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The attached memo from Barry Mountain, who outlines the way the new correspondence section will be set up at the National Committee. 1 pg.
26	2	8/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Barry Mountain to Jeb Magruder. RE: The Correspondence Section. 4 pgs.
26	2	8/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Governor Winthrop Rockefeller's sponsored event entitled, "Salute to the New Voter." 1 pg.
26	2	8/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The National Journal's request to do a story on the committee, as well as a request for a 45 minute interview. 1 pg.
26	2	8/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The National Movement for the Student Vote. 2 pgs.

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26	2	8/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: New Hampshire, and the need to keep McCloskey from recruiting young workers. 1 pg.
26	2	8/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The need for conservative leaders such as Ronald Reagan to speak out in favor of Nixon's trip to China. 1 pg.
26	2	8/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Letter	From Jeb Magruder to Henry Salvatori. RE: The President's trip to China, and why it's in America's best interest. 1 pg.
26	2	7/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Letter	From Jeb Magruder to Henry Salvatori. RE: Appreciation for Mr. Salvatori's letter of support. 1 pg.
26	2	7/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Letter	From Henry to Haldeman. RE: Nixon's announcement of his trip to China, and the overwhelming approval from the liberal media-academic circles. 2 pgs.

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26	2	7/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Letter	From Henry V. Jaffa to Henry Salvatori. RE: The need to deal with the conflict between Russia and China. 2 pgs.
26	2	8/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The concern with the Pro-Reagan activities of Young Americans for Freedom. 3 pgs.
26	2	7/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Randal C. Teague to "Sirs." RE: The National Convention of Young Americans for Freedom meeting that will take place on September 2-5. 1 pg.
26	2	8/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rite Hauser and Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The Women's Vote. 13 pgs.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A table that gives the "Reported Voting by Sex, 1964-1970." 1 pg.

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26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A table that shows the vote by sex in presidential elections from 1952 to 1968. 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A report that explains the reasons behind party identification, and how it differs between male and female voters. 2 pgs.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A bar graph detailing the increase in the number of women voters, and how that correlates with the amount of education that is received. 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A report entitled, "Greatest Problem in Being a Woman Today." 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A report entitled, "Survey of the Attitudes of Women: Concluding Observations." 2 pgs.

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26	2	7/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	An article from The New York Times entitled, "Women Organize for Political Power." 1 pg.
26	2	7/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	An article entitled, "Women Activists Map Their Revolution." 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A list of the 21-member steering committee that was elected to coordinate the caucus' future work. 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A descriptive report entitled, "Progress Through the Courts." 4 pgs.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Two newspaper articles entitled, "Between Us Boys" and "Mrs. Abzug Hits Remark by President." 1 pg.

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26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A report summarizing the Woman's Equality Act. 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Report	A report from the "Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents", centered on the topic of abortions at military hospitals. 2 pgs.
26	2	5/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	A newspaper article from The Washington Post entitled, "The Day-Care Trap." 1 pg.
26	2	11/1/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	An article from The Miami Herald entitled, "What Ted Needs Is More Lib Appeal, Feminists Say." 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	An article entitled, "McGovern's 'Lib' Lags on His Staff." 1 pg.

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26	2	8/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: An attached status report on the efforts to discourage the formation of a new Conservative Party in Michigan. 1 pg.
26	2	8/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to Harry S. Flemming and Jeb S. Magruder. RE: The attempts at discouraging former Senator Robert Huber from putting a new "Conservative Party" on the ballot in Michigan. 2 pgs.
26	2	8/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From S. John Byington to Robert Odle. RE: The enclosed article from the Detroit Free Press of Saturday, July 31st. 2 pgs.
26	2	7/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Letter	From William P. Rogers to Francis J. Bicsak. RE: An invitation to serve on a Special Advisory Committee on Public Opinion. 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	An indecipherable handwritten noted dated 8/13. 1 pg.

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26	2	7/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John Ehrlichman. RE: The Platform for the 1972 Campaign being centered on the budget and the State of the Union Address. 1 pg.
26	2	8/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of the President/Substantive Policy Briefings. 1 pg.
26	2	8/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Jeb S. Magruder to Alan Brown. RE: Mr. Brown's possible assistance in President Nixon's upcoming campaign. 1 pg.
26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Dwight Chapin. RE: The President's suggestion of getting Alan Brown involved in the campaign so that his knowledge of the movie business will be of good use. 1 pg.
26	2	8/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Magruder's Projects. 5 pgs.

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26	2	7/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention. 2 pgs.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Typed note titled UPI-134. RE: Chicago's inability to be the site of the 1972 Republican National Convention, due to "prior commitments." 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A typed note titled, "A205." RE: The Democrats' decision to hold the 1972 convention in Miami, Florida. 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	Typed notes entitled, "GOP Convention." RE: The possibility of using Chicago, Miami Beach, and San Diego as possible sites for the convention. 1 pg.
26	2	6/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The different organizational options which include: Forming an agency in Washington, hiring a large full-service agency, or hire a large full-service agency, and create a campaign group within it. 4 pgs.

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26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A chart listing the 12 months in a year, different executive positions, and the total salary made by each person. 4 pgs.
26	2	8/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Magruder's Projects. 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note dated 8/13. 1 pg.
26	2	8/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to Gordon Strachan. RE: Message that reads, "For you information." 1 pg.
26	2	8/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Newspaper	An article entitled, "Old Hands to Staff Nixon's House Shop, If It's Formed." 1 pg.

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26	2	8/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Haldeman to the President's File. RE: The meeting set up by The President as one of the regular reviews with the Attorney General. 2 pgs.
26	2	7/31/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Magruder's Projects, and various Campaign Task Force proposals. 5 pgs.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes dated 7/28. 3 pgs.
26	2	7/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Senator Dole's Proposed Trip to Vietnam. 1 pg.
26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The McCloskey Truth Squad. 2 pgs.

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26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The Farm Vote Task Force. 2 pgs.
26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The Secretary's set up of a discretionary fund at Commerce, and his plans to use the money to help in the President's re-election. 1 pg.
26	2	7/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Mayor Lindsay's announcement that he will be changing parties. 1 pg.
26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Len Garment and Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: A detailed report on the "Older Vote." 15 pgs.
26	2	7/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The California Delegates Selection Committee. 1 pg.

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26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Compass Systems Incorporated. 1 pg.
26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Spokesmen Resources. 12 pgs
26	2	7/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Young Voters For Nixon. 1 pg.
26	2	7/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Ken Rietz to Jeb Magruder. RE: Status Report-YVN. 2 pgs.
26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: An enclosed action memo from Ken Rietz on The Young Voters for Nixon. 1 pg.

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26	2	7/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Ken Rietz to Jeb Magruder. RE: A list of the states that have been assigned to members of the Young Voters for Nixon Advisory Board. 3 pgs.
26	2	7/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Voter Registration Committees. 1 pg.
26	2	7/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Ken Rietz to Jeb Magruder. RE: Information on the Voter Registration Committees. 8 pgs.
26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: An enclosed memo from Rob Odle concerning the status of the "citizens operation." 1 pg.
26	2	7/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert Odle, Jr. to Jeb Magruder. RE: Status report on the "Citizens." 3 pgs.

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26	2	7/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Businessmen for Nixon-1972. 2 pgs.
26	2	6/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Report	A report detailing three documents which are considered useful in preparing for the 1972 businessmen's committee. 3 pgs.
26	2	7/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert Odle to unknown author. RE: The meeting between DeLoach, Russell, and Odle with Charles Colson to get inputs as to what course of action the 1972 Businessmen for Nixon operation should take. 2 pgs.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	A schedule listing key events and issues from 1971-72. 1 pg.
26	2	7/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From T.W. Evans to Rob Odle. RE: A Proposed Critical Path for the 1972 Citizens Campaign. Attached are 3 calendars suggesting day-to-day paths. 4 pgs.

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26	2	1/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Thomas W. Evans to Jeb Magruder. RE: A Citizens Campaign for 1972. 4 pgs.
26	2	3/17/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Newspaper	An article from The Wall Street Journal entitled, "Zeroing In: A Chance to Aim Ads at Specific Groups." 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A rough draft of a letter. RE: Message that reads, "It would be most helpful to get your thoughts on how we can mount an effective campaign effort in 1972." 1 pg.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A survey of existing citcoms that are deemed bipartisan and, thus, able to support Nixon's Administration. 1 pg.
26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The news that the Lieutenant Governor of Montana, Tom Judge, has been asked to "stay loose" as far as any commitments for 1972 are concerned. 1 pg

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26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: Research-Progress Report. 5 pgs.
26	2	7/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Letter	From Robert H. Marik to Richard Hochhauser. RE: A confirmation of the polling plan considered for the 1972 campaign. 2 pgs.
26	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		Other Document	An "RNC Project Timetable" that's labeled: Target and direct commu
26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: The Tracking of Presidential Contenders. 1 pg.
26	2	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A report that expresses concern over Senator Muskie's possible popularity early on in the campaign. Muskie is thus considered "Target A." 6 pgs.

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26	2	4/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Report	A report entitled, "Women in Government: The President's memorandum for the heads of executive departments." 1 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 305

Folder: 5 Campaign-July 31, Aug 2, Aug 13, 1971

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
5	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the AG, 8-12-71
6	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the AG, 8-11-71
7	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 8-13-71
8	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 8-12-71
9	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 8-13-71
10	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 8-11-71
11	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 8-13-71
12	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 8-11-71
13	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 8-12-71
14	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 8-10-71
15	Return Private/Political Memo, Hausen & Magruder to the AG, 8-13-71
16	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 8-12-71
17	Return Private/Political Notes, "JSM -> AG," 8-13-[71]
18	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to JDE, 7-13-71
19	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 8-17-71
20	Return Private/Political Letter, Magruder to Brown 8-12-71
21	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 8-2-71
22	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 6-30-71
23	Return Private/Political Table, "Nov. 1971 - Nov. 1972," n.d.
24	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 8-4-71
25	Return Private/Political Notes, "Stans - Fund," 8-13-[71]
26	Return Private/Political Note, Magruder to Strachan, 8-12-71
27	Return Private/Political Memo, HRH to the President's File, 8-3-71
28	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-31-71

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 305

29	Return	Private/Political	Notes, "A.G., 7/28, Decisions," 7-28 [71]
30	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the AG, 7-27-71
31	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 7-28-71
32	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 7-28-71
33	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the AG, 7-28-71
34	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 7-27-71
35	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Garment & JSM to the AG, 7-28-71
36	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the AG, 7-26-71
37	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 7-28-71
38	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 7-28-71
39	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 7-27-71
40	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 7-28-71
41	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 7-27-71
42	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Rietz to Magruder, 7-26-71
43	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 7-28-71
44	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 7-28-71
45	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the AG, 7-28-71
46	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to the AG, 7-28-71

CAMPAIGN 1972 - JSM

WHSF: SMOF
H. R. HALDEMAN

(R)

WHSF: SMOF
H. R. HALDEMAN

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506
(202) 333-0920

August 12, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Compass Systems Inc.

As you requested, Tom Reed has made a preliminary investigation into Compass Systems Inc. and its relationship with the California State Committee. At the same time, we have had further discussions with Martin Hoffman, who is Sam Wiley's attorney at University Computing Company, and John Dean regarding proposed arrangements to assist in the funding of Compass Systems Inc.

Tom Reed reports that after a preliminary investigation he feels the system would be extremely effective for the President in 1972 and that the cost to us of \$65,000 would be far below any cost we would have to incur for any new system. He also feels that no new system could match their system.

As I indicated to you two weeks ago, Sam Wiley was becoming very nervous about being involved in a corporate situation with Compass Systems Inc. As of today, Martin Hoffman reiterated this and indicated that Sam Wiley now considers this a closed subject. The FBI situation concerned him as has the recent drop in the market as it relates to University Computing Company stock. Hoffman assured me that this in no way indicated any lack of support for the President, but he felt it would not be worthwhile to bring up the matter of funding this system through University Computing Company. He further indicated that if we wanted to discuss his financial commitment to the campaign with Wiley now or in the future that the only person who should contact Wiley regarding this matter is yourself. Consequently, I mentioned this to Hugh Sloan so that Herb Kalmbach would not make any initial contact at the present time.

John Dean and I feel that it is not appropriate to investigate any other corporate entities in an attempt to fund this system. There were legal difficulties in trying to arrange an agreement with University Computing Company and Compass Systems Inc. and John feels we should not attempt to make any other arrangements in this manner.

CONFIDENTIAL

The California State Committee is still under the assumption that University Computing Company will fund this system. Based on Tom Reed's appraisal as well as our original appraisal, I would recommend that either the National Committee or the Citizens Committee fund this system directly so it is available to the President in 1972 and to the RNC thereafter.

Recommendation

That the Citizens Committee fund the system.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

That the Republican National Committee fund the system.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

That the system not be funded.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

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August 11, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: McCloskey and Florida Primary

Enclosed is an article from the July 21st Washington Post which indicates that there is a provision in the Florida primary law by which we could keep McCloskey off the ballot.

Pat Buchanan suggested that maybe we could have the Florida State Chairman do whatever he can under this law to keep McCloskey off the ballot. An unopposed RN in Florida with a unified party behind him might be a nice contrast to the bloodletting that will take place with the Democrats. Moreover, this will allow us to free up our resources to hurt the Democrats in their primary.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

✓cc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

Nixon Foe May Face Florida Primary Bar

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 20 (AP)—Florida's top elections officer says a gap in the state's new primary law may enable pro-Nixon GOP leaders to close the Republican half of Florida's March 14 presidential contest to all but the incumbent president.

Secretary of State Richard Stone said in an interview Monday that Rep. Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.) or any Republican challenger could be barred from the primary by a seven-member selection committee.

A candidate's name would be deleted if all committee members of the same party agree to do so. There are three Republicans and four Democrats who have the final say, he said.

"It is quite possible they might feel that way as party members," said Stone, who is the non-voting chairman.

State party leaders such as GOP Chairman L. E. (Tommy) Thomas of Panama City have been critical of McCloskey's vow to challenge President Nixon if he doesn't end the Vietnam war before the primaries.

"Tommy has indicated he would not try to block McCloskey, although he has said he would not open any doors for him," said a GOP spokesman.

But if only one of the GOP

members felt that the California congressman should be on the ballot, he would be, Stone said.

Secretary Stone also said he would "seek clarification" from two Southern political figures, Alabama Gov. George Wallace and Georgia Lt. Gov. Lester Maddox, as to whether they planned to run as Democrats in the Florida primary.

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

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(202) 333-0320

August 13, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is a copy of an Evans and Novak column from the July 25 Washington Post which indicates the Democrats are setting us a '72 Sponsors Club similar to the President's Club of the LBJ era. For \$72 a month, there are a number of privileges accorded to those who contribute.

Pat Buchanan has suggested that we have someone we know, preferably a Democrat not connected with us, join this club. This could be arranged by having the individual write in explaining that he read about the club in the newspaper and is fed up with the Administration's policies and wants to contribute his share and become a member of the club. This would give us many advantages in keeping track of Democratic contenders and their strategy.

Recommendation

That we have someone join the '72 Sponsors Club.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

CONFIDENTIAL

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
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August 12, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is a memorandum from Barry Mountain, who is in charge of administration at the Republican National Committee, outlining the way in which the new correspondence section will be set up at the National Committee. Barry proposes, and we concur in his recommendation, that this new section at the RNC handle the vast bulk of the "citizens" mail which will begin to inundate our office and the RNC as the campaign gets into high gear. Under the proposal, mail received at the Committee would be answered by the Committee directly. "Citizens" mail received at this office would be forwarded to the RNC for analysis and response on our stationery, and returned to us for signature. Should this kind of mail get too heavy in the latter stages of the campaign, we might want to have it dispatched directly from the Committee.

Naturally, we will want to continue to respond to high-level offers of assistance, White House and Administration referrals, and other important mail and offers of help directly from this office. However, it is our recommendation that the kind of "citizens" mail which was handled on the second floor of 450 Park Avenue in 1968, be processed at the RNC.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

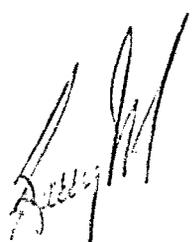
✓ bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

August 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

BARRY MOUNTAIN 

RE: CORRESPONDENCE SECTION

We are anticipating a volume of more than 2,500 letters per week that will need answering in personalized form during the campaign. In order to meet this need, I asked Mimi Austin of my staff to work with consultants from IBM in an effort to set up the most efficient and least costly system. Their joint recommendations, as modified and adapted to political needs are as follows:

EQUIPMENT - Four automatic typewriters and (at present) one signature machine will be utilized:

1 MTST-2* -- an input machine designed to store the names, addresses and code numbers on magnetic tapes;

2 MTST-4's -- output machines to transfer the coded tapes into letter form; and

1 Magnetic Card Typewriter -- a standard machine capable of storing 5,000 characters on a 3 x 7" card (basically used for form letters.)

PROCEDURE -- All general RNC mail and all mail addressed to the Chairman will be delivered to the Correspondence Section to be opened, sorted, coded and further distributed, if necessary. (At present, we estimate approximately 200 letters per week and up to 600 during the campaign will stay within the Section for direct answer; another 50/150 to be re-directed within the Committee.) All other mail will be delivered directly to the individual addressed or to the specified department. Probably only a small percentage (25%) of this mail will fit the form or pre-paragraphed specifications, but each office will have a variable sheet (sample attached) and Paragraph Dictionary for coding.

Depending on the type of letter and source of response, the completed letter will either remain in the Section for signature and mailing or will be returned to the point of origin. Each

* Magnetic Tape Selectric Typewriter

letter, whether it is returned to the original source or remains in the Section, will be proof-read by Mrs. Prettyman or Mrs. Garland. Letters returned to the point of origin will therefore have a second check point.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE INVOLVMENT - A flexible system can be set up with the Citizens Committee to meet their demands. Either mail can be sent directly for coding here, or a system of variable sheets can be used similar to the in-house system at the RNC. Citizens' stationery and/or continuous form stationery would be used. We would be capable of turning out 1,000 to 1,500 letters per week for Citizens' over and above the volume of in-house correspondence.

PERSONNEL - At present, we anticipate five employees involved in this Section. Mrs. Wilma Prettyman, a veteran RNC staffer, who has worked previously in issue research and in general administration, will supervise the Section; Mrs. Elizabeth Garland, recommended by our Communications department, will coordinate coding and paragraph selection; Mrs. Frankie Scott, presently handling the Chairman's files and records, will handle machine operations. In addition, two more employees will be needed for machine operation and general office work. (NOTE: Mrs. Ruth Cannady, presently operating two MTST-2's, will be included in the section, but she will continue to handle RNC-generated mail, rather than response mail.)

LETTER/PARAGRAPH SELECTION - A dictionary will be "written" from which form letters or paragraphs can be selected. It will be divided by issue categories (i.e. Vietnam, revenue sharing, welfare reform, etc.) as well as by paragraph purpose (introductory, closing) and standard form letters. Individual paragraphs will be prepared by the Research and Communications departments and will be checked and updated weekly.

Each paragraph and form letter will be numbered or lettered so that the variable sheets will only list names; address, salutation and codes. The MTST operator will type only the variable information onto the input tape with the coded tape automatically selecting the proper paragraphs on the output machines. For personalized letters generated from within the Committee (such as thank-you letters) a variable sheet will again be used. We anticipate at least 150 thank you letters per week for the Chairman alone and up to 500 per week during the campaign.

CAPACITY - With the four machines presently on order, we will have the standard out-put capacity on a normal 8-hour-a-day schedule of 750 to 1,000 letters per week. With additional personnel working two shifts, the volume can increase to over 2,500 per week depending on length of the letters.

SUMMARY - Once in operation, which is scheduled for late August, the Executive Correspondence Section will greatly add to the efficiency of daily operations here at the Committee. Not only will it provide greater service but will also allow department heads and their secretaries to devote more time to priority projects. Use of automatic typewriters will bring the average cost of sending a letter down to less than \$1.00 per letter as compared to the present estimate of \$2.75. We believe this Section will also be a great asset to the campaign.

We look forward, Jeb, to discussing with you your specific requirements so that we may effectively serve your needs.

cc: Tom Evans

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
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August 13, 1971

FRANK J. F. DEAN
ADMINISTRATIVE CLERK
E.O. 12812 8-102
CONFIDENTIAL by EP, date 8-24-82

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

On August 28, Governor Winthrop Rockefeller will sponsor a "Salute to the New Voter" day at Winrock in Arkansas. He expects 5000 young people between the ages of 18 and 21. Invitations are being handled through the regular Republican organization.

Ken Rietz has been invited to attend and discuss generally our efforts to involve young people in the Presidential campaign. Ken feels that, at the same time, he could also set up several sessions with young leaders and attend a YR executive board meeting.

The disadvantage is that members of the press will be in attendance and reporting on the activity. The ground rules Ken has set, should he accept the invitation, are that he will be representing the young voters' effort and will not get into a discussion of issues or policy.

Both Ken and I feel that it is an opportunity to move forward in organizing Arkansas young voters, and I recommend that Ken should attend.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

CONFIDENTIAL

✓ECC: Mr. Haldeman

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
E.J. 100-10, Volume 6-102
By EP Date 3-24-82

August 11, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Dom Bonafed of the National Journal wants to do a story on our committee and has requested an appointment to interview me for 45 minutes.

National Journal is a fairly new, non-partisan publication along the lines of Congressional Quarterly. It has a reputation for generally accurate reporting and Bonafed has been more than fair to the Administration in his stories.

The article would be a generalized story about what we are doing here, without attribution to anyone. National Journal is widely read on the Hill and throughout Washington, and it might be beneficial to us to have the committee's role spelled out in an article of this nature.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2) Allow Charlie McManus of ACA to leak the conflict to a friendly member of the press. (He has said he can do this.) This would allow the press to destroy NMSV and not involve Republican organizations. Even if it isn't destroyed, financial contributors will be less willing to donate to this or any other registration group.

- 3) Or, as an alternative, I suggest we notify IRS directly and let them take immediate action.

AGREE _____ DISAGREE _____

COMMENT _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
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August 11, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: New Hampshire

Ken Rietz has suggested that now would be the appropriate time to take action in New Hampshire to keep a void from existing that the McCloskey candidacy can fill.

People are anxious for something to get started, and the young people are probably the most anxious of all. If we don't start now to involve young people in the President's campaign, McCloskey will have a real opportunity to recruit young workers. If we are active, however, young people will at least have to make a choice.

It would seem appropriate to send Ken to New Hampshire to begin quietly promoting and organizing a Young Voters for Nixon group. Any publicity this activity receives would tend to lend credibility to the McCloskey campaign and must be avoided. At the same time, a complete lack of activity on our part will give McCloskey an opening he would be foolish not to take advantage of. He's becoming known as the "youth candidate." I think we can take that title away from him if we start early enough.

Recommendation

That Ken Rietz go to New Hampshire to begin promoting and organizing a Young Voters for Nixon group.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

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CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

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August 12, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8.12.71
Eg. 3-24-82

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

In the attached correspondence, Professor Jaffa of Claremont College and Henry Salvatori suggest that Governor Reagan and other prominent conservative leaders be asked to make public statements explaining to conservatives why the trip to mainland China is "in America's national interest and not because we have suddenly found virtue in Communism." Either you or Salvatori could propose this to Governor Reagan.

Have Magruder ask Salvatori to discuss this with the Governor.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

We could program other conservative leaders and writers through the White House to make similar statements.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

August 13, 1971

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
MAIL ROOM
BY: [Signature] 8/24/71

Dear Mr. Salvatori:

As you know, Bob Haldeman has forwarded me a copy of your letter of July 30 and a copy of Professor Jaffa's letter of July 19.

We very much appreciate having the benefit of your and Professor Jaffa's thinking in this area because we have already initiated some moves designed to better explain the President's policies and programs to conservatives. As you both point out, the problem is more one of failure of communication than disagreement on substance.

It strikes me as an excellent idea for Governor Reagan and others to articulate the reasons why the President's trip to mainland China is in our national interest and I shall discuss this suggestion with the Attorney General.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jeb S. Magruder

Mr. Henry Salvatori
1901 Avenue of the Stars
Century City
Los Angeles, California 90067

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

July 30, 1971

Dear Henry:

Thanks for your thoughtful letter of July 21st and the suggestions from Professor Jaffa to generate conservative support.

This is an area of great interest and one in which the Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of the President is already working. I am forwarding a copy of your letter to Jeb Magruder and asking him to contact you regarding these ideas.

With warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

H.R. Haldeman
Assistant to the President

Mr. Henry Salvatori
1901 Avenue of the Stars
Century City
Los Angeles, California 90067

cc: Jeb Magruder w/incoming

HENRY SALVATORI
1901 AVENUE OF THE STARS, CENTURY CITY
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90067

July 21, 1971

The Honorable H. R. Haldeman
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

The President's announcement of his forthcoming trip to China has elicited widespread approval among the liberal media-academic circles, but I fear that it has also created serious doubts and consternation among the President's conservative supporters.

The enclosed letter from Prof. Jaffa touches on this question and suggests what must be done now to retain the support of Conservatives in 1972.

I personally am 100% in agreement with the President on his new approach to Communist China. I also feel it is essential to explain to the conservative voters the long range thinking behind the President's move toward Communist China. This cannot be done by the President himself without jeopardizing his future negotiations with China. Therefore, it is essential that some program be quickly initiated to rally various conservative spokesmen throughout the country to explain and defend the President's action.

Of course, in California Governor Reagan would be the ideal person to kick off this program. But other prominent Conservatives throughout the country should be urged to speak up on this question.

July 21, 1971

Page two

Please discuss this matter with the President and others concerned and if it is felt that this idea has merit, I am sure that an appropriate plan of action can be devised.

I, of course, would be happy to discuss this matter with Governor Reagan, but I will not do so until I receive word from you.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Henry".



Telephone (714) 626-8511

Department of Political Science

July 19, 1971

Mr. Henry Salvatori
Suite 1130
1901 Avenue of the Stars
Century City
Los Angeles, California 90067

Dear Henry:

In 1960 I wrote a position paper for the Platform Committee of the Republican National Convention, in which I pointed out that the Soviet Union and Communist China shared an enormous border, on one side of which was three times the population, and on the other three times the land area. I said that the conflict of real interests between Russia and China was great and permanent, and the ideological affinity superficial. I also said that there were no permanent conflicts of real interests between the United States and either Russia or China, in any way comparable with the conflicts with each other.

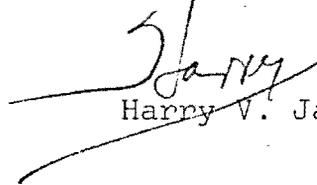
I mention this as evidence of my credentials for commenting on the current developments. I think Nixon is doing the right thing, and that he is being well advised by Kissinger. "The enemy of my enemy is my friend," is the principle at work, a principle also well expressed by Churchill when, in 1941, he said that if Hitler had invaded Hell, he would refer favorably in the House of Commons to the Devil. I think American arms in Vietnam have contributed something to the present movement of policy, but above all is the looming threat of the vast Soviet arms build-up. The Chinese know that it is directed even more against them than against the U.S. And they are, like good Leninist tacticians, seeking such shelter as they can find under the shield of our nuclear umbrella. The great question now is, can we exploit this opportunity as much for our own, as for their benefit? The great danger, as I see it, is in the American Left turning this into another "good old Uncle Joe" type episode, in which we discover that the Chinese are, after all, just the same old agrarian reformers that Owen Lattimore and the old pinko crew said they were back in the 1940's. And I fear that, as the Left cheers Nixon on, the Right may turn a cold shoulder, forcing the President more and more upon the liberals for support. If that happens, both Nixon and the G.O.P. are going to suffer immeasurable harm. The Left will never vote for Nixon, no matter how much they may help execute this phase of his foreign policy. In the end, they will say that he did what liberals always wanted done anyway. And he will help nominate a liberal dove in

the Democratic Party, who might well be elected in November, 1972. The Conservatives must show that they understand the power-political reasons for the President's turn in China policy, and that they support it in America's national interest, and not because we have suddenly found virtue in Communism.

I wondered whether you or the Governor might not issue a public statement to such effect? I could arrange a briefing for anyone, including yourself, whom you might want briefed on this matter. It is a great and pregnant moment in the development of high policy. To a marked degree, its quality will depend upon the quality of the public opinion generated to give it effect.

Let me know if I can help.

As ever,



Harry V. Jaffa

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

August 10, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

A few weeks ago you indicated concern with the pro-Reagan activities of Young Americans for Freedom. Recently, YAF's leaders were among those who signed the statement suspending support for the President. In light of these developments, here are some proposals for your consideration which we might pursue in order to bring some of the more conservative groups back into the fold.

1. The national convention of Young Americans for Freedom is September 2-5, 1971, in Houston, Texas. The organization has asked our committee to take a booth at the convention -- Youth for Reagan has already reserved such a booth. While we do not think it would be appropriate for this committee to sponsor a booth, we do think it would be a good idea to have the Republican National Committee take one and prominently feature the President and his programs at it. This would demonstrate to the 3,000 student and adult conservative leaders in attendance at the convention that we are concerned enough to show the flag.

Incidentally, there is to be at the YAF convention a mock election where YAF's "Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees" will be selected. This undoubtedly will receive a great amount of publicity.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

2. The Vice President was thinking of addressing YAF's convention but has decided against it. It might be a good idea to have an Administration representative in attendance to show them that we are interested. Pat Buchanan, for example, could represent the Administration.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

3. We could request that Dr. Kissinger and General Haig increase their contacts with those persons who signed the recent statement and also

CONFIDENTIAL

with other representatives of the conservative publications. While Dr. Kissinger does talk with Bill Buckley frequently, it might be a good idea for him to talk to other conservatives and especially to those who have not yet publicly associated themselves with the statement. For example, Human Events is at least as influential with conservatives as National Review, and it could be most helpful to have Dr. Kissinger or General Haig talk to its editors from time to time. And since Human Events' front-page blast at the President two weeks ago, we have learned that its subscriptions have skyrocketed.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

4. Herb Klein's office at the White House acts as coordinator for Harrison Salisbury, editor of the New York Times op ed page, when Salisbury is seeking articles written from an Administration point of view. Perhaps it would be a good idea to begin to perform a similar service for Human Events, National Review, and perhaps even Battle Line (published by the American Conservative Union). For example, someone from the Administration could write an article for Human Events about the Subversive Activities Control Board and the reasons we are giving it additional duties. In this way, we could demonstrate to the conservative publications that we care enough to assist them in getting articles written by prominent Administration officials.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

5. The Philadelphia Society is an organization of approximately 100 conservative academicians from throughout the country who meet every few months for discussions. Such people as Milton Friedman, Harry Jaffa and Stephen Tonsor are involved in the activities of this organization. Perhaps it would be a good idea to begin including them on invitation lists for dinners at the White House, putting them on Presidential boards and commissions, and placing them on the various "call lists" so that they would be telephoned after Presidential speeches to get their impressions of the speeches -- a stroke that is used with business and media leaders quite effectively after Presidential television appearances.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

CONFIDENTIAL

3

The conservatives who signed the statement and those whose views they reflect have substantive disagreements with Administration policy and probably cannot be won back by favors alone. However, since their perception of the direction the President has charted is based more on pessimistic guesswork than fact we can expect many of them to be back on board by 1972 if we get the facts to them. By that time the real direction of our policy (especially with regard to China and SALT) will be clear, and they will be faced with the alternative of a liberal Democrat.

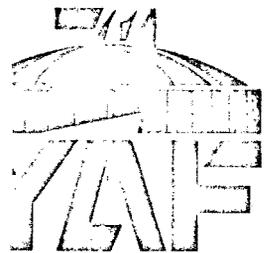
Therefore, we should do everything we can to make it easy for them to rejoin us for the campaign by initiating a regular series of contacts with them. (The suggestions in this memo have been checked with Pat Buchanan, and also with David Keene, the immediate past national chairman of YAF and now a member of the Vice President's staff.)

One reason to be conciliatory towards YAF is due to a call its executive director received the day after he signed the statement suspending support of the President. The IRS was on the line informing YAF that for the first time in its ten year history, its tax returns were being investigated. (Hopefully, Harry Dent has been able to turn this off through the new commissioner).

JEB S. MAGRUDER

✓ bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

CONFIDENTIAL



July 29, 1971

Citizen Campaign Committee
Committee to Re-Elect President Nixon
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

On September 2-5, more than 3,000 student and adult conservative leaders from across America will attend the national convention of Young Americans for Freedom.

Those in attendance will represent not only the leadership of the young conservative movement, but more than 70% of those in attendance will be students and adults who have affiliated with some part of the conservative movement within the past year. In other words, they have just recently become politically active and right now are in the process of constructing their own philosophical framework.

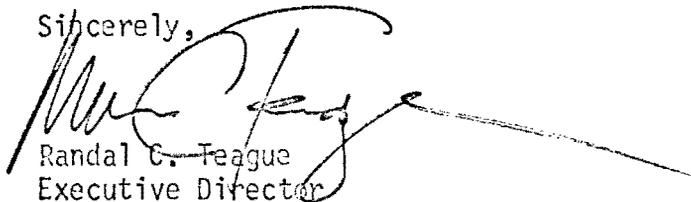
The high school and college students will be especially interested in youth oriented ideas and products and all of those in attendance will be interested in conservative and political goods and services.

A booth area has been established in a prominent area of the convention (near the entrance to the main ballroom) and booth hours will be from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Booths are for rent at the rate of \$25 for educational and conservative groups (no sales), \$50 for conservative groups (sales), and \$100 for commercial.

I think you will agree this is an excellent marketing opportunity for Committee to Re-Elect President Nixon. Youth for Reagan has already reserved a booth for this coming election.

Of the original 50 booth spaces, 18 are remaining so please contact me at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,



Randal C. Teague
Executive Director

Houston '71 Committee
Young Americans for Freedom
221 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005
(202) 347-8688

4723 Richmond Avenue
Houston, Texas 77027
(713) 621-5141

Ronald F. Docksa
Convention Chairman

Randal Cornell Teague
Convention Director

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
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August 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: RITA HAUSER
JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: THE WOMEN'S VOTE

Attached is a memorandum regarding the women's vote in 1972, with particular emphasis on the changes which have been occurring in the awareness and sensitivity of women toward political issues. Specific recommendations relate to women's place in the campaign structure, the filling of the most responsible post in this area, and ways the First Lady's role in the campaign can be made responsive to the new concerns of women.

THE WOMEN'S VOTE

The purpose of this memorandum is to describe the past voting behavior of women, to analyze the current emergence of Feminism and to indicate the type of campaign strategy which should be implemented in order to maximize the Women's vote and participation for the President in 1972. It was prepared in consultation with Barbara Franklin of the White House staff and Dr. Jean Spencer of the Vice President's Office.

THE WOMAN AS VOTER

A brief review of women's voting participation indicates:

Percentage turn-out: In recent years a lower percentage of women than men actually voted. In the past two Presidential races, the rate of female voter turn-out has ranged between 67% in 1964 and 66% in 1968. On an average, this rate is about 4 percent below that of men (71.9% in 1964; 69.8% in 1968) (Tab A).

Numerical turn-out: However, because women constitute a majority of all potential American voters, they are, despite the percentage differential in participation, the major voting bloc, in actual numbers surpassing male voters since 1964 by one to three million at each election.

Voter increase and potential turn-out: Between 1964 and 1970, the total number of potential male voters increased by about 4 million (52.1 to 56.4 million). During the same period, potential female voters increased about six million (58.4 to 64.2 million). If issues or circumstances in 1972 should prompt women to vote at even the same rate as men, their numerical majority could be critical.

Special Voting Patterns

In the past, female voter participation has followed much the same basic pattern as that for men, with regard to such factors as age, education, employment. There is little evidence to show that there is, on most foreign and domestic issues, a distinct "woman's vote."

In recent Presidential elections, women have given a greater plurality than men to all Republican candidates except Goldwater (Tab B). They tend to maintain their registration and party affiliation in proportions very similar to men and to participate in the campaign process to the same degree (Tab C).

While past experience may suggest that no new patterns will emerge in 1972, it would be unwise to assume that the traditional lack of a distinct "woman's vote" or "woman's issue" will accurately characterize the woman voter in 1972. Therefore, the primary question to be asked is not "how have the women voters voted in the past" but "how likely is she to utilize her vote in distinctive new patterns in 1972?" Will she continue to vote in non-particularized patterns or will she utilize her vote and her political participation to seek a full and legal equality? Is equality an issue sufficiently strong to break the traditional pattern of the woman voter?

EMERGENCE OF FEMINISM

A new social and political awareness has been developing among women, particularly in the last two years. Dr. Jean Spencer, Assistant to the Vice President, has summarized it well:

If there is a single concept which can encompass and express the concern of women today it is freedom of choice. From this concept the other specific issues derive: a rebellion against the assumption that the "woman's role" is only that of wife, mother and housewife; efforts to open doors now closed to women who want to or must pursue other roles, either in addition to or instead of the traditional role of wife and mother; efforts to end discrimination in education, including college admissions, fellowships and scholarships, admission to graduate and professional schools; efforts to end discrimination in employment, advancement, equal pay, overtime, maternity leave, day care; and efforts to end discrimination in returning to college or to work after raising a family--the "reentry" problem for the middle aged woman is serious.

Profile/Problems of the Modern Woman

The life pattern of the modern woman often includes school, work, marriage, rearing a family, and a return to work. Her changing life style (including advances in educational attainment and increased use of household conveniences) points to a

new consciousness which is likely to entail increased political activity on the part of women in the 1970's. The emergence of this consciousness may be described in three areas: economic, educational and changes in public opinion.

Economic. About half the women in the population between the ages of 18 and 65 are in the labor force, and the percentage continues to rise. In 1970, there were 31.5 million women on the average in the labor force. U. S. Department of Labor projections through the 1980's indicate women and youth will provide the largest number of those entering the force.

Women work, for the most part, for economic reasons. Women may supplement the family income to help meet the rising cost of health and medical care, educating children, and the wide variety of goods and services considered essential to today's standard of living. The majority of the 7 million single women in the labor force support themselves. Nearly all of the 5.9 million widowed, divorced or separated women working support themselves and their families. The high cost of living has a crippling effect on the working mother who must support a family on a salary unequal to that of a man.

With the rise in number of women workers there is an increasing awareness on the part of women of economic problems, especially those that directly affect them: high unemployment, and discrimination of women in jobs, salary, possibilities of advancement, and benefits.

Educational. The level of education attained by women has risen steadily since the turn of the century. Even more so in the last few years--an increase of 60,000 college degrees earned by women from 1965 to 1968 as compared to an increase of 35,000 from 1950 to 1960 (Tab D).

A direct relationship exists between the educational attainment of women and their labor force participation, thus their greater exposure to economic and social problems that have affected working women now and in the past.

In March 1968, 71 percent of women who had completed 5 years or more of college were in the labor force. Similarly, 54 percent of women with 4 years of college were employed or looking for work. The extent of increase or decrease varies somewhat among the age groups. The greatest increase in labor force participation of women college graduates was shown by those 25 to 34 years of age. The growing number of women degree recipients joining the work force will likely reveal new occupational patterns,

A wider choice of fields in which women will be involved and a wider variety of talent available. Furthermore, according to Gallup, 1970, 75 percent of college educated women noted that, assuming equal abilities, their chances for advancement in business were less than men.

Education fosters awareness of problems and the ability to solve those problems. The more education a woman has received, the greater the likelihood she will be engaged in paid employment. Thus her increased exposure to social and economic ills. At the same time, her education has increased her awareness of foreign and domestic issues. She has opinions to voice and has learned means to express them.

Changes in Public Opinion. The influence of public opinion on the attitudes of individual women is difficult to measure. However, several new and powerful influences on public opinion relating to feminism have developed in recent years. The highly publicized "Women's Lib" movement has evoked both positive and negative feelings. The orientation toward political involvement of the recent National Women's Political Caucus, to be discussed later in this memo, has added yet another dimension.

Attitudes as Indicated by Public Opinion Polls

The Virginia Slims Poll, conducted by Harris, surveyed the basic attitudes of a total of 3,000 women in the fall of 1970. Of particular interest were their responses regarding the "greatest problem in being a woman today" (Tab E). Women cite a broad range of concerns. While many refer to the problems in raising children today (drugs and the generation gap) and to financial difficulties, a large number reveal some resentments about their role in society. The conclusions of that Harris Poll (Tab F) show that although many traditional values continue, such as the role of the woman as the center of the home, there is a deep dissatisfaction, manifested among all categories of women, that they are not accepted as equals in terms of their opinions, mental process, or ability to get a job done.

Institutional Activities Relating to Feminism

National Women's Political Caucus. The Caucus, held in Washington, D. C., July 10-11, 1971, was attended by approximately 320 persons from 26 states. The event generated a great deal of media attention (Tab G), and may have carried the cause of feminism to a new level of political visibility.

The convention attendance was mainly by invitation and included many segments of the female population--young, old, conservative, moderate and radical. The group generally was white, upper-middle class, various ages, mostly Democrat, some Independent. A major thrust of the planning was provided by the New York NOW organization (National Organization for Women). The planning board, however, included women from the Congress, state legislatures, labor, and the media. Many were members of advisory boards, commissions, and organizations otherwise relating to government, political parties, civil rights, education, and religion.

The Caucus formed six workshops to establish guidelines on political strategy, grass-roots organizing, candidate criteria, women's priorities, future structure of the Caucus, and planning for a National Women's Political Convention in 1972. A 21 member steering committee was elected to coordinate the Caucus' future work, and four vacancies will be filled later to expand the categories of representation (Tab H). Time will tell whether this organization attempt will lead to a permanent base of political and lobbying power.

Party Reform. Both the Republican and Democratic parties have made reference to equal representation. Democratic convention reform measures, requiring delegates to be chosen according to proportional representation in the population, have been adopted for the Democratic Convention. These may or may not be followed. While the Republican National Committee meeting in Denver did not issue a flat requirement, they did say that "each State should be encouraged to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation" to the convention.

Commissions. Two national commissions have recently issued comprehensive reports in support of equal status for women: The President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, chaired by Virginia Allan (report issued April 1970) and the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, chaired by Jacqueline Gutwillig (report issued in March 1971). These reports have been widely circulated and have served as a basis for some new proposed legislation and lent support to the bills already under consideration. The specific issues will be discussed in a later section.

Court Actions. Much tangible progress for women has occurred in the courts as a result of increasingly more liberal interpretations of the Constitution and existing laws relating to sex discrimination. The significance of changing attitudes of the courts is at least as great as that new legislation being passed by Congress. A brief analysis of the evolution of court decisions in this area is given in Tab I.

Organizations. There is a large number of established women's organizations in the United States, growing out of a variety of women's interests. In recent years they have become increasingly vocal in their active support of feminist issues, particularly the Equal Rights Amendment discussed below. A representative list of such organizations is given in Tab J. Because of their increased involvement in public issues, these organizations may play a greater role than in the past in influencing the votes of their members.

POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF "NEW SENSITIVITY" OF WOMEN

As indicated earlier, the 1970 Harris Poll suggests that the majority of American women are not yet sensitized to the feminist movement, but there is reason to believe that the issue is growing and will have substantial voter impact by November, 1972.

Voter Patterns

Central to campaign planning is consideration of whether the eventual awareness and strength of the women's issue will influence political loyalties and break traditional voter patterns. If the issue is merchandized so as to strike a chord of pent-up frustration among women, that could well be the case.

A dichotomy that will affect voter patterns exists between the left and middle to right. The Left is pursuing an activist, extreme role that views women's liberation as a vehicle for overturning established institutions, as part of a grand coalition of the oppressed. Their aim is to achieve political power by building a bargaining position through an alliance of voter bloc groups that can deliver the vote to the highest bidder. The large middle to right women's population does not want to abandon established values, but does seek dignity and equal opportunity, pay, and benefits within a larger traditional value framework.

With the issue strength of the women's movement still to be tested, one point is certain. The new sensitivity can cause inadvertent statements, even though they would not have been noticed in former years, to be highly offensive. Such statements can now be extremely expensive politically. The Nixon-Rogers quips in San Clemente comparing the Women's Caucus to a burlesque (Tab K) is an example. The episode was featured on the front page of the American dailies, in the feature stories of the weekly news magazines, and on the front page of some newspapers in Europe.

Media

The Feminist Movement has an emotional dimension that makes it attractive to cover. The issue will be pushed increasingly hard, particularly by professional women in the press and politics who have a vested interest in progress.

Awareness of this issue is certain to grow. Besides front page coverage of the Women's Caucus and the Equal Rights Amendment, inevitable controversy will be generated over party nominating procedures with proportional requirements to meet the population. Questions related to women's equality are today being discussed constantly in national news magazines, women's magazines, in women's organizations, and on national talk shows viewed largely by women. As militant groups continue to organize, they will learn better how to use the media to speed the sensitizing of women on the issue of equal dignity.

Issues

There are several current issues which relate to equal opportunity and are of particular concern to women.

1. Equal Rights Amendment. "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." This proposed amendment to the Constitution, which has been repeatedly introduced in Congress for the past several decades, has now become an emotional cornerstone of the Feminist cause, and has received widespread support from women's groups representing all shades of political philosophy. It was passed in the House in August 1970, but did not pass the Senate during the 91st Congress. In the current 92nd Congress, it has been in the House Judiciary Committee, and is due for full House consideration after the August recess. The Administration has not taken a well-defined public posture during the Congressional deliberations, although the President endorsed the Amendment in the 1968 campaign.

2. Other Legislation Relating to Sex Discrimination. Several bills are before Congress, including proposals to extend the Civil Rights Act to cover sex discrimination, to eliminate sex discrimination in public facilities and public education, and to give enforcement powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in the area of sex discrimination. Women have been particularly concerned about the inequities which have existed on college campuses relating to the admission of students and faculty pay and promotion. One of the most comprehensive pieces of proposed legislation is the Women's Equality Act, based on the recommendations of the Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights (Tab L).

3. Abortion. The President issued a strongly-worded statement against abortion several months ago (Tab M). However, there is substantial evidence in recent public polls that a large number of women support more liberalized abortion laws (Tab N). This may be an issue where the President would do best by minimizing further public discussion, although that may be difficult. Some of the Democratic contenders have been confronted with questions on the subject in their recent campaign appearances.

4. Day Care Centers. In seeking more flexibility in their living patterns during the years of child-rearing, women have strongly promoted the establishment of government-supported day care centers. The problem is one of quantity as well as funding for operation. A Harris poll in the fall of 1970 indicated that women favored expanded government day-care programs by 64% - 26%. The same poll showed that 24% of non-working mothers with children under 12 years of age would probably seek full or part-time work if day care facilities were available for their children. The Administration's Family Assistance Plan includes \$386 million for increasing day care facilities, with priority for low-income and welfare mothers. In addition, there is legislation being considered to allow working parents to claim a tax deduction for child care. The issue carries a great deal of political weight (Tab O).

5. Representation of Women in the Policy Level of Government. A small minority of high-level positions in government, as well as in industry, are occupied by women. To improve the situation in government, the President recently named Barbara Franklin to recruit women for top policy positions. The heads of Executive Departments and agencies were directed to place a high priority on developing plans to appoint more women to responsible jobs (Tab P). To date more women have been appointed by this Administration than by any previous one. However, the most important factor is not the number, but the depth of the ongoing commitment.

6. Broader Issues. On issues of more general interest, women tend to have opinions very similar to men, often determined by their race, income, housing location, etc. Exceptions are found in issues involving humanitarian concerns. For example, Gallup and Harris have found that women have tended to characterize themselves as more "dovish" than men. They also tend to be less hard-line on matters such as penalties for draft-evaders and capital punishment.

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

The preceding sections have underscored the changes which have been occurring in the awareness and sensitivity of women toward political issues, especially those concerning sex discrimination. The situation is different from 1968, and the campaign strategy should reflect that fact.

Response to the Issues

The key advisors in the campaign, as well as the President himself, must understand the nature of the new awareness of women. That understanding must then be reflected, where appropriate, in statements by the Administration and later by the campaign organization. It is by no means necessary to support the demands of the extreme "women's lib" factions, but it is necessary to avoid situations like the "burlesque" comments at San Clemente.

More work must be done to research those issues which are politically important to women across the political spectrum, and to develop viable positions and government actions where appropriate. At the very least, the subjects will have to be treated comprehensively in the 1972 platform. It is important that the President not be caught in a vulnerable position by the Democrats, solely because our homework was not adequately done.

There are several areas where the Administration is making solid progress, such as in the recruitment of women for high-level appointments. In order to assure the best possible posture for the 1972 campaign, there should be a coordination of all activities and positions regarding women's issues, to include the White House, the Citizens Committee, and representatives of Cabinet Departments where appropriate. Such a mechanism might achieve greater visibility for Administrative accomplishments. It could also have been very effective, for example, in preparing a recommendation for an Administration position on the Equal Rights Amendment, which will come before the House following the August recess.

An effective step would be for the President to appoint a woman to the White House staff with a title such as Director of the Office of Women's Rights and Responsibilities, and that she be responsible for directing the coordination effort described above.

That recommendation has been made formally to the President and is now being evaluated. The visibility and function of that position would both contribute strongly to the 1972 campaign in the women's area.

Women in the Campaign Organization

It was recommended in an earlier memo that the traditional campaign organization, involving a women's division, not be used in 1972. Rather, women should be distributed throughout the campaign staff on the basis of ability and experience, and a woman should be appointed at the level of Deputy Campaign Manager.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

It is further recommended that the woman who will have primary responsibility for planning and coordinating the campaign activities relating to this memo be brought on board by Labor Day. She would spend approximately two days per week until January 1, 1972, after which her schedule would expand as required to meet the demands of the accelerating campaign schedule.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

At the local levels, it is acknowledged that women may prefer to maintain volunteer organizations along the traditional patterns. Their participation, of course, should not be discouraged in any way, although strong encouragement should be given for local organizations to be organized on a mixed basis, such as "Suburbanites for Nixon" or "Couples for Nixon."

The Women's Issue During the Campaign

When the national campaign organizational structure is announced, the President or the Campaign Manager could obtain some very good exposure with a statement affirming his support for the acceptance of women as equals, reflected in the new structure.

During the course of the campaign, it will not be possible to avoid the Feminist issue. Many of the Democratic contenders have already established their positions:

Birch Bayh. Since 1970, Senator Bayh has been the Senate Floor Leader for the Equal Rights Amendment and considers himself a champion of the Feminist movement. This session of Congress, Bayh introduced the Equal Rights Amendment and the Woman's Equality Act of 1971, which he claims implements the recommendations of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities.

Edward Kennedy. Senator Kennedy was opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment and was not voting the day of the vote. He has received some strong criticism from feminist quarters (Tab Q).

Henry Jackson. No statements. Voted against the Equal Rights Amendment.

Edmund Muskie. The Senator has issued a position paper on Women's Rights stating active support for all legislation recommendations of the 1970 Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities. He was a co-sponsor of the Equal Rights Amendment, but was not voting the day the bill came up on the Floor.

George McGovern. Senator McGovern has issued a number of press releases and statements on women. He has pledged, if elected, to name a woman to the Supreme Court, National Security Council, and as Ambassador to the United Nations. However, he suffered some embarrassment when it was found that few women held top spots on his campaign staff (Tab R).

Eugene McCarthy. Senator McCarthy introduced the Equal Rights Amendment (SJ Res. 61) February 28, 1969.

Polling

Because the Feminist movement is so new and because it cuts across traditional party lines, it is extremely important that we understand how those issues will relate to people's voting behavior in 1972. For example, it is now unclear whether women will perceive a sufficiently meaningful difference between candidates on feminist issues to cause them to break from prior voting patterns. The degree, if any, to which moderate and conservative women, as well as men, might "backlash" against strong pro-feminist stands is unknown. To properly understand the voters and frame an effective issue strategy, in-depth polling of attitudes must be conducted. Specific recommendations will be made in the overall campaign polling plan.

The First Lady

In the past, Mrs. Nixon has campaigned very effectively in women's groups while the President spoke to the men or the general public. In 1972, we feel that her activities must be more oriented to mixed audiences, with speaking topics of general interest. The President, too, should minimize his publicized meetings with groups of men only. This will require a substantial re-orientation of the advance men and those who will manage Mrs. Nixon's activities.

Recommendation

That you approve this concept for Mrs. Nixon's campaign activities and that, once the campaign organization is in place, provision be made for her advance men and managers to coordinate with key women in the campaign organization to plan her activities, insofar as possible, along this new approach.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

REPORTED VOTING BY SEX, 1964-1970
(Figures in Thousands)

	<u>1964</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1970</u>
All Persons	110,604	112,800	116,535	120,701
<u>Male</u>				
Total	52,123	52,799	54,464	56,431
Voted	37,480	30,714	38,014	32,048
% Voted	71.9%	58.2%	69.8%	56.8%
<u>Female</u>				
Total	58,482	60,001	62,071	64,270
Voted	39,191	31,804	40,951	33,840
% Voted	67.0%	53.0%	66.0%	52.7%

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census
Series D-20

THE VOTE BY SEX
IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
(1952-1968)

<u>1952</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Eisenhower.....	53	58
Stevenson.....	47	42
<u>1956</u>		
Eisenhower.....	55	61
Stevenson.....	45	39
<u>1960</u>		
Kennedy.....	52	49
Nixon.....	48	51
<u>1964</u>		
Johnson.....	60	62
Goldwater.....	40	38
<u>1968</u>		
Nixon.....	43	43
Humphrey.....	41	45
Wallace.....	16	12

PARTY IDENTIFICATION, REGISTRATION

Despite the tendency of women to be more conservative than men in presidential voting, little difference exists between the sexes in terms of basic political party identification. Women, however, are found to be slightly less inclined to call themselves "independents" in politics than are men, as shown in the following table:

Political Affiliation (August, 1970)

Question: "In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?"

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>
	%	%	%
Men	28	42	30
Women	30	45	25
NATIONAL	29	44	27

Men and women are also currently found to be registered to vote in about equal proportions, as shown below:

Voter Registration (August, 1970)

Question: "Is your name now recorded in the registration book of the precinct or election district where you now live?"

	<u>Registered</u>	<u>Unregistered</u>
	%	%
Men	76	24
Women	74	26
NATIONAL	75	25

In terms of interest in elections and willingness to volunteer to work in a political campaign -- little difference is found between men and women.

The table follows:

Interest In Elections (September, 1970)

Question: "How much thought have you given to the coming November elections... quite a lot or only a little?"

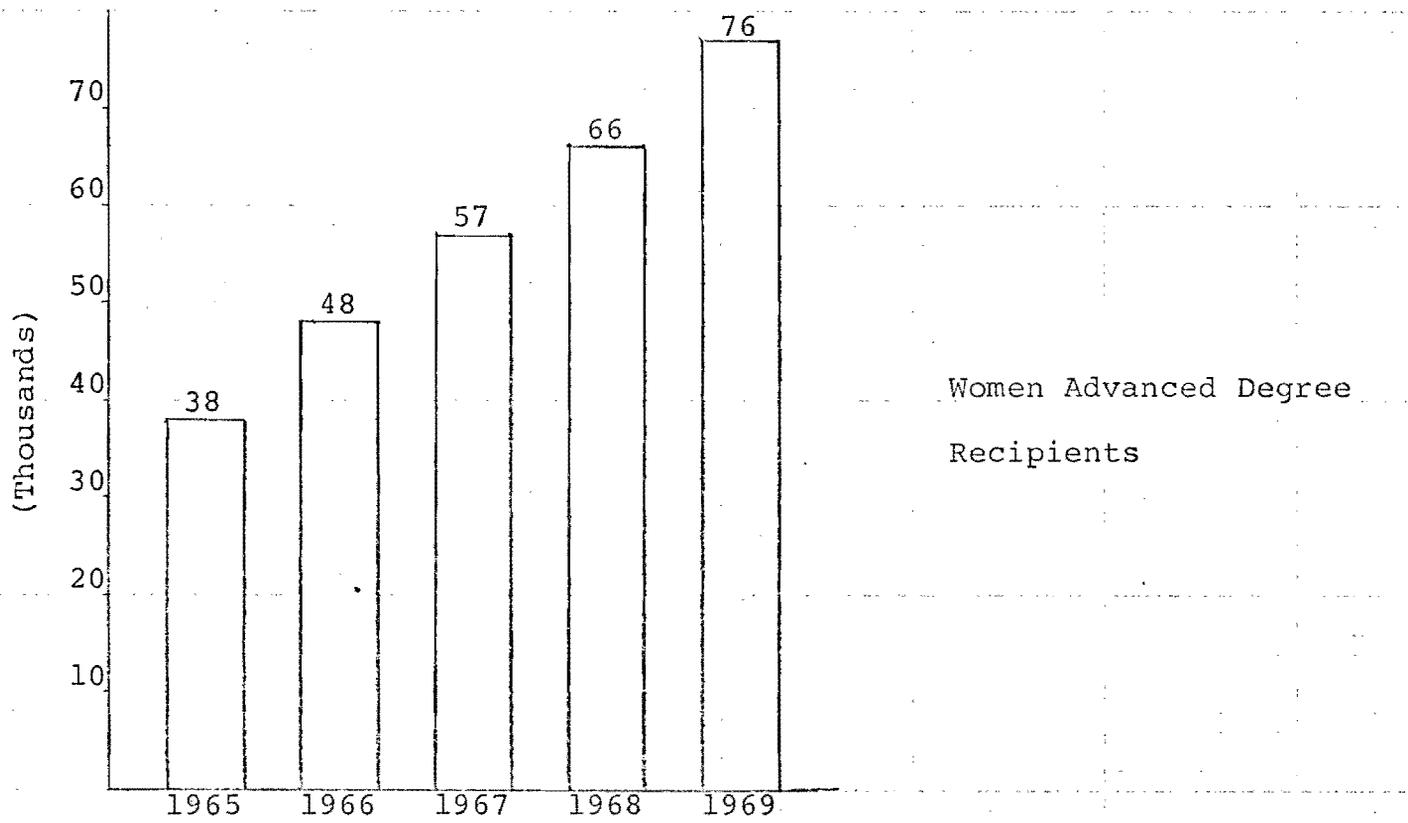
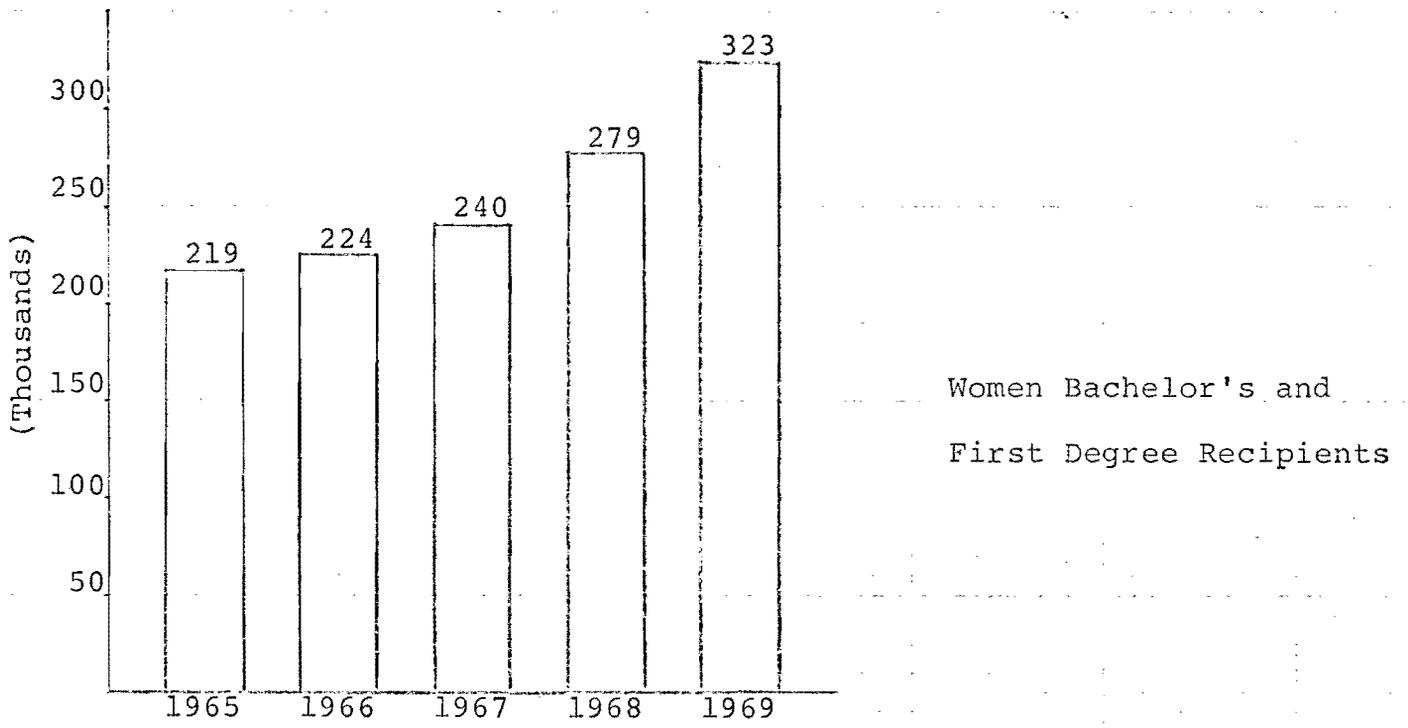
	<u>Quite a Lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>None</u>
	%	%	%	%
Men	27	18	42	13
Women	23	18	42	17
NATIONAL	25	18	42	15

Political Activity (August, 1966)

Question: "Would you be willing to work as a volunteer for your political party during the coming campaign, or not?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
	%	%	%
Men	31	62	7
Women	28	64	8
NATIONAL	29	63	8

Increase in Number of Women Degree Recipients



These figures are reported by HEW, Office of Education, "Trends in Educational Attainment in Women," from Women's Bureau, Dept. of Labor, Wage and Labor Standards Administration.

In identifying the greatest problems women feel today, they cite a broader range of concerns. While many refer to the problems in raising children today (drugs and the generation gap) and to financial difficulties, many more reveal some resentments about their role in society:

GREATEST PROBLEM IN BEING A WOMAN TODAY
 (Base: Women only)

<u>Conventional Problems:</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Difficult to raise children, drugs, generation gap	17
Financial problems, inflation	11
Too much work, rising responsibility	10
Difficulty of working and raising a family	6
Crime, not safe to go out	3
Pressure of world problems	2
Death in family, husband; hard to raise family	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	51%
<u>Problems that Reveal Resentment About Their Role in Society</u>	
Not enough jobs, equal opportunities, salaries	13
Lack of respect for women, their work, minds	8
Boredom, being tied to the home	6
Subservience to men	4
Lack of freedom	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	33%
<u>Other</u>	39%

Survey of the Attitudes of Women

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Responses indicating contentment with women's role in society:

- Women, more than men, continue to perpetuate the idea that women's place is in the home.
- Most women consider their housekeeping and child-rearing chores as rewarding and important as the job responsibilities of men.
- Working women are as satisfied in their jobs as most housewives are at home.
- Men are more aware of anti-female job bias than women are.
- Women are not afraid to disagree with their husbands, although they tend to agree with them on most issues.

Responses that reveal some resentment about their role in society:

- A plurality of women are content with their position in American society, but 40% would welcome a broader role.
- Many women recognize the need for change but are reluctant to "rock the boat" to achieve it.
- Although reluctant to protest openly, two out of three women feel nothing will be done about their problems if they don't speak up.
- An essentially urban coalition of black women and the young and the educated of both races are ready to follow the examples of the blacks and the young and challenge the status quo in American society.
- Women want to feel - and for the most part they do feel - that they are an important part of the world in which they live.
- A significant minority - notably black women, who bear the double burden of race and sex - share a sense of alienation and feel left out of things going on around them.

Con't.

--To cope with perceived inequalities, women have found unique and subtle techniques, which they feel give them as much power as men.

--As more women come to realize that men are sympathetic to their desires, the face of American society may well undergo a significant change - one which will improve greatly the status of women.

Women Organize for Political Power

By EILEEN SHANAHAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 10—

More than 200 women of varied ages, races and political persuasions met here today to inaugurate a National Women's Political Caucus. Its aim is to put more women in positions of real political power—ultimately to see half of all elective and appointive jobs in government filled by women.

Betty Friedan, founder of the National Organization for Women, who was one of the keynote speakers at the conference, foresaw such success for the campaign that "it will not be a joke by 1976, the 200th anniversary of our Republic, that a woman might run for President."

Throughout the opening session, one theme recurred in the speeches regardless of the race, age or political affiliation of the speaker: that an increase

in the political power held by women would set the nation on a course toward more "humanitarian" policies.

"We must humanize America and save her," said Betty Smith, a former vice chairman of the Republican party in Wisconsin.

Cites Infant Mortality

Republican women, a show of hands disclosed, constituted about 15 per cent of those attending the conference.

Representative Bella S. Abzug, Democrat of Manhattan, suggested that many laws and programs would be different "if we had a truly representative Congress"—half women, 11 per cent black, younger and containing more working people, teachers, artists and so on.

Such a Congress, she said, would not have tolerated a nation that ranked 14th in the world in infant mortality and that had no national health

care system. It would not have voted for antiballistic missiles instead of schools, MIRV's instead of decent housing or health centers." "And does anyone think they would have allowed the war in Vietnam to go on for so many years?" she asked.

Mrs. Abzug drew tumultuous applause when she said that "it is certainly not my purpose to replace or supplement a white, male, middle class elite with a white, female, middle class elite" in the positions of power in the nation.

Instead, she said, she wants to reach out "to include those who have been doubly and triply disfranchised—to working women, to young women, to black women, to women on welfare."

Fannie Lou Hamer, a Negro civil rights activist from Mississippi, announced to loud cheers

Continued on Page 22, Column 1

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

that she planned to run not only for the State Senate next year but also for the United States Senate in 1972. She would be an independent candidate opposing Senator James O. Eastland, a Democrat.

She predicted that she might win and said she was fighting "for the liberation of all people, because nobody's free until everybody's free." "I've passed equal rights; I'm fighting for human rights," she said.

Mrs. Hamer said she wanted to make clear that "I'm not fighting to liberate myself from the black man in the South, because he's been stripped of being a citizen."

She said, however, that there had been at least one instance in which she had suffered more for being a woman activist than for being a black activist. The insurance on her house was canceled this year, she said, after she started speaking out about the condition of women, whereas it was not canceled during the previous 10 years, despite her work in the civil rights movement.

Gloria Steinem, the writer, said: "Our aim should be to humanize society by bringing the values of women's culture

into it, not simply to put individual women in men's places.

"We want to reach out to every woman who is tired of the masculine mystique belief that violence is an inevitable or acceptable way of resolving conflict."

Miss Steinem also suggested that the women's political caucus take sides on many issues, even if that produced internal argument.

On this, she was disputed by Evelyn Cunningham, a special

assistant to Governor Rockefeller, who said the caucus needed a specific victory to establish itself and should therefore concentrate on one issue. She did not recommend a particular issue.

This weekend's organizational meeting will devise the basic structure of the caucus, elect officers and lay plans for participation in the 1972 Presidential nominating conventions and other political contests.

Many of the speakers emphasized the need for organization and work at the local level, to elect women to town councils as well as to Congress, and to make the views of women felt in the politically decisive suburbs.

Several speakers also made

clear that they were not advocating that women vote for any woman just because she was a woman. At the same time, some did propose that women should cross party lines and vote for well-qualified women regardless of party, particularly if the male opponent were less qualified.

Mrs. Abzug noted that some women "have screamed for war" and some, "like men, have stoned black children going to integrated schools."

Such women, she said, "have a right to vote and a right to run for office. I will defend that right, but I will not support or vote for them."

Mrs. Friedan said that her "internal, historical alarm

clock" told her that "the women's movement has crested now and must become political if it is not to decline."

Women cannot be satisfied with menial chores and token offices, she said, "while men get their hands dirty with the real business of running the country."

At that point, someone in the audience called out, "let's have some dirty old women."

Women Activists Map Their 'Revolution'

By ISABELLE SHELTON
Star Staff Writer

Three hundred women activists met here yesterday to launch what one of their speakers called "no simple reform—really a revolution."

One of their prime demands, since women represent 53 percent of the electorate, is that women should hold at least 53 percent of the appointive and elective offices in the nation.

"We hope to reach out to women across the country—to every woman whose abilities have been wasted by the second-class, subservient, underpaid or powerless positions to which female human beings are consigned," said women's liberation leader Gloria Steinem at the opening session yesterday of the two-day National Women's Political Caucus at the Statler-Hilton Hotel.

'Every Minority Woman'

"We hope to reach every woman who sits at home, with little control over her own life, much less the powerful institutions of the country, wondering if there isn't more to life than this . . . every minority woman who has endured the stigma of being twice-different from the white male ruling class . . . every woman who has experienced the ridicule or hostility reserved by this country—and often by its political leaders—for women who dare to express the hopes and ambitions that are natural to every human being," Miss Steinem added.

"We want to take our rightful position as 50 percent of every elected and appointed body in this country," she declared.

"No one gives political power. It must be taken. And therefore we will take it."

"We're here to serve notice that, as we approach the 200th anniversary of our nation, we will no longer take second place or last place to anyone," said Rep. Bella Abzug, D-N.Y.

"We will settle for nothing less than equal representation in all levels of political power," she added. "We should demand, and get, women in the Cabinet and on the U.S. Supreme Court. If President Nixon could propose a Carswell, then he can certainly find a dozen women who are better qualified than that to serve on our Supreme Court."

Mrs. Abzug said she believes "that this movement which we are starting here today can be of tremendous importance in the lives of all Americans, as significant as that first little convention for suffrage in Seneca Falls more than a 100 years ago.

"But we are not going to take 100 years for the changes we seek," she asserted. "We can't afford to wait that long."

Impact at Polls

Betty Friedan, author of "The Feminine Mystique," said that if women organize and work together between now and November 1972, they can "upset all the old political rules and traditions" and have more of an impact on the election outcome than the millions of new 18-year-old voters. (Separate story on Page G-3.)

Fannie Lou Hamer, a black civil rights leader from Mississippi, told the conference that "America is sick, man is sick. Something has got to change in this country, and we can't stand around waiting for the white male to change it."

She will run for office in Mississippi, she said — this year for the state senate, and next year for the U.S. Senate, taking on incumbent Democratic Sen. James O. Eastland.

Evelyn Cunningham, special assistant to New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, told the confer-

ence that "I must be some kind of a nut to be here — I'm black, I'm a woman, I live in Harlem, and I'm also a Republican.

"But from my black woman's head I want to insist that this caucus absolutely must aggressively seek the full participation of blacks and of Republicans," she urged.

Betty Smith, a Republican party official from Wisconsin,

urged the women to work in caucuses through their existing political parties rather than try to form a new women's party.

Paula Page, director of the women's center of the National Student Association, argued that simply working to elect more women to public office is "superfluous" and "counter-productive for any woman who is genuinely concerned about

eliminating sexual stereotyping."

"To paraphrase Malcolm X, if you want a revolution, you don't ask the oppressors to let you join them," she said. *b*

Tab G

Con't.

A 21-member steering committee was elected to coordinate the caucus' future work:

BELLA ABZUG	MEMBER OF CONGRESS (D-NY)
SHANA ALEXANDER	EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, <u>MCCALL'S</u> MAGAZINE
VIRGINIA ALLEN	CHAIRWOMAN, PRESIDENT NIXON'S TASK FORCE ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
NIKKI BEARE	MEMBER, DADE COUNTY (FLA.) COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN; PRESIDENT, DADE COUNTY N.O.W.
JOAN CASHIN	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ALABAMA
SHIRLEY CHISHOLM	MEMBER OF CONGRESS (D-NY)
MARY CLARKE	CALIFORNIA WOMEN'S STRIKE FOR PEACE
MYRLIE EVERS (MRS. MEDGAR)	CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER (CALIFORNIA)
BETTY FRIEDAN	AUTHOR OF <u>THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE</u> AND FOUNDER OF THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
JOANNE EVANS GARDNER	REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR CITY COUNCIL, PITTSBURGH, PA., N.O.W. BOARD MEMBER
ELINOR GUGGENHEIMER	FORMER MEMBER, N.Y. CITY PLANNING COMMISSION; CHAIRWOMAN, N.Y. CITY DEMOCRATIC ADVISORY COUNCIL; PIONEER OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS
FANNIE LOU HAMER	CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER; CANDIDATE FOR STATE SENATE (MISSISSIPPI)
LADONNA HARRIS	INDIAN RIGHTS LEADER
WILMA SCOTT HEIDE	CHAIRWOMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN
DOROTHY HEIGHT	PRESIDENT, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
OLGA MADAR	VICE PRESIDENT, UNITED AUTO WORKERS; PRECINCT DELEGATE, 13TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT (DETROIT)
VIVIAN CARTER MASON	SECOND NATIONAL PRESIDENT, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN; REPRESENTATIVE OF WOMEN FOR POLITICAL ACTION (NORFOLK, VA.)
MIDGE MILLER	REPRESENTATIVE, WISCONSIN STATE LEGISLATURE
PAULA PAGE	DIRECTOR, WOMEN'S CENTER, U.S. NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
BEULAH SANDERS	NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION, VICE PRESIDENT
GLORIA STEINEM	MEMBER, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL POLICY COUNCIL; WRITER

PROGRESS THROUGH THE COURTS

Until very recently, courts have held that the 14th Amendment did not confer upon women any new rights or protections. In 1874, the Supreme Court ruled that the 14th Amendment did not confer upon women the right to vote. Between 1908 and 1937, court decisions uniformly upheld the constitutionality of state laws governing the employment and "protection" of women (maximum hours, prohibition of night work, overtime, etc.). More recently, the courts have upheld a Michigan law prohibiting the licensing of women as bartenders (1948), declined to hear a case concerning the exclusion of women from Texas A & M (1960), and upheld a Florida law requiring women to register in order to serve on juries (1961).

The past decade, however, has seen some change in this strict interpretation of the 14th Amendment.

In 1966, a Federal Court in Alabama overturned that State's law excluding women from jury service on the ground that the law violated the rights of women under the 14th Amendment (White v. Cook, 1966). In 1968, laws in Pennsylvania and Connecticut which provided longer prison terms for women than men for the same crime were held to be inconsistent with the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection (Commonwealth v. Daniel, 1968) and (U.S. ex rel Robinson v. York, 1968). In 1969, a Federal Court in Virginia ordered the University of Virginia at Charlottesville to consider without regard to sex women plaintiffs' applications for admission (Kirstein et al v. The Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia).

Not even in the recent decade, however, has the 14th Amendment been held to uniformly prevent differences of treatment for men and women. In 1960, the Court upheld the non-draft status of women under the 14th Amendment saying that women should not be subject to involuntary induction because they are "still regarded as the center of home and family life", (Hoyt v. The State of Florida). Different treatment of men and women under the Social Security program was upheld in 1968 (Greenwald v. Gardner). In 1970, a Federal Court dismissed as "moot" a case seeking to desegregate all male and female public institutions of higher education in Virginia.

In general, while some progress has been made, few of the cases brought to date under the 14th Amendment have reached the Supreme Court. But the willingness of lower courts to interpret that law as including women is encouraging. Most prominent are those cases which involve open discrimination and "protection": unequal pay for "substantially equal" work has been declared illegal and back pay awarded women denied overtime work.

The other major focus of cases has been the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII of that Act, which prohibits sex discrimination in hiring and job assignments, has been held by Federal District Courts to take precedence over many state "protective" laws. The U. S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco on June 5, 1971, ruled that sections of the California Labor Code which limit hours and physical work for women were invalidated by the 1964 Act. In Weeks v. Southern Bell, the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit ruled that the employer had the burden of proving that substantially all women could not perform a job safely and efficiently; lacking such proof, employers could not classify jobs by sex. The U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit held in Diaz v. Pan American World Airways that "discrimination based on sex is valid, only when the essence of the business operation would be undermined" by failure to hire one sex exclusively (1971). Similarly, in Phillips v. Martin Marietta Corp. (1971) the Supreme Court held that the Company's rule against hiring women with pre-school children was invalid in the absence of a showing that said women could not perform their duties.

Legislation and Administrative Actions. Much like the progress made through the courts in the past decade, legislation and other efforts to end discrimination have been gradual and somewhat uneven.

At the state level, the most significant steps have been those taken by Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Illinois -- each now has constitutional equality for women. Texas, in addition, has passed a similar provision which will be submitted to the voters in November 1972.

At the Federal level, major actions taken since 1960 include the 1963 Equal Pay Act; Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; Executive Order 11375 (October 1968) and the amendments concerning sex discrimination added to Executive Order 11246 on June 1971. Equally important are the August 1969 revised guidelines of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which declared state laws or regulations which limit or prohibit female employment to be in conflict with Title VII of the 1964 Act.

The following organizations have endorsed or otherwise indicated support of the Equal Rights Amendment:

LABOR

American Newspaper Guild - Affiliate of the AFL-CIO
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades
National Association of Railway Business Women
United Automobile Workers (UAW)

LAY AND PROFESSIONAL (National)

American Association of College Deans
American Association of University Women
American Association of Women Ministers
American Federation of Soroptimists Clubs
American Federation of Teachers - Affiliate of the AFL-CIO
American Medical Women's Association
American Society of Microbiology
American Women in Radio and Television
American Women's Society of Certified Public Accountants
American Society of Women Accountants
Americans for Democratic Action
Association of American Women Dentists
Church Women United
Common Cause
Council for Women's Rights
Democratic Women's Task Force
B'nai B'rith Women
Ecumenical Task Force on Women and Religion (Catholic Caucus)
Federally Employed Women
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women
Intercollegiate Association of Women Students
Iota Tau Legal Sorority
Ladies Auxiliary of Veterans of Foreign Wars
Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic
League of American Working Women
League of Women Voters
Liberation Movement of Women
Mary Ball Washington Association of America
National Association of Colored Women
National Association of Women Deans and Counselors
National Association of Women Lawyers
National Association of Women Chiropractors
National Council of Negro Women
National Democratic Committee
National Education Association (NEA)
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.

National Federation of Republican Women
National Grange
National Organization for Women (NOW)
National Students Association
National Welfare Rights Organization
National Women's Party
New Democratic Coalition
Order of Women Legislators
Osteopathic Women's National
Secretarial - Alpha Iota Sorority
St. Joan's International Alliance - U. S. Section
The National Council of Women - Affiliated w/ International Council
Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation
Women Investors and Shareholders, Inc.
Women Theologians and the Coalition of American Nuns
Women's Auxiliary to American Osteopathic Association
Women's Auxiliary to the National Chiropractic Association
Women's Christian Temperance Union
Women's Circle, Woodmen of the World
Women's Committee on Freedom in the Church - National Association
of Laymen
Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Founded by
Jane Adams)
Women's Joint Legislative Committee for Equal Rights
Young Women's Christian Association

Mrs. Abzug Hits Remark By President

United Press International

Rep. Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) said yesterday that President Nixon and Secretary of State William P. Rogers won't consider the new National Women's Political Caucus a laughing matter after the 1972 elections.

Mrs. Abzug referred to statements by Mr. Nixon and Rogers Tuesday at San Clemente, Calif., when Rogers compared the women's group to "a burlesque," and Mr. Nixon replied jokingly, "What's wrong with that?"

In a statement, Mrs. Abzug said, "Obviously, the President and his advisers are accustomed to viewing women only in terms of flesh shows."

She said it's insulting but not surprising. The President has never said or done anything to indicate that he has the slightest understanding of women, their power, diversity, potentiality or needs.

Mr. Nixon has made no appointments of women to the cabinet nor as ambassadors, Mrs. Abzug said, and women only hold 1.5 per cent of the policy-making jobs in government in the grade 7 classification.

She said that of the 200 women Mr. Nixon claims to have appointed to top jobs, 38 were to the John F. Kennedy Committee on the Performing Arts, two to the Committee for Preservation of the White House, and others to museum advisory boards or historic preservation councils.

Between Us Boys

SAN CLEMENTE July 13 (UPI)—President Nixon and his top diplomatic advisers talked about the National Women's Political Caucus today—and not so kindly at that.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers brought up the subject during a picture taking at the beginning of a session with national security affairs adviser Henry A. Kissinger, who had just returned from a fact finding mission to Paris.

While discussing the two-day female political gathering in Washington last weekend, Kissinger piped up that Gloria Steinem was there.

"Who's that," asked the President.

"That's Henry's old girlfriend," Rogers said.

Then Rogers mentioned a newspaper photograph of the four militant women leaders of the caucus, including Steinem; Betty Friedan, Rep. Bella Abzug, (D-N.Y.) and Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.).

"What did it look like," Mr. Nixon asked.

"Like a burlesque," Rogers said.

"What's wrong with that?" The President responded.

SUMMARY OF WOMEN'S EQUALITY ACT

A. Employment discrimination.

- extends Equal Pay Act to government employees, professional and executive women
- ends exemption from Title VII coverage of governments, universities
- gives Equal Employment Opportunities Commission cease and desist powers
- prohibits sex discrimination in federally assisted programs

B. Public education.

- Justice Department to intervene on behalf of women denied admission to public education because of sex
- Commissioner of Education to survey all sex discrimination in education, to propose legislative reforms

C. Extending other parts of civil rights laws to cover sex discrimination.

Outlaw sex discrimination in:

- public accommodations; those discriminated against to sue for civil injunction in federal courts; Attorney General also to be able to bring suit
- public facilities
- cases where required by state law
- sale, rental, brokerage, or financing of individual dwelling units

Attorney General to be able to intervene in sex discrimination suits brought under Fourteenth Amendment.

D. Studying, classifying, and reporting on sex discrimination.

- Civil Rights Commission to investigate and make recommendations concerning sex discrimination
- Civil Rights Commission to serve as national clearinghouse on legal status of women
- H.E.W. matching grants to finance state study commissions

E. Studies proposing further legislation.

- Studies concerning equalization of treatment of sexes under:

Social Security Act
Family Assistance Act
Internal Revenue Code

Weekly Compilation of PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, April 10, 1971

Abortions at Military Hospitals

*Statement by the President Upon Directing That Policy
Be Made To Correspond With State Laws.
April 3, 1971*

Historically, laws regulating abortion in the United States have been the province of States, not the Federal Government. That remains the situation today, as one State after another takes up this question, debates it and decides it. That is where the decisions should be made.

Partly, for that reason, I have directed that the policy on abortions at American military bases in the United States be made to correspond with the laws of the States where those bases are located. If the laws in a particular State restrict abortions, the rules at the military base hospitals are to correspond to that law.

The effect of this directive is to reverse service regulations issued last summer, which had liberalized the rules on abortions at military hospitals. The new ruling supersedes this—and has been put into effect by the Secretary of Defense.

But while this matter is being debated in State capitals, and weighed by various courts, the country has a right to know my personal views.

From personal and religious beliefs I consider abortion an unacceptable form of population control. Further, unrestricted abortion policies, or abortion on demand, I cannot square with my personal belief in the sanctity of human life—including the life of the yet unborn. For, surely, the unborn have rights also, recognized in law, recognized even in principles expounded by the United Nations.

Ours is a nation with a Judaeo-Christian heritage. It is also a nation with serious social problems—problems of malnutrition, of broken homes, of poverty, and of delinquency. But none of these problems justifies such a solution.

A good and generous people will not opt, in my view, for this kind of alternative to its social dilemmas. Rather, it will open its hearts and homes to the unwanted children of its own, as it has done for the unwanted millions of other lands.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

"A sizable majority of women feels that the single woman should be allowed to decide her marital fate, and not be trapped into marriage by an unwanted pregnancy. Four in 5 contend that a single woman who becomes pregnant but doesn't love the man involved should not be obliged to marry him.

On abortion as an alternative, women feel (by 45-14%) that it should be legalized and, where legal, they feel (by 53-32%) that the man involved should be consulted on such a decision. Women agree that laws making abortion illegal should be repealed. Half the men interviewed agree on legalized abortion.

Observation:

Women are far from ready to assert their complete independence from men in matters of sex, as the findings show. When it comes to decisions about abortions, for example, most women feel men should be consulted. What women seem to resent most is the legal restrictions exerting control over their own bodies. Just because a single woman becomes pregnant, a large majority of women say, she should not be legally obliged to spend her life with the man involved. Nor should she be prevented by law from having an abortion. If this is what she and the man involved choose as the best solution."

ABORTION OPERATION
(November, 1969)

Question: "Would you favor or oppose a law which would permit a woman to go to a doctor to end a pregnancy at any time during the first three months?"

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Men	40%	46%	14%
Women	40%	53%	7%
NATIONAL	40%	50%	10%

Harris Poll, Fall 1970

AS MORE and more U.S. mothers take jobs outside the home, they are creating a tremendous demand for day-care facilities where they can leave their pre-school-age children from, say, 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Now that Congress is finally about to act on proposals for federal assistance to beef up inadequate day care, Republicans are concerned that a little-known functionary in the federal Office of Management and Budget is blocking the Nixon administration's indorsement of enlarged day care, and in the process perhaps maneuvering the President into a dangerous political trap.

Next Friday, May 21,

Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Elliot Richardson will present the administration's day-care views to the House Select Subcommittee on Education. Then on May 27 he will repeat them to a joint meeting of two Senate subcommittees. As the first date approaches, what Richardson will say remains conjectural, although his personal sentiments are clear.

Like most House Republicans, Richardson favors legislation to expand day-care facilities under the guidance of state governments, and with an eye towards insuring the effective participation of middle-income families. Indeed, the HEW Secretary has actively helped congressional Republicans to develop this approach. Many Democrats, on the other hand, favor a new, multi-billion dollar day-care program under the control of neighborhood action-type groups that would orient services towards low-income and welfare mothers even though others would be technically eligible. The GOP will support this approach, but would prefer the former.

SO FAR, however, the federal Office of Management and Budget has successfully thwarted HEW support of any additional day care, and Congressional Republicans are concerned that OMB may succeed in blocking (or watering down) Secretary Richardson's pro-day-care testimony.

The chief mover and shaker of OMB's hostility to expanded day care is Richard P. Nathan, one of the office's 12 assistant directors. Nathan's logic is simple: He has been trying to safeguard the administration's Family Assistance Plan, which includes a small day-care provision, from the detrimental competition of a separate, larger day-care bill. (Nathan's personal concern reflects the fact that he headed the 1963-69 presidential task force that blueprinted FAP.) But this worry no longer seems valid inasmuch as the House Ways and Means Committee just last week cleared FAP as part of a much larger Christmas tree package with enough goodies to probably assure its passage.

Republicans on the House Education and Labor Committee believe that if the administration will support a reasonable day-care program oriented towards effective middle-income participation, then such a popular program might win congressional enactment. They are also worried about the result if the administration follows OMB advice. In this case, they say, Congress is likely to go its own way and pass a multi-billion dollar, "neighborhood action" type of day care aimed at low-income groups. Some Democrats, they add, are trying to trap the President with a budget-busting day-care bill he cannot veto without "being against the little children."

THE STATISTICAL case for day care is overwhelming. At present, there are roughly 14 million working women, mostly housewives, with children under 6. Day-care facilities are few and far between.

The toughest circumstances confront women who are heads of households and who must also work. Female-headed households have a median income of \$4,000 per year as opposed to the \$11,000 median income of families headed by men. Many divorcees and widows able to earn only a marginal living find their circumstances particularly pressing because of the difficulty of first finding day-care facilities and then paying their high rates.

Politically, President Nixon should be leaping for this issue. Welfare mothers are hardly likely to vote for him, but working mothers, a huge slice of the electorate, are extremely reachable on the subject of day care—especially young women, aged 18-35, among whom the President is weak, according to the polls.

Under these circumstances, if HEW Secretary Richardson fails to testify on behalf of a major expansion of day-care facilities, it will be vivid testimony to the extraordinary behind-the-scenes influence of the capital's budget bureaucrats.

Kevin P. Phillips

The Day-Care Trap

THE WASHINGTON POST Thursday, May 20, 1971

Women in Government

*The President's Memorandum for the Heads of
Executive Departments and Agencies,
April 21, 1971*

As you know, it has been my desire to attract the ablest and most talented people in the country to join this Administration and assist in the achievement of our far-reaching goals. The Nation's many highly qualified women represent an important reservoir of ability and talent that we must draw on to a greater degree. In this Administration we have firmly espoused the rights of women, and we must now clearly demonstrate our recognition of the equality of women by making greater use of their skills in high level positions.

Our efforts to date in appointing women have offered some encouragement. I have appointed a number of women to top posts and have named more than 200 to Presidential Advisory Boards and Commissions. However, I am convinced that we can and must do better.

To this end, I am now directing that you take the following actions:

- Develop and put into action a plan for attracting more qualified women to top appointive positions (GS-16 and up through Presidential appointees) in your Department or Agency by the end of this calendar year. This plan should be submitted to me by May 15.
- Develop and put into action by May 15 a plan for significantly increasing the number of women, career and appointive, in mid-level positions (GS-13 to 15). This plan should directly involve your top personnel official.
- Ensure that substantial numbers of the vacancies on your Advisory Boards and Committees are filled with well-qualified women.
- Designate an overall coordinator who will be held responsible for the success of this project. Please provide this name to me by May 15.

I have asked my Special Assistant, Fred Malek, to meet with each of you individually to review further the requirements of this project and to offer his assistance in locating highly qualified women candidates for top positions.

I intend to follow personally the results of this project; I look forward to your giving it the fullest degree of cooperation. It is important not only in terms of opening new opportunities for women, but also as a means of making the fullest possible use of talents that are now all in the Nation's service.

Richard Nixon

What Ted Needs Is More Lib Appeal, Feminists Say

By VERA GLASER and
MARINA SHIBSON,
Contributors to THE MASS HERALD

WASHINGTON — Sex is complicating Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's election bid in Massachusetts.

The 40-year-old young lawmaker's couch with the ladies is being tested, but feminists, he says, are out to defeat him.

Last June a Gallup Poll showed U.S. women rating Ted five percentage points higher than men did. On the campaign trail his charisma is evident. Girls jump and scream at the sight of him. Some rush up to kiss him.

Ted's charm and magnetism reportedly have shoe factory workers in Lawrence, Mass., ready to vote for him despite his position on cheap foreign imports which could cost them their jobs.

But so-called "redneck" women's groups have burned up Ted's name. They disagree with his position on the hottest issue in Massachusetts—abortion, and resent his refusal for months to back the equal rights amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

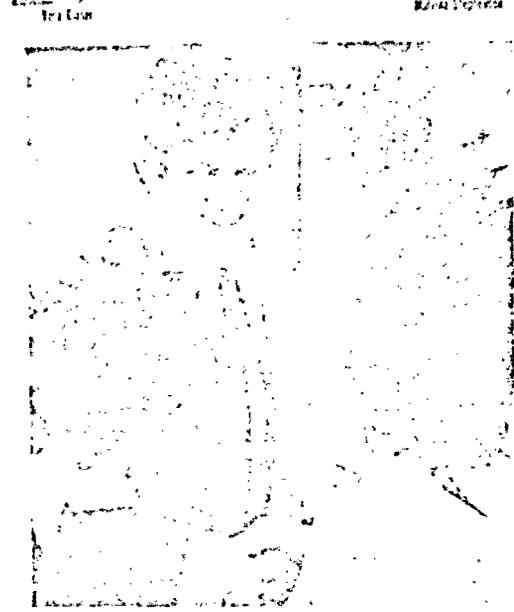
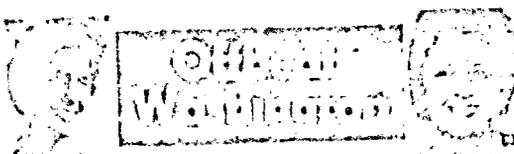
Last week in Boston the National Organization for Women (NOW) announced its endorsement of Ted's Republican opponent, Joseph A. Spaulding.

MANY OF the defectors are young, attractive, long-time Democrats who supported Robert Kennedy or Eugene McCarthy for president in 1968. They also plan to jump party lines to vote for a Republican woman, Mary Newman, for secretary of state.

Spaulding and Kennedy have similar views on most foreign and domestic problems, but differ on the equal rights amendment and on the role of the federal government in social welfare programs.

"The decision to give birth should be left to the woman, not the state, but by the woman," Spaulding told a downtown rally of the Massachusetts Organization for Popular Education (MOPE).

A Boston College Catholic theologian, Prof. John Doherty,



—Associated Press Wirephoto

Women Admirers Greeted by Ted Kennedy ... but lib groups are not charmed

agreed, adding, "the Catholic church has no right to impose its views on the public."

In Cambridgeport, when Kennedy said, "I don't believe in abortion on demand," he was booed by a number of Broad and Rows, a feminist front group.

Adding fuel to the fire, Mrs. Grace C. Ferrill arrived in Boston in a splash of publicity, beating the drums for the equal rights amendment, which Kennedy opposes. She is the new general counsel of the U.S. Labor Department's women's bureau.

Kennedy's refusal to sign the equal rights amendment might be considered a cardinal sin by some feminists, charged Dr. Jane Pollack, 39, NOW's eastern region director and chairman, young faculty member, U.B. in law.

In Cambridge, she said, Ted

refused to meet in Washington with her and officials of three other moderate women's groups to discuss the equal rights amendment. The others represented the YWCA, the business and professional women, and the Union Women.

They are still seething over the "rhubarb" and their encounters with a Kennedy aide, Peter Auer.

"Their whole tone was high and patronizing," Dr. Pollack recalled.

When Dr. Pollack and Dr. Jean Murray, a black professor at Brandeis, confronted Kennedy in the June recent he refused to make a Southern seminar talking to Democrats," Dr. Murray said.

The defectors are not expected to make Ted's campaigning bid over Spaulding

Even the Republican state chairman, Mrs. Margaret Donohue, expects the defection from to pull some votes to Spaulding, but says, "Teddy is personally popular. I don't think women's rights is a real factor at this time, although it may be in the future."

STATE SOURCES also expect the defections to be mostly women, by the accident at Chappaquiddick in which Mary Jo Kopechne died in Kennedy's car.

Kennedy also hopes a big win will wipe out that tragic memory, but the ghost seems to haunt Ted's image.

Chappaquiddick apparently caused Kennedy to trail badly behind Massachusetts Sen. Edward Muskie in a poll published last June. In the Kennedy's home state of Massachusetts, where they commanded fierce loyalty, Muskie ranked 13 points ahead of Ted as the voters' choice for the 1972 Democratic presidential nomination.

In his campaigning Ted has shunned Dukes County, scene of the accident.

On Nov. 3, one of the most fascinating disclosures may be if, and in what proportion, women vote for Ted. Their behavior at the polls may provide answers to two questions.

Can the Catholic-labor power structure in Massachusetts be successfully challenged?

Does the women's movement have political clout? With a presidential election looming, will there be significant jumping of party lines on women's issues?

Ted's opposition to the equal rights amendment reflects the view of organized labor, whose support he needs in his home state for a presidential bid.

Believing Ted has tried to please the women. After rejecting their amendment, he withdrew shortly before Congress voted to sponsor a weakened substitute version. Dr. Murray termed it Kennedy's attempt to "get off the hook for purposes of the election."

The handloom of the Kennedys always has been able to take the secret vote for granted. Now they may have to court it.

011 897

McGovern's 'Liberal' Lags on His Staff

By MARLENE CIMONS

WASHINGTON (LAT) — Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.), who last week promised to appoint women to the Supreme Court and his Cabinet if he wins the Presidency in 1972, so far has hired only one woman to fill any of 10 key positions in his campaign organization.

Only one female, Amanda Smith, appears on a list of 10 names released by his office as the most important salaried political operatives on his Presidential campaign staff.

When attempts were made to question McGovern on his hiring policy, his staff countered by providing names of women left off the original list whom they also considered important to the campaign, some salaried, others unsalaried.

Miss Smith, 31, who joined McGovern's staff in January, is the campaign coordinator for women's related activities, an assignment she requested.

There are 24 total salaried positions in McGovern's Presidential campaign organization, according to Miss Smith, who says 15 of them are held by women.

Many Women Volunteers

There are about 50 volunteers who come in on a staggered basis, about half of whom are women, she says. There are also two unpaid female vice chairmen of the National Citizens Committee for McGovern. Mrs. Jean Westwood, a Democratic committeewoman from Utah, and Mrs. June Degnan, former finance chairman for Eugene McCarthy's 1968 run for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

The director of the McGovern New York office

Phylis Holtzer, is salaried, but the director of the Massachusetts office, Emily Frankovich, is not, according to Gordon Weil, McGovern's executive assistant. Mrs. George Stevens, wife of the president of the American Film Institute, also was included as a "key" volunteer. None of these women were named in the original list.

"The involvement of women in this campaign is critical," says Jeffrey Gralnick, press secretary to McGovern. "Just because there is only one female name at the top, it doesn't mean that women are not playing an important role in this campaign."

Supreme Court Promise

On Thursday, June 17, McGovern told a luncheon audience at the Woman's National Democratic Club here that, if elected, his first Supreme Court nominee would be a woman, and he would also appoint women to the National Security Council and Cabinet, and name a woman U. S. Ambassador to the UN.

"Where is it written that a woman can't be Secretary of the Interior, or Secretary of State, or Secretary of Defense?" he said, adding that he was upset with the Nixon Administration because "after two years in office, only 1 per cent of the top jobs are held by women when 51 per cent of the population is female."

McGovern is prepared to make women's rights a national issue in his campaign, according to Miss Smith. "I really believe he's prepared to use women in his campaign in a political role, as opposed to a coffee-making role," she says. "And I know he intends to keep his promises if elected. Unfortunately, he hasn't been doing his hiring personally and I'm afraid those who are doing it aren't as vigorous about the issue as he is."

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

August 12, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
By: *EP*, Date *8-24-82*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached for your information is a status report on our efforts to discourage formation of a new Conservative Party in Michigan. Rob Odle has been tracking on this for us because he is from Michigan and knows the situation there fairly well.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

August 9, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. HARRY S. FLEMMING
MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM:

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

SUBJECT:

STATUS REPORT: MICHIGAN

As you know, we have been working actively during the last few weeks to discourage former State Senator Robert Huber, who almost defeated Lenore Romney last year in her contest for the Michigan Republican Senate nomination, from putting a new Conservative Party on the ballot in Michigan next year. The Presidency and the Senate are the only two statewide races on the Michigan ballot in 1972, and therefore the Conservative Party would have to run a candidate against Senator Griffin in order to stay on the ballot for 1974. Unlike New York, Michigan law does not allow a candidate to appear on more than one ballot -- if a candidate should be nominated by more than one party, he would have to choose between the two designations.

Thus, to assist Senator Griffin (who would almost certainly be defeated running against Huber on the Conservative Party ballot as well as a Democrat), and to increase the President's chances of carrying Michigan, we have been talking to several conservative leaders in Michigan and discouraging them from going along with a new party. Several meetings have been held here at our offices, including a meeting with Huber himself, and we now have commitments from many of Huber's followers to refrain from Conservative Party activity. Last week we appointed Frank Bicsak, who headed Huber's 1970 operations in the greater Detroit area, to a position on the Secretary of State's Special Advisory Committee on Public Opinion. Bicsak was so delighted with his appointment that he is now definitely out of the Conservative Party and has advised his friends to follow his lead. A few more appointments like this and Huber will have no following at all.

CONFIDENTIAL

The principle reason for conservative disenchantment with the Republican party in Michigan is the state party's refusal to include legitimate conservatives in the established Republican organization. Both the Governor's office and the Republican State Central Committee have failed to allow for the expression of reasonable conservative viewpoints within the party structure, and as a result the conservatives feel they must go outside the party. Therefore, we have been attempting to get the Governor and the leadership of the State Central Committee to make overtures toward the conservatives. Last week I met with John Byington, Governor Romney's campaign manager in past years, and he agreed that this was indeed a problem. On his return to Michigan he wrote the attached letter to Governor Milliken which you should read.

Max Fisher, with whom I talked today, has also talked to Governor Milliken about the need to open the doors of the Michigan party to conservatives in order to keep them out of a third party, and Max told me that he wants to have Governor Milliken see the Attorney General at some point to discuss this problem. Should this meeting take place, Max and I hope the Attorney General will "lay down the law" to Governor Milliken that he should do whatever is necessary to include the conservatives in the party and avoid a Conservative Party.

Also, Jeb, note that John Byington, Dick Headlee, and others who were active in the 1968 Citizens effort nationally are putting together a proposal for us on Young Civic Leaders for Nixon '72.

Attachments

INTERMART

August 2, 1971

The Honorable William G. Milliken
Governor of Michigan
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan

Dear Bill:

Just a note to indicate how pleased I was to read of your recent communication to Senator Dole, the National Chairman of our Republican Party.

You know how much I agree with you in the need to open the Republican Party to all people -- regardless of race, color, creed or philosophical bent.

However, I am particularly concerned about the continued lack of sensitivity to the conservative element of the Republican Party in Michigan. This is particularly relevant in the forthcoming 1972 campaign. For if this element is successful in putting the "Conservative Party" on the ballot, I believe it can be extremely detrimental to both President Nixon's and Senator Robert Griffin's chances of winning in the State of Michigan.

Although I would be the first to agree that the President will have a significant uphill battle if he's going to carry Michigan in 1972, it is for this particular reason that I am concerned about the introduction of a new conservative element into the voting structure of the State and the potential for its drawing as much as 5% or 10% of the overall vote -- which could make a significant difference in both the Presidential and Senatorial campaigns.

This letter is not an effort to get involved in personalities nor is it meant as a personal criticism of any particular individual within the Republican Party of the State of Michigan. However, I think that we would be less than honest if we said that the people of a conservative attitude in this State have had an opportunity to freely express them-

The Honorable William G. Milliken
August 2, 1971
Page 2

selves and participate in the functions of the Party. I believe that it is imperative that this situation be remedied immediately, for it may already be too late to stop what could be a disaster for both the President and the Senator in 1972, as well as pose significant problems for the Republican Party in 1974.

Since I admit to being unaware of many of the actions that your office and that of the Party in the State may have taken or may have underway, I will not be so presumptuous as to make any particular suggestions at this time. These comments I make are truly those of an outside spectator, who I hope is wrong, but who believes that the present, visible signs are most ominous.

Admittedly I do not envy you with the practical and political problems that you are facing on a daily basis. But now is the time to be strong. The people in this State and this country are continuing to search desperately for leadership they can believe in and leaders who will be strong in the face of adversity. Such strength requires the ability to both "knock some heads together" on occasion, as well as strength and self-assurance to offer those who are presently outside the operation a "piece of the action".

Sally and I think of you and Helen often and you are always in our prayers. As we can be of assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,



S. John Byington
Executive Vice President
INTERMART

rn

INTERMART

August 2, 1971

Mr. Robert Odle
Citizens for Nixon
Room 272
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Rob:

The time you spent with me discussing Michigan politics is appreciated. Although the information you received may not have been what you wanted to hear or, for that matter, what the party in the State of Michigan would necessarily agree with, I must regretfully point out it was the truth.

As the copy of the enclosed article from the Detroit Free Press of Saturday, July 31 points out, neither Senator Griffin nor Governor Milliken nor the Republican Party organization give much latitude or lend much of an ear to the strong conservative element existing in the State. Even though Bill Milliken's comments to Senator Dole stress the importance of opening the Republican Party to all interested participants, this has not been effectively accomplished here in the State of Michigan. I point this out rather clearly in my recent letter to the Governor, a copy of which is enclosed for your confidential perusal.

I met last week with Bob Young and Richard Headlee. We will immediately commence work on the three areas discussed. The strategy session will be held Thursday afternoon, August 5, in Dick Headlee's office. This will be followed by a broader meeting, which will include a number of the people I mentioned to you, which meeting is tentatively scheduled for Thursday night, August 12. At the August 5th meeting we will take up all three matters:

1. Nationwide and organizational plan for Young Civic Leaders for Nixon; and
2. Conservative Party situation in Michigan; and
3. Organization of Michigan for 1972 Presidential campaign.

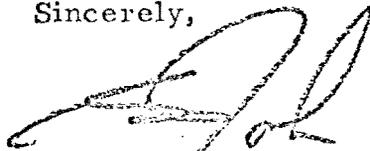
Mr. Robert Odle
August 2, 1971
Page 2

The latter two subjects will be discussed by the broader group on the 12th, after which we will get to you with a confidential memorandum concerning our thoughts and approach to the problem. As for the national organization we will endeavor to meet your deadline of Labor Day with a complete proposal. Any information that you have regarding the legal implications of the Conservative Party in Michigan would be appreciated -- i. e., requirements to get on the ballot, etc.

Although we have been extremely busy since I returned to Michigan, we will maintain contact and hopefully we can resolve some of the problems and prepare the way for a significant victory for Richard Nixon in 1972.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,



S. John Byington
Executive Vice President
INTERMART, INC.

rn

cc: Messrs. Young and Headlee

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 30, 1971

Dear Mr. Bicsak:

You are cordially invited to serve on a Special Advisory Committee on Public Opinion. As a community leader with a deep interest in public affairs, you are in a position to help keep the State Department informed on public thinking.

Members of this Committee will be consulted by Senior officers of this Department from time to time at regional meetings regarding public opinion on United States foreign policy.

The establishment of this Committee reflects the wish of President Nixon that our government be made more responsive to a broad range of national views. Your counsel as informal advisors will help to meet this need.

I hope you will accept this appointment. I know that William D. Blair, Jr., the Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, is looking forward to hearing from you. He will then inform you about future plans for meetings and your participation.

Sincerely yours,

William P. Rogers

Mr. Francis J. Bicsak,
28319 Aline Drive,
Warren, Michigan.

JSM → AG 8/13

RF meetings w/ Firestone +
key pol people in Cal
- AG knows + approves
of none of these

RF at Cal Club on
Mon or Tues +
discussed campaign
w/ Firestone.

AG → JSM → HGK
yesterday - no one
to

July 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN EHRLICHMAN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: PLATFORM FOR THE 1972 CAMPAIGN

In the course of our planning operations, it has become obvious that the Party Platform will be a natural outgrowth of the Budget and the State of the Union Address, and that all three items will relate in an important way to the campaign.

I feel that the best group to plan for the Platform would include a senior member of the Domestic Council staff to provide the necessary perspective on issues and administration positions, and Bob Marik from the Citizens Committee, who is involved in the planning for research and polling in 1972. In that way, we would provide access to the two sources of information which are necessary to arrive at a platform of meaningful substance, yet sensitive to voter attitudes and their electoral impact. At the same time, the research information might be helpful in your formulation of the Budget and State of the Union Address. The planning group would begin work immediately.

Recommendation

That you approve the establishment of a Platform planning group as described above, and that you designate an individual to represent the Domestic Council.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____
Domestic Council Representative _____

*By E according
to TSM*

Camp 5
GS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

August 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Citizens Committee for the
Re-Election of the President/
Substantive Policy Briefings

Magruder believes it is important for him and his people at Citizens to be kept abreast of the substantive policy of the Administration. He has designated Bob Marik as the one responsible for acquiring the information. Magruder has already made arrangements with Al Haig to get information from John Lehman of the NSC. Through Ken Cole, Magruder made a similar arrangement for Marik to be briefed by Ed Harper of the Domestic Council.

On the economy, Magruder wonders whether he should contact Herb Stein or Sid Jones of the CEA or someone at Treasury.

Recommendation:

That Magruder and Marik contact Sid Jones of the CEA for any appropriate background information on the economy.

Agree ✓ Disagree _____

Comment _____

G → mail
8/17

but this is a super low level
of priority

G.S.
↓
Lousy letter.



August 12, 1971

Dear Mr. Brown:

It was recently brought to our attention that you possibly might be interested in being of assistance to us in the coming campaign to re-elect the President. We would certainly value your advice and counsel in your area of expertise, the motion picture industry, and if you should be planning a trip to the United States during the next several months, perhaps it might be possible for me to have a few minutes of your time in order to get the benefit of your thinking. If not, then perhaps we could correspond. We shall certainly be appreciative of any assistance which you might be able to give us.

The President has asked us to send on to you his very best wishes and warm regards.

Sincerely,

Jeb S. Magruder

Mr. Alan Brown
EIBAR 2
La Florida (Urvacesa)
Madrid, Spain

bcc: Mr. Dwight L. Chapin
~~Mr. H. R. Haldeman~~
Miss Rose Mary Woods

July 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR :

BRIGIT CHASE

FROM :

E.R. BARRON

The President suggests that Alan Brown in Spain is very good political property who knows the news business very well, and he thinks we should explore the possibility of getting him into campaign activities. Would you raise this with Hagerder and set up a contact for Jeb to talk to Brown and see if there is any way that he would like to be helpful or if he can be in campaign planning down the road?

HRH:pm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

August 2, 1971

G

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Magruder's Projects

The Attorney General met with Magruder July 28th and reviewed the Campaign Task Force proposals. I am holding these with the exception of two that you may find to be useful (attached at Tabs A and B). Should you want any others, please so indicate and I will send them up. The decisions made by the Attorney General and new material submitted by Magruder include:

1) Advertising -- The Campaign will use an "in house" agency. Magruder is to recruit an "Advertising Director" by September for the Attorney General's consideration. The question is whether you want to interview Magruder's recommendation for an Advertising Director for the Campaign. (Tab A)

- Haldeman ~~interview~~
- No interview, the Attorney General decides
- Malek interview
- Other

2) The Attorney General approved the \$2,500 for Senator Dole's trip to South Vietnam if the President thinks it's "a good idea for Dole to go". The Attorney General requests that you check this with the President.

3) McCloskey -- The Attorney General agreed with your decision that there should be a Truth Squad, the expenses of which would be borne by Citizens. He believes, however, that the attack should be localized in California so that the media's candidate (McCloskey) is not elevated further. California Congressman Charles Gubser is the best for this attack.

4) Farm Vote -- To put a "farm specialist" at the RNC would be a waste of money according to the Attorney General. He believes there should be a full time farm advisor at the White House. Dr. Robert Spitzer is strongly opposed by the Farm Bureau. Harlow, Ehrlichman, and Whitaker are looking for a "White House Farmer" who should not transfer to Citizens in 6 months according to the AG. A second man to be "Citizens' Farmer" is also being sought.

G → 0028/4

He does
G → sue 8/11
→ Sloan 8/11

Agree

5) Secretary Stans Discretionary Fund -- Secretary Stans discretionary fund of \$1,000,000 at Commerce is to be explained to the other Cabinet Officers by Stans so that conferences, hiring, and other activities may be used for the President's re-election.

6) Lindsay -- Lindsay will become a Democrat next week but will not decide about the Presidency before the end of the year.

7) The older voter analysis prepared by Garment emphasizes that:

- A. Twenty-two percent of the voting population is over 60 and 73% of those eligible actually vote;
- B. California is 19% old people, Florida is 27%, Iowa is 26% and Missouri is 25%;
- C. The President's Chicago speech accurately discussed the need for a meaningful life pattern, adequate nursing home standards, and health needs of the aged;
- D. The President's 1968 Campaign promises to the elderly have been proposed but not passed by the Congress; some proposals not requiring Congressional action have not been implemented (e.g. Labor Department computer job aid);
- E. The White House has done very little for two years to relate to the elderly's organizations which are increasingly powerful politically;
- F. The White House Conference on the Aging will be held at the beginning of the political season; the political opportunities must be captured just prior to and during the Conference in order to set the tone for the Campaign;
- G. A Chairman and an Executive Director for the Campaign should be recruited by September 1 to build field organizations in the target states; the organizations should expand into volunteer groups and begin distributing campaign literature; the Campaign thrust would begin on July 1;

8) Presidential Contenders -- The Presidential contender task force action suggestions should be reviewed by you and the Attorney General at your next meeting. The recommendations by Buchanan include: (Tab B)

*What is this?
8/13 mem
→ L*

P

*Leave this to AG.
8/13 -
revised
AMH + AG
re: 8/13/68*

- A. Attack Muskie from the right and left to help Kennedy, Humphrey (the easiest to defeat), Jackson, and the President. Muskie would be a formidable opponent if he were to promenade unscathed toward November;
- B. No recommendation to attack Jackson, who as a "friend of sorts of the President" might prefer a Cabinet post with Nixon rather than Kennedy; advice as to strategy is requested;
- C. Kennedy should be attacked as immature, reckless, jet-set;
- D. Humphrey might deserve some support from us as he would be the easiest opponent;
- E. McCloskey's Republican credentials should be attacked by a Congressman (e.g. Jack Kemp) but not by top Administration figures;
- F. Resources for attack include: MONDAY regularly, Dole sparingly, and the White House Staff carefully. Advice is sought whether the Vice President should attack. The local Republican organizations will receive Buchanan drafted attack material distributed by the RNC at Buchanan's shop's direction. Commercial issue advertisements could be placed by Citizens front organizations. Buchanan requests authority to use "Ron Walker's resources . . . for special projects", including "close-in" covert operations;
- G. The California Delegates Selection Committee will be the subject of a conversation between the Attorney General and Reagan;

✓ 9) Compass System, Inc. -- The involvement of the Compass System, Inc. in the Campaign is still being negotiated by Tom Evans and Sam Wiley, who is having problems with the FBI which the Attorney General is checking;

✓ 10) RNC Denver Meeting -- The RNC Denver Meeting went according to the program because of Timmons' work and in spite of Dole's reluctance. The Attorney General has approved additional names to serve on Convention Committees including Bob Knowles of Wisconsin as Convention Coordinator, Bill Warner as an assistant to Dick Herman, Vice Chairman of the Arrangements Committee if Warner is not a member of the Fred Scribner coalition at the RNC. Ody Fish will be politically responsive Sergeant at Arms. The Sheraton Hotel on Harbor Island will

be the President's Campaign Headquarters. Congressman Gerry Ford, Congressman Rhodes of Arizona and Senator Scott want to be permanent Chairmen of the Convention but the Attorney General has put a "hold" on this. Gordon Luce of San Diego will be the Campaign Committee's host. Format planning is beginning and Chapin will participate. Timmons and Magruder are developing a recommendation for easing Scribner out of his General Counsel post. None of the 51 State Chairmen reported right wing opposition to the China trip and most characterized it as the highlight of the last two years.

11) The Spokesman Resource Task Force headed by Rumsfeld recommended that the key Campaign spokesmen (including First Family, Cabinet, select agency heads, and select Governors) be limited to 25-30; that the President and Vice President continue to be scheduled separately; Colson and O'Donnell will continue to control activities through the end of 1971, but an additional scheduling staff member should be added now to the White House Staff for eventual movement to Citizens. No fund raising formula would be applied to non-elected Administration Officials through March 1, 1972. Support from Walker and Klein will be used. Transportation will be commercial through December 1971 when Whitaker and Howard will submit a Campaign logistics proposal. The Attorney General is asked for his recommendation on key states.

Why not?

Who's he?

12) Young Voters for Nixon status report indicates the previously submitted plan is progressing through the deadlines. The only new idea is a Presidential or Republican Senators' letter to new voters. A "public" First Voters for Nixon drive should be announced in September.

13) Voter Registration Committees are claiming to be non-partisan but all are Democratic controlled and funded. Reitz had worked to counter the drive of the Youth Citizenship Fund; some success was achieved in Wisconsin.

14) "Citizens" activities are still in the early planning stages though Don Kendall, Deke DeLoach, and Harvey Russell have worked with Flanigan, Colson, and Tom W. Evans of Mudge Rose to establish a Businessmen for Nixon group. A Lawyers for Nixon group is being formed by Richard Riefer of Baltimore and George Webster of Washington. All "Citizens" activities will be outlined in a decision paper due on the Attorney General's desk on September 30, 1971.

15) Democratic Lt. Governor Tom Judge of Montana has been told by Ted Kennedy to "stay loose as far as any commitments for 1972".

16) Research -- Flanigan's task force is interviewing polling consultants and vendors and will prepare "a final (research) plan . . . within the next few weeks". This plan will contain a recommendation on Simulation on August 13. The RNC Delaware project of combining Census, polling, and research information to target precincts has been expanded to a \$350,000 test of "sophisticated techniques of manipulating and displaying political information in a manner which facilitates allocating Campaign resources by a decision maker". Test activities will occur in 1971 elections for Governors, Mayors, and State Legislators as well as Delaware.

*has
AG
ok'd this?
JAN 20 1971
AG
8/13/71
6/1/71*

17) Timmons and Magruder will go to San Diego in August on behalf of the Attorney General but will maintain a "low profile".

18) Magruder reports that the rift between Senator Dole and Tom Evans widened at the Denver meeting.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

July 21, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

AS
They did not go
Open reflection
G If I'm right
you covered this.

Magruder called the Attorney General last night to report on the Dole meeting with the President about the RNC Convention site. Magruder's source of information was Timmons, who was overly concerned that San Diego might not be selected.

The Attorney General told Magruder that: "I want it assured that the Convention is to be in San Diego. I want Haldeman to make sure Dole doesn't do anything other than what he is instructed to do (select San Diego)." Of course your memorandum for the President's file, following the Dole meeting, indicates that Dole will assure the selection of San Diego. Therefore, it is probably unnecessary for you to call Dole and review a decision which has already been reached.

The attached wire story indicates that Chicago withdrew its bid for the RNC Convention.

On a related subject, Timmons called concerning whether or not the Convention is to be two or three days long. In Timmon's June 26 memorandum one of the decisions presented to you and the Attorney General was whether or not the Convention was to last three days. No decision has been relayed to Timmons. Since there must be five sessions, Timmons has been discussing with San Diego a three day Convention because of the hotel room commitment problems.

As they were properly covered too.

Question: Has a decision been reached on whether the Convention is to be two or three days in length?

Two days: _____ Three days: _____

No decision, raise with the Attorney General: _____

You received a list yesterday of the Pre-Convention Committees. Dole accepted all of them except that Kendall Garff of Utah has replaced L.E. Thomas of Florida as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Transportation.

UPI-134

(GOP)

CHICAGO--CHICAGO WITHDREW ITS BID TO BE THE SITE OF THE 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION BECAUSE OF "PRIOR COMMITMENTS," IT WAS ANNOUNCED TODAY.

COL. JACK REILLY, DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL EVENTS, SAID JAMES C. WORTHY, CHAIRMAN OF MAYOR RICHARD J. DALEY'S CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO SEEK THE CONVENTIONS, HAD INFORMED SEN. ROBERT DOLE, GOP NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, THAT "IT IS NECESSARY FOR CHICAGO TO WITHDRAW FROM CONTENTION."

CHICAGO, MIAMI BEACH AND SAN DIEGO, CALIF., REPORTEDLY WON PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL TUESDAY AS POTENTIAL SITES FOR THE CONVENTION.

7-21--JD325PED

107

IDENT AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
MONT HOSPITAL HE HAD

before next May and offered subsequent pleas by the White House that members of Congress exercise restraint in commenting about the proposed visit.

Commenting on the proposed repeal in a letter May 18, the State Department told the committee it would take no position.

The department said the specific crisis that prompted the original resolution had passed but that authorization to defend the Nationalist Chinese also was contained in a mutual defense treaty entered into shortly after the resolution was approved by Congress.

Lt135ped July 21

a205

r lbylczzcwyyf

GOP Convention

CHICAGO AP - Chicago has withdrawn its bid for the 1972 Republican National Convention.

This was announced Wednesday by Col. Jack Reilly, the city's director of special events. He said prior commitments make both McCormick Place and the International Amphitheatre unavailable the week of Aug. 22 when Republican delegates will meet to nominate presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Chicago, Miami Beach and San Diego were reported to have been approved by President Nixon as possible sites.

The Democrats have chosen Miami Beach for their 1972 convention.

gs135ped July 21

a306

r zyyvczzcvyyx

Telegraph Editors:

The lead Apollo 15, AC02 has been delayed. We now expect it at about 2 p.m., edt.

The AP

GS137ped July 21

GOP CONVENT ON

CHICAGO (AP)--CHICAGO HAS WITHDRAWN ITS BID FOR THE 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THIS WAS ANNOUNCED TODAY BY COL. JACK REILLY, THE CITY'S DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL EVENTS. HE SAID PRIOR COMMITMENTS MAKE BOTH MCCORMICK PLACE AND THE INTERNATIONAL AMPHITHEATRE UNAVAILABLE THE WEEK OF AUG. 22 WHEN REPUBLICAN DELEGATES WILL MEET TO NOMINATE PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

CHICAGO, MIAMI BEACH AND SAN DIEGO WERE REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN APPROVED BY PRESIDENT NIXON AS POSSIBLE SITES.

THE DEMOCRATS HAVE CHOSEN MIAMI BEACH FOR THEIR 1972 CONVENTION.
JA149PED 7/21

G

DETERMINED TO BE AN
UNCLASSIFIED DOCUMENT

June 30, 1971

H. S. 1080, Section 6-102

By: , Date: 2-23-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Advertising

This initial paper on our advertising effort will deal with the type of organization most suitable for our needs, the changes that the campaign spending bill might place on this activity, and some general thoughts on the state of the art at the present time.

Organizationally there are three options open: (1) form our own agency in Washington; (2) hire a large full-service agency; or (3) hire a large full-service agency and create our own campaign group within it, as was done in 1968.

The advantages of option one are numerous:

1. Because we would control all the hiring, salaries, etc., we could hire the highest caliber people who are loyal to the President, and we could be sure they spent all of their time on the Nixon re-election effort. This is not true of any other option. Under no other arrangement would we have complete control over who worked on our account. Even if we hired the most creative agency in the country and its top creative man is loyal to the President, we could not be sure that he spent all his time working on the re-election effort. By creating our own agency, however, we could secure that same individual under the "anchor and loan" program and put him to work full-time. This seems to be the best means of assembling the most talent on a full-time basis.

2. We would have direct control over our advertising efforts. Because we would know the people involved, there would be none of the usual agency excuses on delays, unused media buys, etc. Mistakes would still be made but we would have much tighter control.

3. The agency could be based in Washington rather than New York so that the campaign would have a direct relationship with the agency.

?
probably not desirable

CONFIDENTIAL

Not true at all. Who says this?

4. Savings could amount to as much as \$1,200,000. This savings is the difference between what we would pay in commissions to an outside agency and what we would have to pay for our own agency. However, additional placement or production costs incurred by an inside agency might possibly reduce this projected savings. This will be especially true if we target the media effort carefully. We should attempt to regionalize the production and placement as much as possible. At this point cost savings should not be considered as heavily as the other points raised.

The disadvantages are:

Not valid

1. The simple logistics problem of setting up a 15 to 20 million dollar agency in a short period of time. (However, even a major agency would be faced with the same kind of need for expansion on receiving the account.)

2. The problem of being able to recruit sufficient talented personnel and have them based in Washington. *Right! - So don't base them in Washington*

With respect to option two, to hire a large agency and have it perform effectively will be very difficult. The agency would have to be based in New York or Chicago which would create logistics problems. Of the large agencies we would have very few to choose from, if any, because (1) some do not take political accounts; (2) some are run by Democrats; (3) some have been recently reorganized and would not be suitable for us; and, (4) all agencies would have difficulty putting their best people on our account because of their political affiliations (a discreet inquiry was made of a large conservative agency whose top management is completely loyal to the President and they indicated they could not handle the account because of this reason).

The third option speaks for itself. This is what was done in 1968. It was not satisfactory to either the agency or the Nixon people installed in the agency. We should not repeat that same mistake. Our people did the work while Fuller, Smith and Ross made a big profit and provided bad service.

To set up our own agency we would recommend an organization and time frame similar to Tab A. You will note on the chart that a skeleton team would begin work in November, December, and January. This team would remain stable through the primaries. In July we would begin building the final team which would remain until election day. If we spend \$20,000,000 in media our commissions to an agency would be \$3,000,000. As you can see at Tab A, our total cost for salaries and overhead would be \$1,816,000, or an approximate savings of \$1,200,000. The \$20,000,000 figure is a comparison with 1968. If we spend less than the \$20,000,000 in media we can have a proportionate reduction in salaries and overhead.

Not all - the media,

Recommendation

Considering all of these options, it is our recommendation that we form our own agency.

Approve H Disapprove _____ Comment Right decision for the wrong reasons

If we form our own agency the most important problem we face is to hire the right ~~advertising director~~ and creative director. If we find the right individuals for these positions it should be relatively simple for them to fill the other positions. Both these positions will be difficult to fill since they should be filled by the best in their respective fields. Both these individuals should be picked by late summer so they can begin assembling the team that would begin working in November.

Recommendation

Manager Right

That we begin to identify these two individuals for your consideration.

Approve H Disapprove _____ Comment _____

The campaign spending bill could probably affect our activities to some extent, although not as much as was felt earlier. If the bill passes, the probability is that we will have a 5¢ limit on television and a 5¢ limit on print with some possibility that they will be interchangeable. This is based on 140,000,000 voters which would give us approximately \$7,000,000 for each activity in the general election.

It is estimated that we spent approximately \$10,000,000 on television and radio during the last general election. It is difficult to estimate the print expenditures since much of that was done by local committees, but in determining the maximum effort that could possibly be done in all 50 states for newspapers, magazines, and billboards, it would be difficult to spend more than \$6,000,000 and, since many states are not as important as others, our print figures should be much less.

If the bill passes it will probably be appropriate to centralize and control all of our campaign advertising. If we are limited to \$7,000,000 in television we should be able to live within those limits by proper selection of messages and time slots.

In our initial planning it has become apparent that our advertising effort should be targeted as specifically as possible. With an incumbent President the need for identification of a candidate is much less important. With the time we have to prepare for the campaign we should be able to make buys on a more regional and state basis which will give us more favorable rates. We should also have the opportunity to use the primaries,

and the intervening time between the primaries and general campaign to pretest much of what we do in this area. At the same time, by forming our own agency we will have the option of using the best available outside talent where it is appropriate. If we are going to do a documentary, our own agency could decide who was best in the field and contract with him for that documentary. A large agency would have an established relationship with a documentary producer and this producer might not be the best in the field. It is generally felt that one of our greatest advantages over the Democrats is that we have this period in which to direct our efforts toward November 7, 1972, rather than having to worry about the primaries and the convention as the other candidates in the Democratic Party must do. If we do our initial planning work effectively this should accrue to our advantage and allow us to program the campaign much more effectively.

JEE S. MAGRUDER

SEPTEMBER 1971	DECEMBER 1971	JANUARY 1972	FEBRUARY 1972	MARCH 1972	APRIL 1972	MAY 1972
Advertising Director	13 months x	4				
Asst Director for Administr.	13 months x	2 1/2				
Account Supervisor	13 months x	3 1/2				
	Account Rep. (National)	12 months x	3			
Creative Director	12 months x	4				
Writer - print & broadcast	12 months x	3				
Writer - print & broadcast	12 months x	2 1/2				
Writer - d.m. & literature	12 months x	3				
Art Supervisor	12 months x	3 1/2				
	Art Director	11 months x	2			
	TV-radio producer	12 months x	3			
Media Planner	12 months x	3 1/2				
		Media Director	11 months x	4		
		Asst. Media Director	11 months x	2		
		Time Buyer	10 months x	1 1/2		
		Print Buyer	10 months x	2		
		Media Budget Coordinator	11 months x	2		
		TV-radio	11 months x	2		

DATE 1972	JULY 1972	AUGUST 1972	SEPTEMBER 1972	OCTOBER 1972	NOVEMBER 1972	TOTAL SALARY	
					↘	52,000	
					↘	32,500	
					↘	45,500	
					↘	36,000	
	Account Rep. (Spec. Groups)	4 months x	2 1/2	↘		10,000	
	Account Rep. (State Liaison & convention)	4 months x	2 1/2	↘		10,000	
				↘		48,000	
				↘		36,000	
				↘		30,000	
				↘		36,000	
	Writer - print & broadcast	4 months x	3	↘		12,000	
		Writer-Print & broadcast	3 months x	2	↘	6,000	
				↘		42,000	
				↘		22,000	
	Art Director		4 months x	2	↘	8,000	
					↘	36,000	
			TV-radio producer	4 months x	3	↘	12,000
			TV-radio producer	3 months x	2	↘	6,000
				↘		42,000	
					↘	44,000	
					↘	22,000	
				↘		15,000	
		Time Buyer	15 months x	1 1/2	↘	4,500	
		Time Buyer	3 months x	1 1/2	↘	4,500	
				↘		20,000	
				↘		22,000	
	TV-radio program coordin	4 months x	3	↘		12,000	
					↘	22,000	
					↘	13,500	

Total Salary

	TV-radio Traffic Asst.	3 months x 1	→	3,000
	TV-radio Traffic Asst.	3 months x 1	→	3,000
	TV-radio Traffic Asst.	3 months x 1	→	3,000
			→	24,000
Print prod. & Traffic Asst.	4 months x 1 1/2	→	6,000	
		→	39,000	
		→	16,500	
		→	11,000	
	Billing & Acctg. Asst.	4 months x 1	→	4,000
		→	26,000	
		→	16,500	
Secretaries (2)	4 months x 1 1/2	→	6,000	
	Secretaries (2)	3 months x 1 1/2	→	4,500
		→	36,000	
Consultant (part-time)	4 months x 2	→	8,000	
			<u>908,000</u>	
			<u>908,000</u>	
VARIABLES			1,816,000	
OVERHEAD				

1-C

Stans - Fund to H 8/13
Media Briefings - ex.
Funds avail but not earmarked for specific activity

- ① Each Secy to see he has funds for: ① Conferences ② Ad Council ③

CWC - 12 Regional men
andré De hatanku? - on Commerce payroll to explain Commerce Policy → areas

- ② - Selected for pol astuteness
- ③ - Very pol peddling
- ③ Hold Camp people down road by Temporary assign now

JSM → Stans + see that all Depts have it

Porter re Spole Res.

Leads: Safire, Finch, CWC, Rums, Dent (Ev + Nov), HGK? = no, Lyn, Bole
→ Cashen, Ruwe

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

August 12, 1971

FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: JEB MAGRUDER

*A need
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For your information.

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...the public has already
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The... was intensified
this work at the House commerce
committee heard pleas from FDA
(Continued on Page 35)

publisher magazine

ty on the basis of circulation (but not ad revenue), according to Robert C. Bassett, president of Vertical Marketing.

Mr. Bassett is a former vp and director of the Hearst Co.; publisher of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*; president of Haywood Publishing Co.; and publisher of *Boxboard Containers*. He's currently president and owner of Bassett Publishing Co., which puts out such "vertical/sponsored" publications as the Big 10 football and basketball programs, the Chicago Symphony program and magazines, the Chicago Tribune Charity's Golden Gloves and All-Star Foot-

(Continued on Page 16)

Pru boosts ad budget by \$1,000,000

NEWARK, Aug. 5—Prudential Insurance Co. of America, which boosted its ad spending to \$6,500,000 last season, now plans to add \$1,000,000 for its 1971-72 "piece of the rock" thrust.

The boost to \$7,500,000 shows Prudential's pleasure with the first theme created by Ted Bates & Co., New York, which took on the account in May, 1970. The campaign over-all "is working beyond expectations," said William Hedden, advertising director for Prudential, and the tag line alone is "an overwhelming success with our agents and the public, surveys show."

■ The company, which has long used the Rock of Gibraltar as its trademark, will run its "piece of the rock" ads in nine major magazines and also in the business press. *Business Week*, *Esquire*, *Newsweek*, *Sports Illustrated*, *Time* and *U.S. News & World Report* will be bought in 1971-72
(Continued on Page 16)

Coca-Cola touts coffees

A new tv campaign is scheduled to break within a few weeks for Coca-Cola Foods' Butter Nut and Maryland Club coffees, regarded as candidates for national

Cute but deadly is the Rubella Bug, a cartoon character created by Rumrill-Hoyt to represent German measles, which can damage and even kill unborn babies and young children. The agency produced the public service commercials for the New York state health department, which is trying to get across the message that kids aged 1 to 12 should have rubella shots.

Old hands to staff Nixon's house shop, if it's formed

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5—A decision reportedly has been made by top Presidential advisors to form a "house agency" for President Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign within the next month.

The organization would be headquartered in Washington and would create and handle all advertising for the Nixon campaign. Fuller & Smith & Ross ran the drive three years ago.

It is understood that Attorney General John N. Mitchell and Presidential assistant H. R. Halde- man came to an agreement on a house agency setup that will include most key members of the 1968 Nixon ad group and perhaps a few newcomers.

■ The possibility of a Nixon house agency was the subject of speculation last month and was reported as a means by which Presidential associates felt they could keep costs down and assure security (AA, July 19).

Old hands from the 1968 Nixon drive who are said to be in line to resume their election ad duties in the new organization include

Harry Treleaven, creative director in 1968, and Dick Garbett, who was head of field advertising operations. Mr. Treleaven is a partner in Allison, Treleaven & Reitz, a Washington political ad shop, and Mr. Garbett is an exec with Warren Adler Ltd., a Washington pr agency. Leonard Garment, special consultant to the President, and Frank Shakespeare, director of the U.S. Information Agency, are expected to take key posts later this year.

Except for Mr. Garbett, all three functioned as the primary decision making group in '68.

■ Also expected to have posts in the new organization are Westport, Conn., design consultant Jack Frost; New York tv consultant Al Scott, and New York media planner and buyer Ruth Jones, who headed media in the '68 campaign.

Jeb S. Magruder, formerly deputy White House communications director and at present head of a group which calls itself Citizens to Re-elect the President, is said to be another ad staff candidate. =

Possible legal hassle hangs over Abrams shop

NEW YORK, Aug. 4—A possible legal hassle involving account piracy charges hovers over the founding of a new agency by George J. Abrams, whose resignation as president of Cole Fischer Rogow doesn't carry the "amicable" label.

The 53-year-old former Cole Fischer president, a veteran package goods marketer, has set up George J. Abrams & Associates at 110 E. 59th St., New York 10022.

director of the Abrams agency. Sinclair Jacobs Jr., formerly a vp at Cole Fischer, has joined Abrams as senior vp.

■ Mr. Abrams stated that three of the five accounts he has are from Cole Fischer Rogow—Purepac Inc., a pharmaceutical company that markets Prak-T-Kal vaporizers, Num-Zit teething lotion, and Naillicure nailbiting preventer, billing about \$250,000; Republic Funding Co., a financial firm, and Meyers Bros. Parking System. Mr. Abrams said his agency will soon have \$2,000,000 in billings.

At Cole Fischer, Arthur A. Fischer, chairman of the execu-



George Abrams

Adts
Age
8/5/71

TO : [Illegible]

FROM : [Illegible]

SUBJECT : [Illegible]

[Illegible text]

[Illegible text]

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[Illegible text]

July 31, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Magruder's Projects

The Attorney General met with Magruder July 28th and reviewed the Campaign Task Force proposals, copies of which were submitted to you on July 5. The decisions made by the Attorney General and new material submitted by Magruder include:

1) Advertising -- The Campaign will use an "in house" agency. Magruder is to recruit an "Advertising Director" by September for the Attorney General's consideration. The question is whether you want to interview Magruder's recommendation for an Advertising Director for the Campaign.

Haldeman interview _____

No interview, the Attorney General decides _____

Malek interview _____

Other _____

2) The Attorney General approved the \$2,500 for Senator Dole's trip to South Vietnam if the President thinks it's "a good idea for Dole to go". The Attorney General requests that you check this with the President.

3) McCloskey -- The Attorney General agreed with your decision that there should be a Truth Squad, the expenses of which would be borne by Citizens. He believes, however, that the attack should be localized in California so that the media's candidate (McCloskey) is not elevated further. California Congressman Charles Gubser is the best for this attack.

4) Farm Vote -- To put a "farm specialist" at the RNC would be a waste of money according to the Attorney General. He believes there should be a full time farm advisor at the White House. Dr. Robert Spitzer is strongly opposed by the Farm Bureau. Harlow, Ehrlichman, and Whitaker are looking for a "White House Farmer" who should not transfer to Citizens in 6 months according to the Attorney General. A second man to be "Citizens Farmer" is also being sought.

5) Secretary Stans Discretionary Fund -- Secretary Stans discretionary fund of \$1,000,000 at Commerce is to be explained to the other Cabinet Officers by Stans so that conferences, hiring, and other activities may be used for the President's re-election.

6) Lindsay -- Lindsay will become a Democrat next week but will not decide about the Presidency before the end of the year.

7) The older voter analysis prepared by Garment emphasizes that:

- A. Twenty-two percent of the voting population is over 60 and 73% of those eligible actually vote;
- B. California is 19% old people, Florida is 27%, Iowa is 26% and Missouri is 25%;
- C. The President's Chicago speech accurately discussed the need for a meaningful life pattern, adequate nursing home standards, and health needs of the aged;
- D. The President's 1968 Campaign promises to the elderly have been proposed but not passed by the Congress; some proposals not requiring Congressional action have not been implemented (e.g. Labor Department computer job aid);
- E. The White House has done very little for two years to relate to the elderly's organizations which are increasingly powerful politically;
- F. The White House Conference on the Aging will be held at the beginning of the political season; the political opportunities must be captured just prior to and during the Conference in order to set the tone for the Campaign;
- G. A Chairman and An Executive Director for the Campaign should be recruited by September 1 to build field organizations in the target states; the organizations should expand into volunteer groups and begin distributing campaign literature; the Campaign thrust would begin on July 1;

8) Presidential Contenders -- The Presidential contender task force action suggestions should be reviewed by you and the Attorney General at your next meeting. The recommendations by Buchanan include:

- A. Attack Muskie from the right and left to help Kennedy, Humphrey (the easiest to defeat), Jackson, and the President. Muskie would be a formidable opponent if he were to promenade unscathed toward November;
 - B. No recommendation to attack Jackson, who as a "friend of sorts of the President" might prefer a Cabinet post with Nixon rather than Kennedy; advice as to strategy is requested;
 - C. Kennedy should be attacked as immature, reckless, jet-set;
 - D. Humphrey might deserve some support from us as he would be the easiest opponent;
 - E. McCloskey's Republican credentials should be attacked by a Congressman (e.g. Jack Kemp) but not by top Administration figures;
 - F. Resources for attack include: MONDAY regularly, Dole sparingly, and the White House Staff carefully. Advice is sought whether the Vice President should attack. The local Republican organizations will receive Buchanan drafted attack material distributed by the RNC at Buchanan's shop's direction. Commercial issue advertisements could be placed by Citizens front organizations. Buchanan requests authority to use "Ron Walker's resources . . . for special projects", including "close-in" covert operations;
 - G. The California Delegates Selection Committee will be the subject of a conversation between the Attorney General and Reagan;
9. Compass System, Inc. -- The involvement of the Compass System, Inc. in the Campaign is still being negotiated by Tom Evans and Sam Wiley, who is having problems with the FBI which the Attorney General is checking;
10. RNC Denver Meeting -- The RNC Denver Meeting went according to the program because of Timmons' work and in spite of Dole's reluctance. The Attorney General has approved additional names to serve on Convention Committees including Bob Knowles of Wisconsin as Convention Coordinator, Bill Warner as an assistant to Dick Herman, Vice Chairman of the Arrangements Committee if Warner is not a member of the Fred Scribner coalition at the RNC. Gay Fish will be politically responsive Sergeant at Arms. The Sheraton Hotel on Harbor Island will

be the President's Campaign Headquarters. Congressman Gerry Ford, Congressman Rhodes of Arizona and Senator Scott want to be permanent Chairmen of the Convention but the Attorney General has put a "hold" on this. Gordon Luce of San Diego will be the Campaign Committee's host. Format planning is beginning and Chapin will participate. Timmons and Magruder are developing a recommendation for easing Scribner out of his General Counsel post. None of the 51 State Chairmen reported right wing opposition to the China trip and most characterized it as the highlight of the last two years.

11) The Spokesman Resource Task Force headed by Rumsfeld recommended that the key Campaign spokesmen (including First Family, Cabinet, select agency heads, and select Governors) be limited to 25-30; that the President and Vice President continue to be scheduled separately; Colson and O'Donnell will continue to control activities through the end of 1971, but an additional scheduling staff member should be added now to the White House Staff for eventual movement to Citizens. No fund raising formula would be applied to non-elected Administration Officials through March 1, 1972. Support from Walker and Klein will be used. Transportation will be commercial through December 1971 when Whitaker and Howard will submit a Campaign logistics proposal. The Attorney General is asked for his recommendation on key states.

12) Young Voters for Nixon status report indicates the previously submitted plan is progressing through the deadlines. The only new idea is a Presidential or Republican Senators' letter to new voters. A "public" First Voters for Nixon Drive should be announced in September.

13) Voter Registration Committees are claiming to be non-partisan but all are Democratic controlled and funded. Reitz had worked to counter the drive of the Youth Citizenship Fund; some success was achieved in Wisconsin.

14) "Citizens" activities are still in the early planning stages though Don Kendall, Deke DeLoach, and Harvey Russell have worked with Flanigan, Colson, and Tom W. Evans of Mudge Rose to establish a Businessmen for Nixon group. A Lawyers for Nixon group is being formed by Richard Riefer of Baltimore and George Webster of Washington. All "Citizens" activities will be outlined in a decision paper due on the Attorney General's desk on September 30, 1971.

15) Democratic Lt. Governor Tom Judge of Montana has been told by Ted Kennedy to "stay loose as far as any commitments for 1972".

16) Research -- Flanigan's task force is interviewing polling consultants and vendors and will prepare "a final (research) plan . . . within the next few weeks". This plan will contain a recommendation on Simulation on August 13. The RNC Delaware project of combining Census, polling, and research information to target precincts has been expanded to a \$350,000 test of "sophisticated techniques of manipulating and displaying political information in a manner which facilitates allocating Campaign resources by a decision maker". Test activities will occur in 1971 elections for Governors, Mayors, and State Legislators as well as Delaware.

17) Timmons and Magruder will go to San Diego in August on behalf of the Attorney General but will maintain a "low profile".

18) Magruder reports that the rift between Senator Dole and Tom Evans widened at the Denver meeting.

GS:lm:GS:dg

A G 7/28 Decisions
Per JSM

① "In house ad agency"
- JSM to pick ~~group~~ ad
Dir for A G review
- Where it should see
- Only in Oct

* → ② Will pay for ^{\$500} Dole → VN
Dole says P wants him to go
A G needs to know who
P thinks Dole should go.

③ McCl - app on both

④ Jay Wilkins - \$500 - A G agrees
Re pymt situation
In case? Sloan } Now
L - mill &

⑤ p 1 - no farm specialist at RNC
- waste of \$

AG But should ~~be~~ be Full
time at WH not at Cit's
a 2nd man at Cit's, now
when found
- not here then → Cit's

- ⑥ Whitney - Commerce
approve
- ⑦ Lindsay - reliable - set
- ⑧ Big Farm memo "yes"
- ⑨ Older vote - No decision
- ⑩ AG + H - must review
Trace FF contenders
- No decisions
- ⑪ Cal Del Com - AG approves
- ⑫ Comp Sys One
FF 2 Prob - AG checking
- ⑬ RNC Convention -
- 1 Knowles - ap
 - 2 Warner - ap if not
part of Scribner coalition
 - 3 ap if Ferris Leonard says OK
 - 4 Sheer is Adqtrs - ap
 - 5 ap
 - 6 ap
 - 7/ ap - checking Ref

⑭ ~~Spokes Resources - no decisions~~

⑮ ~~YV, Nixon / FYI, Regis + " no decision~~

⑯ ~~States Report - titles~~

⑰ Citizens - Report - no re-comm's
~~re~~ ~~fast info.~~

⑱ Res - ~~has deer road~~

Evans ~~→~~ ~~Dole~~ / getting worse
between

Timmons → ~~SD w/ low profile~~
~~AG~~ w/ RNC people, including Herman
AG ~~help.~~ - Jo Goode

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1971

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: McCloskey Truth Squad

As you know, Bob Haldeman was interested in setting up a Congressional Truth Squad to track McCloskey, and we were asked to set up a fund to provide for travel and expenses. Earlier this month, you approved of the concept as long as we could approve the scheduling. Since that time, we have reviewed the situation regarding McCloskey and have determined the following:

- 1) McCloskey is the media candidate and, hopefully, the media will soon tire of him.
- 2) Despite his campaigning efforts and the exposure the media has given him, McCloskey has shown no appreciable increase in the polls.
- 3) The President's "Journey for Peace" to Peking appears to have hurt McCloskey's position.
- 4) Jack Kemp has appeared twice with McCloskey on television - the David Frost Show and the Dick Cavett Show. Kemp fared better on Frost, however, did not do well against McCloskey on Cavett, despite Kemp's good appearance and knowledge on Vietnam.
- 5) McCloskey is apparently hard-pressed for funds, with the notable exception of his California angel, Norton Simon.

It is our opinion that by following McCloskey all around the country, we are elevating him to national prominence. Therefore, we recommend that McCloskey should be attacked in local situations primarily, and we should particularly take him on in California.

Congressman Charles Gubser, whose district is contiguous to McCloskey's, is probably the best person to take him on in California and should be encouraged to do so with the Citizens Committee paying travel and any necessary expenses.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

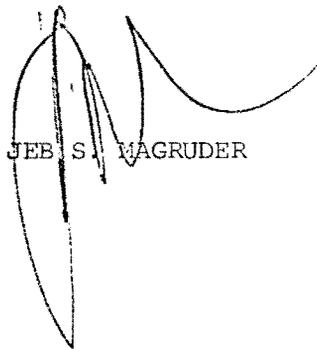
COMMENTS:

It is our understanding that Bill Timmons is going to ask the President his wishes, if any, regarding McCloskey and the Truth Squad concept. With your approval, I will relate to Timmons our decision on McCloskey and attempt to head off any such discussion.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:



JEB S. MAGRUDER

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

July 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: FARM VOTE

The Farm Vote Task Force has been expanded to give it more representation from the Department of Agriculture and certain farm belt Congressional-types.

The first meeting with a group of congressmen and senators led by Bryce Harlow and Secretary Hardin will be held next week. The Secretary will host a luncheon for Senator Dole, Congressman Belcher, Senator Jack Miller, Bryce Harlow, John Whitaker and four to five assistant secretaries from the Department of Agriculture. The group is being kept small on the first go-around and will expand as the sessions progress.

John Whitaker is presently contacting Senator Dole to ensure follow-up on our previous recommendation that the RNC hire a fulltime farm specialist.

Bryce Harlow and John Whitaker have had their luncheon meeting with the leaders of the Farm Bureau. The result of that meeting is that the Bureau threatened to "jump ship" if Dr. Robert Spitzer was hired as either the "White House Farmer" or the Chairman of the Citizen Farmers Organization. Harlow, Whitaker and Ehrlichman are now deciding how to proceed on this one.

Memorandum for: The Attorney General
From: Jeb S. Magruder
Page two

The Farm Bureau has recommended that someone from the Department of Agriculture be selected for the Citizens Committee and John Whitaker is in the process of checking this person out.

The reason given by the Farm Bureau for their rejection of Spitzer, although somewhat obtuse, is that the farm policy they thought was going to be implemented after the 1968 Campaign was never implemented, and that following Spitzer through another campaign would be more of the same.

Claude Gifford, new Director, Office of Information, USDA, has taken firm control of his new office and is implementing our recommendations on communications.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that Harlow, Ehrlichman and Whitaker be allowed to proceed with their search for a "Citizens Farmer" to be approved and hired as a White House "Advisor" on Agriculture with the plan that the same person would transfer to the Citizens Committee at the appropriate time to head-up "Farmers for Nixon."

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.S. 100.2, Section 6-102
By EF, date 9-24-72

July 28, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Dick Whitney who is Secretary Stans' political Special Assistant spent some time with me discussing 1972. One idea which he brought up might be useful in other departments.

The Secretary has built up a discretionary fund at Commerce that will total approximately \$1,000,000. He is using this fund for conferences, hiring, and other activities that will be beneficial to the President's re-election.

If you feel it is appropriate, Secretary Stans might discuss this concept with other Cabinet Officers to see if they can develop the same kind of fund within their own departments.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADVISORY WORKING
E.O. 12812, Box 6-102
By CP, date 2-24-82

July 27, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Mayor Lindsay

A number of reliable sources have indicated that Mayor Lindsay will announce next week that he is changing parties. However, he will not announce his intentions relating to the Presidency at that time, but will make a final decision later this year on that subject.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. Haldemna

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: LEN GARMENT
JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: THE OLDER VOTE

The purpose of this memorandum is to analyze the impact which the older (over 60) voters are likely to have in the 1972 election, to describe some current attitudes of the older voter toward the Nixon Administration, and to indicate several strategies for approaching the elderly voters that will be evaluated during the planning phase of the campaign.

It was prepared in consultation with Bernard Van Renssalaer and Ruth Groom of the RNC, Arthur Flemming of the White House Conference on Aging, and George Bell of the White House.

DEFINITION OF OLDER VOTERS

By the nature of their life patterns, the generation of citizens who have reached or are approaching retirement age share particular concerns beyond the broader public issues of foreign policy, economy, social issues, etc. Most of those over 65 are retired, but, in addition; one-third of those between 60 and 65 are also retired, and the remainder are highly attuned to the issues and concerns relating to retirement. For that reason, the analysis which follows relates to all persons 60 and over.

VOTING BEHAVIOR

Persons over 60 comprise slightly over 21 percent of the voting population nationally. They represent one of the fastest-growing segments of the total population; and their proportion of the total vote will be nearly the same level in 1972 as it was in 1968, despite the addition of 18-20 year old voters. Those between 60 and 74 vote in relatively high proportions--over 73 percent in 1968. However, only 56 percent of those over 75 vote, so that the composite participation rate for older citizens is about 69 percent, somewhat higher than the national average and substantially higher than has historically been the case for voters under 35 years of age. As with most other groups, the voter participation rate is substantially higher in the North and West than in the South.

By 1972, there will be close to 30 million older citizens, up from about 28 million in 1968. If 69 percent vote in 1972, there will be over 20 million votes cast by this group.

Of the states with the largest electoral vote, the percentages of senior citizens ranges from about 27 percent of the voters (Florida) to about 17 percent (Maryland) (Tab A).

While we do not have direct data on how Elderly voters cast their ballots, Gallup has estimated that those over 50 supported the President by 47%-41%-12% over Humphrey and Wallace in 1968. In 1960, they supported him by 54%-46% over JFK. Prior patterns suggest that the President must run at least 4% better with the Elderly than with the nation as a whole in order to achieve victory. Public opinion surveys indicate that throughout his administration, the older citizens have given the President an approval rating very similar to what he receives from the total electorate (Tab B).

ISSUES OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO OLDER VOTERS

A major concern of old age is the loss of a meaningful pattern of life. The President repeatedly showed his sensitivity to this problem in his recent Chicago speech:

"...nothing ages a person faster than the feeling that he is unneeded, unwanted, and he is unproductive."

"we have not...been doing a very good job of involving older people in the life of our American society."

"[We must] stop regarding older Americans as a burden and start regarding them as a resource for America."

"...large numbers of senior citizens now have neither families nor jobs to give a focus and a foundation to their daily existence. That is why I say that the generation over 65 is a very special group which faces very special problems--it deserves very special attention."

Many of the following issues relate strongly to the pursuit of a meaningful life in retirement. Particularly, the ability to be as self-sufficient as possible, both economically and in normal activities of daily life.

Major Issues

1. Nursing Home Standards - In his Chicago speech, the President said, "...one thing you can be sure of, I do not believe Medicaid and Medicare funds should go to sub-standard nursing homes in this country and subsidize them." There are nearly one million people now in nursing homes, but all twenty million people over 65 probably have some concern that they may eventually live in such institutions. The President has asked for concrete action in a politically sensitive area. Very positive results could be achieved for modest budget expenditures.

2. Property Taxes - Of the people over 65, over 70 percent own their own houses or apartments. The President, in Chicago, stated that rising property taxes were a "tremendous" problem for older citizens and that Revenue Sharing is the best way to control them.

3. Transportation - The Elderly often feel captive because of lack of mobility. The increasing physical limitations of old age make driving difficult and only about 40 percent of those over 65 have drivers licenses. Those without private transportation find it hard to get to stores, clinics, senior centers, and other recreation opportunities. In many communities, public transportation does not even exist. Where it does, vehicles are often not scheduled or designed for easy access by elderly people, and the fares are becoming increasingly expensive.

4. Nutrition - A bill establishing a National Nutrition Program has twice been approved by the Administration. The bill establishes formula grants to the states to be used in setting up local nutritional programs for the elderly. The idea is to provide low cost nutritional meals, nutritional education, the opportunity to socialize, and other services such as transportation to group dining facilities incident to meeting nutritional needs.

The bill is now in the Subcommittee on Aging of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. It will probably pass the Senate in October, but may not pass the House though it has 100 House sponsors. A form of the National Nutrition Program was recommended by the President's Task Force on Aging, the White House Conference on Nutrition, and will probably be recommended by the White House Conference on Aging. After Senate passage this fall, it will have a great head of stream before the Conference on Aging and may well pass the House in 1972.

Popular programs such as Meals on Wheels where hot meals are delivered to the elderly, Group Dining where the elderly come to eat and receive nutrition education, and programs where elderly are driven to Group Dining facilities need financial support.

5. Health Plan - The President's Health Proposals are still in the Ways and Means and Finance Committees. The proposal is aimed at a total reform of the medical system, creating a partnership between governmental and private medical programs to provide better services and facilities for all citizens. The elderly are most affected because of increased incidence of ill health. The Administration's proposal to absorb the monthly Medicare premium of \$5.60 is roughly equivalent to an average of a 5 percent Social Security increase.

1968 Campaign Promises

The following is a summation of the Administration's actions/postures in relation to the President's 1968 spoken and written commitments. Most of these commitments came out of the President's radio address to the Elderly on October 10, 1968.

1. Provide immediately for an Automatic Cost of Living Adjustment in Social Security. Background: The party has supported this since 1966. The President endorsed this in 1968 and again when he signed the last Social Security increase. Status: HR 1, the new Social Security bill, was reported out of Ways and Means on May 15, 1971, with this provision intact. HR 1 is now in the Senate Finance Committee. It is predicted that it will be reported out in August. This is a highly visible issue among the Elderly. There are proposals in HR 1 that the President should take great credit for and are selling points for 1972. They include guaranteed annual income, automatic increased Social Security benefits, increase in widows' benefits from 82.5% to 100% of husband's prime benefits, and raising the ceiling of retirement test.

2. Relax the current limitation on allowable earnings for Social Security recipients. The reduction of Social Security benefits by \$.50 for every dollar earned over \$1,680 creates a great negative incentive toward gainful employment. Moreover, the reduction in Social Security payments takes the form of skipping certain monthly checks altogether, rather than a proportional reduction. This sometimes creates anxiety that a person has been dropped from the rolls altogether because of a modest outside income. Status: In HR 1, the Senate will almost undoubtedly endorse a limit of \$2,400 instead of the President's \$2,000 proposal. If the Administration stands firm, the new limit will be \$2,000. The Administration must make a decision in August about how this should be handled. The President has recommended that the earnings limitation be ultimately eliminated.

3. Widows' benefits under Social Security should be increased from 82% to a full 100%. Status: HR 1, endorsed by the Administration, is expected to pass.

4. Those who work past 65 years of age and want to continue building up Social Security benefits should be allowed to do so. Status: HR 1 does make some minor provisions for this idea. It provides for a 1 percent increase in benefits each year for the worker who continues working over 65.

5. The 100% income tax deduction for non-reimbursable drug and medical expenses of those over 65 should be restored. Status: Eliminated in 1967. The minority counsel of the Senate Special Committee on Aging believes the Administration has endorsed the restoration.

6. Convene a White House conference on the problems of the Aging. Status: Dr. Flemming, President Eisenhower's Secretary of HEW, is Chairman of the Conference. The plan presented to HEW and the White House in February, 1970 is operational. In 1970, the Administration brought hundreds of thousands of elder Americans together in over 6,000 Community White House Forums. Regional hearings are scheduled

for February and March 1971. State Aging staffs trained for the Conference year and trained Community leaders for the March-April Community Conference followed by the State Conferences in May. The National Conference will open on November 29, 1971. All appointed committees have met.

7. Appoint a special White House Assistant on Aging to keep the President informed of new ideas and to keep in touch with the cause of the Elderly. Status: January, 1971 - John Martin, the Commissioner on Aging, has been also designated, at least in name, White House Special Assistant on Aging. This is discussed in more detail in the section on Administration Activities later in this memo.

8. Enlist new computer technology and make better use of the Department of Labor's specialized placement service to help Elderly citizens keep and find useful work. Status: January, 1971 - Labor is implementing this computer technology with all practical speed. MTA proposal contains new authorization title for this.

9. Encourage private retirement programs to allow for earlier retirement with reduced benefits in order to give greater freedom to the individual worker. Status: No final decision has been made on this matter. There is an Administration split on whether federally required vesting measures should be proposed by the Administration. An option paper is being prepared for the President and there should be an answer by mid-August.

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Older Citizens Organizations

Older citizens are becoming increasingly politically active as a means of influencing public policy in areas of their concern. There are at present four major older citizens organizations which have an aggregate membership of approximately six million people. The White House must cultivate a relationship with all of these groups on a continuing basis. The groups are staffed by professionals and issue regular newsletters to their members to keep them informed of government activity on pertinent issues. Because of the slower pace of retirement, the members are thought to read the newsletters more regularly and thoroughly than would be true in other groups.

Administration Activities

For the first two years of this Administration, practically nothing was done to relate to these membership organizations and to older citizens individually. Although the President did keep a pledge to appoint a Special Assistant to the President for the Aging, John Martin serves primarily as Commissioner on Aging and has no office or staff in the White House. The top contact which older citizens'

groups and the national organizations interested in aging have is through the Administration on Aging (AOA), which over the years has been emasculated to a point where it has little or no influence with the Administration. Leaders of the powerful elderly citizens groups, and informed elderly in general, know that Commissioner Martin is not close to the decision making apparatus at the White House. Here we are dealing with the psychology of the issue. The elderly want an advocate. The suggestion has been made that a government "ombudsman" for the elderly be designated with his office in the White House and lines of communication to all pertinent agencies.

Recently, certain events have taken place:

(1) Earlier budget cuts for AOA were restored, and additional funds added beyond that. This prevented the closing of many Old Age Centers very important to the Elderly.

(2) A task force was appointed by the Secretary of HEW to re-examine the future of AOA and its place in the government.

Importance of Relating to Older Voters

In late May, the President met for an hour with representatives of the four groups of older citizens. They had an opportunity to exchange views on important issues. Indications were that the President created considerable good will even among those who do not completely subscribe to his policies.

The National Council of Senior Citizens

In a recent letter to the President, the 3 million member National Council of Senior Citizens, a Democratically oriented association, presented the following views. Their points might comprise a large part of the Democratic platform.

The concerns they mention include achieving adequate income by raising Social Security minimums, a comprehensive health care plan that will improve benefits of current programs, decent senior housing at affordable rents, property tax relief for elderly home owners, employment programs in local community service, local and nationwide transportation benefits for the elderly, consumer protection and adequate legal services for the elderly poor, and agencies for senior citizens in government. They voiced concern that the former positions of Assistant Secretary for Senior Housing at HUD and Special Assistant for Older Workers in the office of the Secretary of Labor no longer exist.

Senate Committee on Aging

The minority members of the Senate Committee on Aging have shown intense interest in constructive legislation. Members include Senators Brooke, Fannin, Fong, Gurney, Hansen, Miller, Percy, Prouty and Saxbe. Senator Percy's legislative program for the elderly is attached at Tab D.

On June 25th the President traveled to Chicago to address the National Association of Retired Persons and the National Retired Teachers Association. He received a warm and enthusiastic welcome. His speech was interrupted 19 times by applause. It was clear that he related to the audience.

All of this indicates that a properly organized and conducted approach to the elderly will produce vital political results.

A meaningful set of recommendations came out of the President's Task Force on Aging (Tab C). The Administration might be well served to identify more closely in principle with those recommendations. This can be done with no budget problem.

The White House Conference on the Aging will be held at the beginning of the political campaign season. It will launch the tone for the Elderly electorate. It is important that the Administration come through the Conference in the strongest possible light. To that end, it may be wise for the Administration to have put out a position paper prior to the Conference so as to be acting out of concern rather than from the glare of adverse publicity.

SPECIFIC PLANNING FOR THE CAMPAIGN

The campaign planning, which will be developed in detail over the next few months, might be thought of in three phases.

Phase I - Establishment of Basic Field Organization - (9/1/71 - 12/31/71)

By the end of August, a chairman and an executive director would be selected for the national effort. Over the next four months they would make a concentrated effort to enlist the support of a few key older people and establish the basis of a field organization in each of the target states. Lines of communication with local chapters of senior citizens organizations and other opinion leaders would also be established.

Phase II - Bringing the Field Organizations to Operational Level -

(1/1/72 - 6/30/72) The "hard core" of the key state organizations, established in Phase I, would be expanded toward an operational level with the identification of additional people (primarily volunteers) to fill important roles. Contacts from the national campaign organization to the states would be expanded and strengthened through correspondence, small group meetings and field work. Appropriate campaign materials would be prepared. Major emphasis would be placed on communicating Administration accomplishments and positions of particular interest to older people, stressing the competence and incumbency of the President.

In the states where the President enters the primary elections, the older voters organizations would be made operational to the maximum degree possible and participate fully in the campaign.

Phase III - Full Campaign Activity - (7/1/72 - Election Day)
Carefully planned publicity, making use of the media, and Presidential statements and appearances wherever possible, would be used to an increasing degree as the campaign progressed beyond the Convention and to the election. The field organization would be fully operational, communicating Administration accomplishments and positions before the Convention, and actively contacting the voters during the final stages of the campaign.

Throughout Phases II and III, the national chairman would travel extensively to assure the older voters activities are functioning effectively in all target states and to maintain liaison with important senior citizens' groups.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the concept of an older citizens division and the appointment of a national chairman and an executive director by September 1, 1971. Several candidates have already been identified and are now being evaluated.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

VOTING IMPACT OF SENIOR CITIZENS
IN IMPORTANT STATES

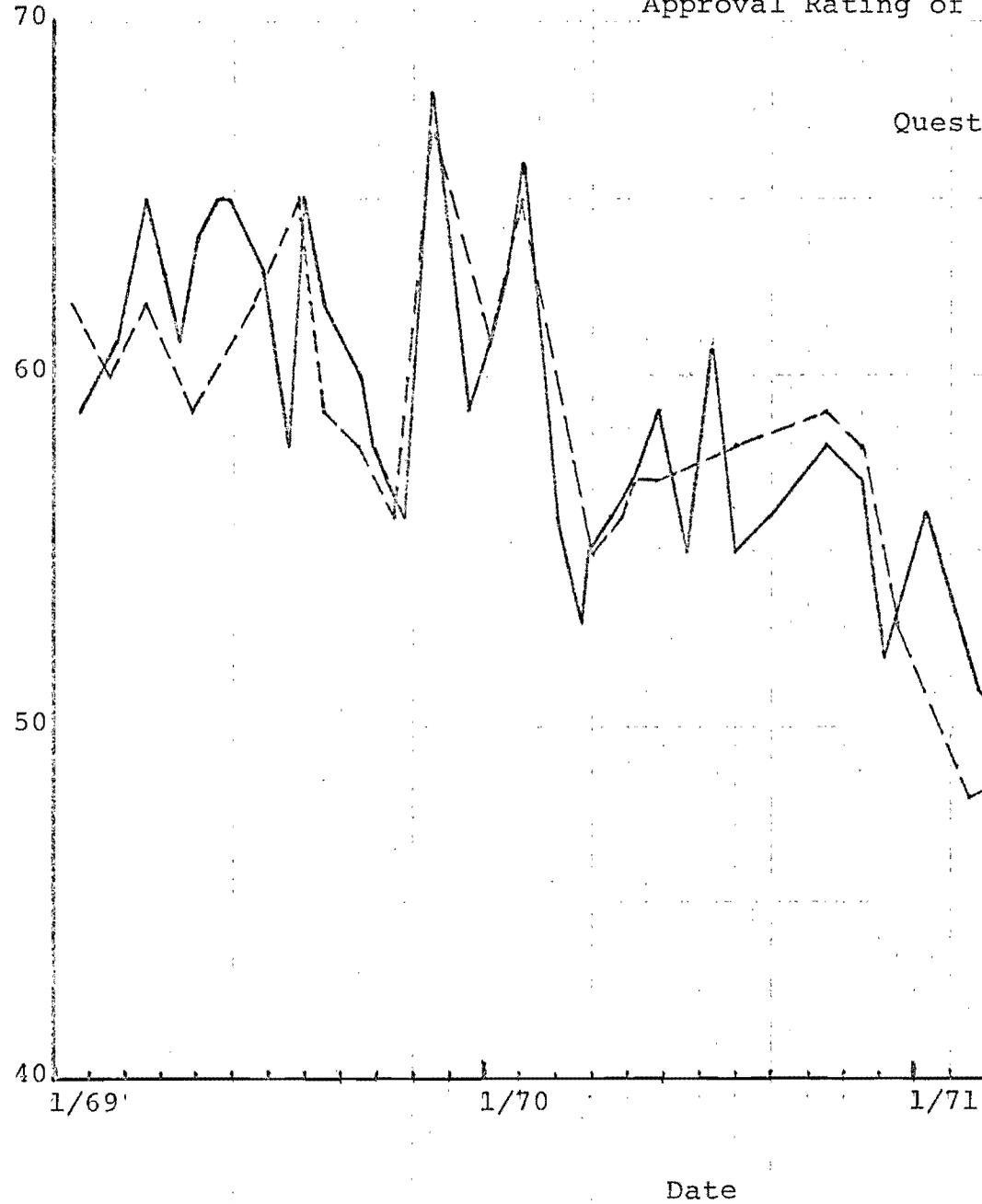
State	Electoral Votes	Est. Population Over 60 in 1972 (Thousands)	% of Total Population of Voting Age	Estimated No. of Voters in 1972 Assuming 69% Partici- pation (Thousands)
Calif.	45	2,700	19	1,840
New York	41	2,900	23	2,000
Penn.	27	1,900	23	1,300
Texas	26	1,500	20	1,030
Illinois	26	1,600	22	1,130
Ohio	25	1,500	21	1,020
Mich.	21	1,100	19	780
New Jersey	17	1,000	21	720
Florida	17	1,400	27	960
Mass.	14	900	23	630
Indiana	13	700	21	500
N. Carolina	13	600	18	440
Virginia	12	550	17	380
Georgia	12	550	18	390
Missouri	12	800	25	560
Wisc.	11	700	24	480
Minn.	10	600	23	400
Tenn.	10	580	21	400
Maryland	10	450	17	310
La.	10	450	20	320
Kentucky	9	500	22	340
Alabama	9	500	21	340
Wash.	9	480	20	330
Iowa	8	500	26	340
Okla.	8	430	24	300

Percent of Respondents Indicating Approval

Approval Rating of the President Among Older Voters
(Gallup Poll)

Question: Do you approve or disapprove
or the way Nixon is handling
his job as President?

----- Older voters (50 & over)
———— Total population
(18 & over)



RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S
TASK FORCE ON THE AGING - APRIL 1970

- Establishment of Executive Office on Aging
- Bringing all Elderly up to the Poverty Line
- Emphasis on Aging in Six Human Resources Agencies
- Comprehensive Review of Income Needs of the Elderly
- Medicare Modifications
- Computation of OASDI Benefits Based on Combined Husband-Wife Earnings
- Elimination of Medicare Restrictions on Psychiatric Care
- Appropriation for White House Conference on Aging
- Design of Portable Voluntary Pension System
- Establishment of Pension Commission
- Geriatric Services Through Neighborhood Health Centers
- Abolition of Work Income Test
- Establishment of a Separate Identity for Federal Housing Programs for the Elderly
- Program of Research Regarding Health Care for the Elderly
- Establishment of a Commission on Mental Health of the Elderly
- Use of Social Security District Offices for Family Assistance Act Eligibility Determination and Payments to the Elderly
- Additional Funding for Research and Training
- Multipurpose Senior Centers
- Study of Transportation Needs of the Elderly
- Expanded Opportunities for the Elderly to Render Services
- Information Delivery System Through Social Security District Offices
- Nutrition Programs for the Elderly
- Education for Continued Living Throughout Life
- Consumer Education and Protection for the Elderly

FACT SHEET
Senator Percy's Legislative Program for the Elderly

1. Housing for the Elderly Act

- Establishes an Assistant Secretary of Housing for the Elderly in the Department of Housing and Urban Development to administer, plan, and coordinate housing programs for the elderly;
- Directs the Assistant Secretary (a) to make maximum use of Section 202 of the Housing Act of 1959 in providing housing and related facilities for the elderly and (b) to carry out studies and make recommendations for action to meet the housing needs of the elderly in rural areas, including the possibility of emergency grants for the repair and rehabilitation of dwelling units;
- Amends Section 231 of the National Housing Act to permit private non-profit sponsors flexibility in the design of projects so that one facility may include residential units as well as a combination of long-term care units;
- Authorizes \$25 million in each of the next three fiscal years for a demonstration program of grants for the planning and construction of multipurpose facilities or "campuses" centering on an intensive care unit and including residential, convalescent, and skilled nursing care units for the elderly.

2. A bill to provide for the coverage of drugs under Medicare

- Provides for an unlimited supply of prescription drugs at no cost to the consumer;
- Provides for a Formulary of drugs eligible for reimbursement to be prepared by a Formulary Committee made up of doctors, pharmacists, and consumer representatives;
- Authorizes whenever possible the listing and selling of drugs by generic names;
- Authorizes the Committee to set the maximum allowable cost of drugs;
- Directs the Committee to place only the lowest cost drugs on the Formulary whenever possible;
- Requires pharmacies generally to supply the lowest cost version of a drug if all available versions are in other ways identical;
- Requires that pharmacies be reimbursed at a rate to include a fee for professional services not to exceed the median of all fees charged within a particular state or region of the country.

3. A bill to provide tax relief to the elderly

- Amends the Internal Revenue Code to permit the deduction of all expenses for medical care of a taxpayer and his spouse if either of them has attained age 65; and
- Provides a credit or refund of Social Security taxes withheld from the wages of individuals 65 years of age and over on an income up to \$1,680 a year and a corresponding reduction in the tax on self-employment and income of such individuals.

4. Senior Citizens Transportation Services Act

- Requires half-fares on mass transit facilities for mass transit systems to be eligible for Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act funds;
- Requires half-fares on trains and buses crossing state lines during non-peak hours;
- Requires half-fares on domestic airlines on a seat-available or stand-by basis;
- Extends the Architectural Barriers Act of 1968 to cover mass transit facilities thereby strengthening the Federal Government's hand in insuring access by the aged and the handicapped to mass transit facilities;
- Authorizes an appropriation of \$2.5 million in each of the next two fiscal years for a program of transportation demonstration projects in the Administration on Aging to explore ways of increasing the mobility and decreasing the isolation of the elderly;
- Makes it a Federal crime punishable by fines up to \$10,000 to deny automobile liability and personal injury insurance to any person age 65 or over solely on the grounds of age.

5. Uniform Long-Term Health Care Facility Standards Act

- Directs the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in consultation with other relevant government officials, to conduct a study and review of various Federal programs which provide assistance to facilities for long-term care (or to the patients of such facilities) in order to develop greater uniformity under these programs of the designations employed and the standards (type and quality of patient care, staffing, maintenance, licensing and inspecting, etc.) imposed with respect to eligibility for Federal assistance;
- Directs the Secretary to recommend remedial legislation to Congress within one year from the passage of the legislation.

6. A bill to provide for a study of the Medicaid system in order to assure better health care for individuals in long-term care facilities

- Directs the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to conduct a study of the feasibility of requiring as a standard for eligibility that one state agency have the responsibility for administering the Medicaid program and for licensing and inspecting long-term care facilities;
- Directs the Secretary to recommend remedial legislation to Congress within one year from the passage of the legislation.

7. A bill to establish a demonstration program for the rehabilitation and remotivation of patients in long-term care facilities

- Authorizes a total of \$35 million over the next four fiscal years for grants to cover all or part of the cost of projects to develop or demonstrate programs designed to rehabilitate aged in-patients of long-term care facilities or to assist such in-patients to attain self-support or self-care.

8. A bill to provide for the training of nurses aides and orderlies for nursing homes

--Authorizes a total of \$17.5 million over the next four fiscal years for a program of grants to assist public and non-profit private agencies in conducting programs for the training of personnel as nurses aides or orderlies for nursing homes.

9. A bill to provide for the training of medical assistants for nursing homes

--Authorizes a total of \$17.5 million over the next four fiscal years for a program of grants to medical schools for the retraining of discharged armed forces medical corpsmen as medical assistants for long-term care facilities.

10. A bill to provide for a training program within the Public Health Service for State inspectors of long-term health care facilities

--Authorizes a total of \$17.5 million over the next four fiscal years to finance a Public Health Service training program for state officers or employees who have the responsibility to inspect long-term care facilities for compliance with Federal and State rules, standards, and regulations.

11. A bill to provide for the construction and maintenance of multi-purpose community centers for senior citizens

--Authorizes a total of \$320 million over the next three fiscal years for grants to the States for the construction and initial staffing of senior citizens community centers to provide a comprehensive program of social services to the elderly;

--Requires submission of a State plan which sets forth, among other things, a program of construction based on a survey of need and requires the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to promulgate other rules and regulations regarding such construction;

--States Congress' intention that all programs funded under Title III and Title IV of the Older Americans Act be provided through these community centers and that senior citizens in each community be involved in designing local programs;

--Authorizes block grants to the States totaling \$310 million over the next three fiscal years to be distributed to local community centers according to procedures set out in a State plan for the support of local programs including, but not necessarily limited to, the following:

- Congregate dining facilities and low-cost meal service programs;
- Recreational, social, educational, and cultural programs for seniors;
- Informational and referral services;
- Legal counseling;
- Employment counseling and referral for the elderly;
- Pre-retirement and retirement counseling;
- Transportation services (by bus, private car, or personal assistance from other seniors)
- Home health services and counseling by paramedicals
- Community volunteer programs

12. An employment and community service bill for older workers

- Establishes counseling, training, supporting services and research activities in the Department of Labor to aid older workers 45 years of age and over who are unemployed or are seeking new employment;
- Directs the Comptroller General to review job opportunities in the Executive Branch to find employment possibilities for older workers;
- Authorizes the Secretary of Labor to enter into agreements with public or private non-profit organizations to pay 90% of the cost of projects employing low-income people over 55 in community service activities;
- Authorizes an appropriation totaling \$375½ million over two fiscal years.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
E.O. 12812, Section 6-102
By CF, Date 7-24-77

July 26, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: California Delegates Selection Committee

While talking with Tom Reed at the RNC, he brought up the subject of the California delegation and indicated that Governor Reagan has set up a Delegate Selection Committee composed of himself, Tom Reed, Eleanor Ring, Holmes Tuttle, and Leonard Firestone.

According to Reed, he set up this committee based on a conversation the Governor had with the President and they plan to announce this in August.

Based on my discussion with Harry Flemming, I have told Reed that no announcement should be made until you meet with the Governor.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
E.O. 12812-1, 12812-2, 12812-3, 12812-4, 12812-5
by LL, 100-32482

July 28, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Compass Systems Incorporated

While in Denver I met with Putnam Livermore and Tom Evans of the RHC relating to the computer system that Livermore and others have been working on in California. Both Tom and I emphasized the need for the California people to jointly agree with University Computing on a contractual arrangement so that we will have the use of the data base and the system for the '72 elections. Livermore promised he would move quickly on this subject and try to firm up final arrangements within the next few weeks.

Unfortunately, Sam Wiley is having some reservations about putting corporate funds into Compass Systems even though legally he would be quite secure. The problem arose last week when, evidentially, someone from the FBI made inquiries into the Minority Office Council which he heads that stemmed from some possible conflict of interest at the Council. Wiley evidentially feels that these inquiries were initiated through the Commerce Department and, although he is confident that no problems will arise from these inquiries, he is now more concerned. Martin Hoffman, his lawyer, has assured me that they will attempt to work out this problem to our satisfaction.

At the same time, I have asked Tom Reed to do some discreet checking on what is really happening regarding the system so that we will protect ours and Sam Wiley's interests.

BCC: Mr. Haldeman

JEB S. MAGRUDER

CONFIDENTIAL

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

July 28, 1971

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Spokesmen Resources

This paper is the product of the Rumsfeld task force on Spokesmen Resources. Members who have attended meetings on the subject include Rumsfeld, MacGregor, Klein, Bart Porter, Dick Cheney, Ron Walker, Ernie Minor, Dick Howard, Henry Cashen, John Whitaker, Roy Goodearle and Pat O'Donnell.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

The assignment of the task force is to develop, by October 31, a proposed operating plan for making maximum use of available spokesmen resources for the President in the 1972 campaign. The proposed function of the Spokesmen Resources operation will be to 1) react swiftly to incoming invitations, 2) be aware of events/meetings coming up and be able to see that our "spokesmen" are invited, and 3) be able to create opportunities for speakers in cases where we think it is to our advantage to create them. This paper proposes recommendations to enable work to begin immediately in certain areas.

At this time, the task force is not prepared to make final recommendations for 1972. The proposals below, if approved, will apply to the remainder of 1971 and are subject to change as the final document is prepared. In addition, assignments are made for work which needs to be done prior to completing the plan for 1972.

I. SPOKESMEN

- A) The number of individuals considered "key" campaign spokesmen for the Presidential campaign will be kept relatively small (25-35) to enable the operation to provide adequate support (TV, media, scheduling, etc.) avoid confusion, and enhance their status and effectiveness for the President.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS :

- B) Presidential and Vice Presidential scheduling will continue to be handled separately, although their calendars will be coordinated with the spokesmen resources operation.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS :

- C) "Spokesmen Resources" for the purpose of the campaign effort will include: 1) The First Family, 2) Cabinet members (Rogers and Laird to be handled in non-political manner), 3) select agency heads (i.e., Jaffe, Ruckelshaus, etc.), 4) select White House staff (Klein, Ehrlichman, MacGregor), 5) select Members of Congress, 6) selected governors (Reagan, Rockefeller, etc.) and, 7) Celebrities.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

II. SCHEDULING RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE REMAINDER OF 1971

- A) Scheduling "Spokesmen Resources" from the Executive Branch should be handled in the Colson-O'Donnell operation in the White House. This will include Cabinet members, selected agency heads and certain White House Staff members.

(See Tab "A" for those recommended as "spokesmen".)

These individuals will be considered "spokesmen" during the remainder of 1971 and available for scheduling suggestions by the White House speakers operation. The scheduling operation will take into account the fact that each speaker will also be accepting invitations from other sources, but each speaker will be asked to inform the White House on the acceptance of any political or non-political out of D.C. invitation. In addition, it is recognized that certain individuals have to honor certain restrictions (such as no partisan appearances).

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- B) Each individual designated as a "spokesman" will be asked to submit detailed schedules of appearances and related events for record keeping purposes. These schedules will be reviewed periodically to ascertain the extent to which our resources are focused on priority areas and groups and the utilization of support services such as TV scheduling, etc.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- C) Colson should be authorized to hire an additional full time professional now with the understanding that the individual will stay with the spokesmen resources operation, full time, through November, 1972. At some point, it will be necessary for him to move out of the White House complex. From the beginning, he will assume responsibility, under the guidance of Rumsfeld and the task force, for implementing the recommendations in this paper and assist in doing the staff work on developing the final proposed plan for 1972.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- D) The RNC will be responsible for scheduling Members of the House and Senate and governors for the remainder of 1971. This is necessitated by the fact that special arrangements are made for these individuals (honorariums, the use of corporate aircraft) and a desire to avoid having the White House linked to partisan political activity this year.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- E) Senator Dole and Clark MacGregor should be asked to develop with Jeb Magruder a list of recommended Congressional spokesmen who will be able to devote considerable time to the national effort between now and November of 1972.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- F) Henry Cashen will be designated to develop a talent bank of celebrities who are willing to work on the President's behalf this year and next in political and non-political activities, and a plan for their utilization (including staffing requirements).

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- G) In general, the following guidelines will be adhered to in filling incoming requests for speakers during the remainder of the year. The White House will schedule "speakers" from the Executive Branch at political and non-political events deemed of sufficient importance to merit a "key" spokesman. Political events which cannot or should not be filled by a "key" spokesman will be referred to the RNC. Non-political events which cannot or should not be filled by a "spokesman" will be referred to the appropriate agency or department to be filled by a sub-cabinet member or assistant secretary.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

III. FUNDRAISERS -- TODAY THROUGH MARCH 1, 1972
(THROUGH LINCOLN DAY SPEECHES)

- A) At the present time there appears to be no set policy with respect to fundraising appearances by members of the Administration. The Vice President, governors and members of Congress all have their own special requirements, but policy has not been determined for Cabinet members, etc.

We recommend that the sponsoring organization of any state-wide fundraiser should not be required to contribute X% of its (gross, net) receipts to the RNC for spokesmen resources other than for the Vice President and Members of Congress.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- B) Elected office holders (the Vice President, governors, and Members of Congress) should continue to make their dollar formula arrangements in conjunction with the RNC through March 1, 1972 (through Lincoln Day speeches).

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

IV. STAFF SUPPORT THROUGH 1971

The overall success of our efforts will depend in large part on our ability to provide adequate support services to those individuals designated as spokesmen. This will include advance work, arranging for maximum media exposure, etc.

- A) Ron Walker has agreed to: 1) prepare a short course manual and/or checklist for use by individuals advancing "spokesmen".
2) train two staffers designated by each "spokesman" in the

"art" of advance work, and, 3) make available the names of individuals in the field who can be used to advance spokesmen.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- B) Herb Klein's shop (Al Snyder and Van Shumway) should be asked to be available to be utilized to ensure maximum exposure (talk shows, interviews, editorial board meetings) in conjunction with any scheduled appearance by a "spokesman". This will require additional staff in 1972.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- C) Through the end of 1971, each spokesman will be responsible for arranging his own transportation in connection with non-political events. Transportation to and from political events will be handled on a case by case basis, with the sponsoring organization responsible for picking up the costs of any related expenses. No special transportation arrangements will be made by the White House speakers operation for the remainder of this calendar year. (See Item IV D).

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- D) Transportation will be an important problem during 1972, especially in the later stages of the campaign. Our ability to develop tight, effective schedules, making maximum use of the speaker's time, will depend upon the availability of non-commercial air transportation. The cost could be prohibitive, and it may be necessary to restrict most spokesmen (during the campaign) to regular commercial airline schedules.

John Whitaker and Dick Howard, based upon their 1968 and 1970 experience, should be asked to explore the possibility of developing a long-term leasing arrangement with one of the executive carriers for a few aircraft to be used in 1972. There should be no commitments at the present time, but realistic cost estimates should be developed so that judgments can be made regarding the level of expenditure which would be necessary if a decision was made to lease aircraft for "spokesmen" in 1972.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

V. ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- A) A memorandum should be prepared for the President recommending that he discuss the subject of "spokesmen resources" at a Cabinet meeting in October or November, emphasizing the importance of their efforts and his personal interest in their cooperation.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

B) Each individual designated as a "spokesman" (See Tab "A") will be contacted to explain the details of the operation, priority invitations, availability of training for advance-
men, assistance in arranging TV appearances, etc., and to solicit guidance regarding the kinds of invitations (groups and areas) they would like to accept.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

C) In order to obtain maximum impact with available resources, certain priority states should be identified to guide the White House and the RNC in scheduling speakers. Below is a list of 21 suggested states for such a priority list. In developing the priority list it should be kept in mind that it should be based on an assessment of where we can best use this particular resource. This list is, of course, subject to change.

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. California | 12. North Carolina |
| 2. New York | 13. Virginia |
| 3. Pennsylvania | 14. Georgia |
| 4. Texas | 15. Wisconsin |
| 5. Illinois | 16. Tennessee |
| 6. Ohio | 17. Maryland |
| 7. Michigan | 18. Minnesota |
| 8. New Jersey | 19. Kentucky |
| 9. Florida | 20. Oregon |
| 10. Indiana | 21. New Hampshire |
| 11. Missouri | |

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

D) John Whitaker will develop cost estimates in terms of dollars, physical facilities and manpower as part of the longer range planning effort due October, 1971.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

E) A GOP truth squad should be established for the 1972 campaign. However, no efforts should begin until after the first of the year and the truth squad should not include members of the Administration until after the 1972 conventions, if ever.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

F) For the remainder of this year, the spokesmen resources operation will not have the resources to prepare speeches for each speaker. However, the Klein and Colson operations should continue to prepare and distribute background materials for use by key speakers.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- G) A continuing problem, (and a potential problem throughout 1972) is providing adequate notification to state party officials and Members of Congress of the appearance of speakers in their areas. In conjunction with setting up the spokesmen resources operation, each speaker will be informed of the importance of prior notification to Republican officials, and procedures will be established to ensure effective communication.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- H) A brief set of guidelines should be developed by John Dean for Administration personnel which sets forth the legal and administrative prohibitions which apply to individuals likely to be involved in the campaign. It is important to avoid even the appearance of any impropriety in conjunction with the 1972 efforts.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENTS:

- I) In addition to establishing priority states, it would be helpful, in terms of scheduling speakers, to have some indication of which groups, organizations or interests should be assigned special priority.

SUGGESTIONS:

TAB A

CABINET

Mitchell
Hardin
Stans
Volpe
Romney
Richardson

Morton
Hodgson
Connally
Rumsfeld
Finch

NON-POLITICAL

Rogers
Laird
Kennedy
Shultz
Bush

A

WHITE HOUSE STAFF

Klein
MacGregor
Ehrlichman
Flanigan

Garment
Knauer
Train

NON-POLITICAL

Weinberger

AGENCY HEADS

Ruckelshaus
Jaffe
Kunzig

OTHER

Harlow
Fletcher
Moynihan
Pat Hitt
H.C. Lodge

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
E.O. 12812-1, 12812-2
By: g2, date 3-24-82

July 27, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Young Voters for Nixon

Enclosed for your information is a memorandum to me from Ken Rietz reporting on the status of some of the proposals that have been implemented to gain the young vote for the President.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

July 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KL*
SUBJECT: Status Report - YVN

The following are now in process:

- 1) Intern research project on key states as outlined in my memo to Tom Bell which you have a copy of. The first meeting with the interns was held today and the project will be completed by mid-August.
- 2) First Voters for Nixon Committee. This will be a group (25-100) of well-known young people (mostly non-political) who have never voted for a Presidential candidate. The Committee's purpose will be to head a registration drive for Nixon first voters. We are searching out names now and will have a list ready for approval by August 1. This would allow us to announce the Committee by early September.
- 3) Targeted registration drives. In meetings with members of our advisory board, we are selecting 10 to 15 areas for registration drives where we feel the results will be positive (3 to 1 or more Republican). We will have a list of these areas ready by August 1 and I will be going into the field in August to set up the drives. They will be kicked off in late September.
- 4) Members of the Advisory Board are watching for young people qualified to be regional field directors. These positions will be included in the budget we will present to you in September and hopefully they will be filled in November.

5) We are exploring the possibility of using direct mail this year to reach all newly registered voters. We are looking at two options:

- a) A letter from the President to new voters in all the key states.
- b) A letter from Republican Senators with an enclosed statement by the President to new voters in all the key states where applicable.

The advantage to option B is that no postage would be required since we could use each Senator's frank. We are presently exploring ways and means of securing registration lists in each of the key states as well as the cost and mechanics of such a direct mail effort. You will receive a report on this by August 1. In the meantime, we are encouraging all Republican members of Congress to start writing to all new registered voters.

July 28, 1971

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SECTION 504 (C) (2) (A)
APPLICABLE TO ALL WORKING
E.O. 12812, Section 6-102
By EL, Date 7-24-82

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Young Voters for Nixon

Enclosed is an action memorandum from Ken Rietz on our Young Voters for Nixon.

Ken and I have reviewed this and feel we should move ahead on it.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

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CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

July 27, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KR*
SUBJECT: Young Voters for Nixon

The following states have been assigned to members of the Young Voters for Nixon Advisory Board:

Senator Brock - Chairman
Senator Weicker - Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut,
Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont
Congressman Biester - New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware,
New Jersey, Maryland
Congressman Whitehurst - West Virginia, Virginia, North
Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky
Congressman Frey - South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia,
Mississippi, Florida
Congressman Archer - Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma,
Texas
Congressman Bill Steiger - Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin,
Illinois, Indiana
Congressman Frenzel - North Dakota, Minnesota, South
Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri,
Kansas
Congressman Lujan - Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah,
Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico
Congressman Pettis - Washington, Oregon, Nevada, California

Members of this board are currently:

- 1) Determining state by state how lists of newly registered voters are available and encouraging Republican members of Congress to mail congratulatory letters to new registrants. (This has met with a good response.)

- 2) Identifying potential members of a First Voters for Nixon Committee - 18-24 year-old athletes, entertainers, etc.
- 3) Identifying 15 to 20 target areas nationwide (cities, counties, towns) where we can conduct new voter registration drives in the Fall and meet with favorable results (3 to 1 Republican, etc.)

I will have all this information collected by August 1. In addition, I am exploring the cost of computerizing all lists as well as the cost of a direct mail program to the First Voters. I will also have this information by August 1. In an effort to target our efforts toward the young vote within states, we are researching voter history, youth groupings, youth special interest groups, etc., in the following states: Indiana, Iowa, Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, California, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Texas. This research will be completed by August 15.

To carry out our plans for a "public" first voter drive, we should plan on announcing the First Voters for Nixon Committee sometime in early September. At that time we should also make public the involvement of the various members of Congress.

AGREE _____ DISAGREE _____

COMMENT _____

In addition, in order to implement the first voters registration drives, I should visit each of the 15 to 20 target areas, meet with the local committees and set up the programs. This activity should take place between mid-August and October 1. This will allow the drives to be conducted during September, October, and November.

AGREE _____ DISAGREE _____

COMMENT _____

With other Republican groups (New Generation for Nixon, etc.) interested in the youth area starting to crop up, it would

seem appropriate to communicate through the various Republican newsletters that a key area of concern for the Citizens Committee is the youth area, and some of its resources and personnel have been assigned specifically to that effort.

AGREE _____ DISAGREE _____

COMMENT _____

In order to effectively carry out the programs which we will initiate over the next few months, expand into areas such as the GOP National Convention which should have a major youth effort, and prepare for the collection of voter lists, etc., it would seem appropriate to add two or more staff people beginning September 1 - another Special Assistant to the Director (\$8-12,000) and a second secretary (\$7-8,500).

AGREE _____ DISAGREE _____

COMMENT _____

We are working on an over-all budget and staff plan for October '71 through November '72 and will have it ready to submit September 15.

DATE TYPED 09 13 AM
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION
R.O. 113-10-102
By EP, Date 3-24-82

July 27, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Voter Registration Committees

Enclosed for your information is a memorandum to me from Ken Rietz on the status and background of the outside voter registration committees.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

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CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

July 26, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KA*
SUBJECT: Voter Registration Committees

We have done considerable checking into the status and background of the voter registration committees. Following are our impressions:

- 1) Youth Citizenship Fund. According to its literature, "The Youth Citizenship Fund, Inc. is a non-partisan foundation organized to encourage registration and voting among young people".

YCF views itself as a "resource center" designed to "improve the caliber of local drives and remain current on what is happening nationally in registration". At the same time, however, YCF has a \$950,000 budget and has selected approximately 20 states in which to run registration drives. The states are selected on the basis of "where the youth vote is potentially large". According to YCF, "Such an effort would, in effect, be a 'blitzkrieg' designed to pick up 30%-60% of the youth vote".

It is interesting that YCF's selection of states where "the youth vote is potentially large" includes such states as Indiana, Kentucky, and Oregon, where the youth vote is relatively small, but that Nixon carried in 1968. In fact, all of the states YCF has

thus far been involved in, with the exception of Massachusetts, are states where the deciding margin in 1968 was relatively small. The total electoral vote for these states in '72 will be 222. (In 1968 they divided - Nixon 111, Humphrey 107.)

Following is a list of states where YCF has already conducted registration drives and where programs are currently underway or where YCF is acting as a resource center.

States in which YCF has already conducted registration drives:

ILLINOIS

26 Electoral votes for Nixon in 1968.

Total vote - 4,619,749
Percentage for Nixon - 47.2%

2,174,774 - Nixon
2,039,814 - Humphrey
135,960 - Nixon Plurality

Potential new voters (18-24) - 1,321,000

WASHINGTON, D.C.

No electoral votes

Total vote - 170,578
Percentage for Nixon - 17.8%

139,566 - Humphrey
31,012 - Nixon
108,554 - Humphrey plurality

Potential new voters (18-24) - 111,000

YCF has already registered 54,000

KENTUCKY

9 Electoral votes for Nixon in 1968

Total vote - 1,055,893
Percentage for Nixon - 43.5%

462,411 - Nixon
397,541 - Humphrey
64,870 - Nixon plurality

Potential new voters (18-24) - 254,000

States in which programs are underway by YCF:

CALIFORNIA

40 Electoral votes for Nixon in 1968. California will have 45 votes in 1972.

Total vote - 7,251,587
Percentage for Nixon - 48.2%

3,467,664 - Nixon
3,244,318 - Humphrey
223,346 - Nixon plurality

Potential new voters (18-24) = 2,580,000

MASSACHUSETTS

14 Electoral votes for Humphrey in 1968

Total vote - 2,331,752
Percentage for Nixon - 32.7%

1,469,218 - Humphrey
766,844 - Nixon
702,374 - Humphrey plurality

Potential new voters (18-24) - 725,000

NEW JERSEY

17 Electoral votes for Nixon in 1968

Total vote - 2,875,395

Percentage for Nixon - 46.4%

1,325,467 - Nixon

1,264,206 - Humphrey

61,261 - Nixon plurality

Potential new voters (18-24) - 769,000

NEW YORK

43 Electoral votes for Humphrey in 1968. New York will have 41 votes in 1972.

Total vote - 6,790,066

Percentage for Nixon - 44.6%

3,378,470 - Humphrey

3,007,932 - Nixon

370,538 - Humphrey plurality

Potential new voters (18-24) - 2,101,000

TEXAS

25 Electoral votes for Humphrey in 1968. Texas will have 26 votes in 1972.

Total vote - 3,079,406

Percentage for Nixon - 38.0%

1,266,804 - Humphrey

1,227,844 - Nixon

38,960 - Humphrey plurality

Potential new voters (18-24) - 1,490,000

OREGON

6 Electoral votes for Nixon in 1968

Total vote - 819,622

Percentage for Nixon - 49.8%

408,433 - Nixon

358,866 - Humphrey

49,567 - Nixon plurality

Potential new voters (18-24) - 259,000

In the following states, YCF is acting as a resource center for one or more local groups interested in voter registration.

MAINE

4 Electoral votes for Humphrey in 1968

Total vote - 392,936

Percentage for Nixon - 42.9%

217,312 - Humphrey

169,254 - Nixon

48,058 - Humphrey plurality

Potential new voters (18-24) - 122,000

MICHIGAN

21 Electoral votes for Humphrey in 1968

Total vote - 3,306,250

Percentage for Nixon - 41.3%

1,593,082 - Humphrey

1,370,665 - Nixon

222,417 - Humphrey plurality

Potential new voters (18-24) - 1,127,000

INDIANA

13 Electoral votes for Nixon in 1968

Total vote - 2,123,597

Percentage for Nixon - 50.4%

1,067,885 - Nixon

806,659 - Humphrey

261,226 - Nixon plurality

Potential new voters (18 - 24) - 662,000

Although YCF has a substantial budget, it is my understanding that funds have been difficult to raise. Following is a list of contributors as of March 10, 1971:

FINANCIAL:

Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
AT & T
Dr. John P. Bell
Mrs. Dann C. Byck
Communications Workers
Courier-Journal & Louisville Times Foundation, Inc.
Mr. Patrick Crowley
Episcopal Church Center
Exchange Bank of Chicago
Fund for Enlightenment
Mr. Martin J. Gleason
International Assoc. of Machinists, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Thomas Klutznich
Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer Foundation
New World Foundation
The Quaker Oats Co.
Mr. John D. Rockefeller, 3rd
Saul and Devorah Sherman Fund
Stern Family Fund
Western Union
Mr. Robert Wilson

IN-KIND:

A.B. Dick Co.
Carter-Rice Stores
Mr. Richard W. Clark
Codman Realty Co.
Committee on Community Affairs, Washington, D.C.
Committee on Ill. Govt.
Common Cause
Mr. Roger Craver
General Envelope
Mr. Gary Goldstein, Doyle, Dane & Bernbach
Miss Ros Hester
Mr. Wayne Horvitz
Humble Oil and Refining Company
Kentucky Chamber of Commerce
Massachusetts Teachers Association
Maurer, Fleisher & Zon
John M. Murray Co.
National Education Association
Miss Stephanie Pierson, Doyle, Dane & Bernbach
Print Craft Paper Co.
Retail Clerks International
Mr. Peter Scott
University of Massachusetts
Wilcox-Walter-Furlong Paper Co.
WLS, Inc.
Youth Franchise Coalition

YCF parades as a non-partisan, non-profit organization. Although it lists Senator Dole as a member of its Advisory Council, I believe it is oriented toward the Democratic Party and probably controlled by it. YCF's purpose seems to be registration in those states which will insure a Nixon defeat in '72.

- 2) Registration Summer. This is an organization based in New York which has been recently active in Nebraska and Wisconsin. Though it is supposedly a non-partisan organization, the leadership is made up of ex-Lowenstein employees. The two visible principals are Curt Read, 25, and Eugene Goldman, 20.

The organization claims it has the support of both the Young Democrats and Young Republicans. During its organization efforts in Wisconsin, however, neither political party was contacted.

Registration Summer attempted to set up headquarters in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. Read and Goldman visited the city and announced plans for a statewide conference at Oshkosh in October. The local YR chairman asked so many embarrassing questions of the two about where their money was coming from, why out of state people were necessary, etc., that the community gradually turned its back on the two. Last week they left Oshkosh for Eau Claire. I hope we can have the same results there.

- 3) Student Action Conference. This is part of the overall Lowenstein Youth Program. It was mentioned in his Look magazine article entitled "Dump Nixon" as part of his young voter education plan. The conference is scheduled for Chapel Hill, North Carolina, August 13-15. We will have someone attend.
- 4) National Movement for a Student Vote. This organization is the most partisan of the groups studied. It is aimed at college campuses where the impact will be the greatest. We are encouraging those prominent Republicans identified with this organization to withdraw their support.

I suggest we encourage all Republicans identified with the organizations discussed to withdraw. They are partisan and it makes no sense for us to allow them to look non-partisan. At the appropriate time, I also suggest we publicly (through Monday or some other way) point out that these organizations are partisan. Since most of them act as tax exempt foundations, this might effect their tax standing and would at least make their contributions more cautious.

At the same time, we do not want to be publicly identified as opposing mass registration drives, and there are some areas where a mass effort might help us - border and Southern states. As you suggested, it would seem appropriate to put together our own non-partisan registration organization. This could be a privately funded group that works in areas we suggest.

July 28, 1971

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
ADMINISTRATIVE TRAINING
E.O. 12812, Section 6-102
By EP Date 3-24-82

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Enclosed for your information is a memorandum to me from Rob Odle regarding the status of our citizens operation, with particular emphasis on the Businessmen for Nixon and Lawyers for Nixon.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

July 27, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM:

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

SUBJECT

STATUS REPORT: "CITIZENS"

Thomas W. Evans and I have been working during the past several weeks to structure the method of operation for the planning study for the 1972 "Citizens" effort. Separate meetings were initially held during the first part of July to explore (1) Businessmen for Nixon; (2) Lawyers for Nixon; and (3) other areas of "Citcom" activity.

1. The manner in which the businessmen's operation will be put together is outlined in the attached memorandum to the Attorney General dated July 2, and the memorandum written following the meeting of Deke DeLoach and Harvey Russell with Chuck Colson. These papers are attached at Tab A. Basically, DeLoach and Russell are putting together a paper this summer under the guidance of Don Kendall which will suggest the manner in which the businessmen's operation should be structured in 1972 and that decision paper will be submitted as an integral part of the overall Citcom decision paper. In addition to meeting with Mr. Colson, DeLoach and Russell have also spent some time with Peter Flanigan to get his input as to the manner in which the businessmen's operation should be constituted.

2. Lawyers for Nixon. Two prominent attorneys who were helpful in 1968 have agreed to put together a decision paper on Lawyers for Nixon -- they are Richard Kiefer of Baltimore and George Webster of Washington. In addition, John Robson of Chicago, former Under Secretary of Transportation, has also been giving us his thinking as to how the lawyer's operation ought to be structured; John Dean is also going to be of assistance in this area. This report will also form

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an integral part of the overall decision paper.

3. Other areas. At a meeting of the entire planning study group on July 9, projects were assigned to various planning study members as follows:

A. A sub-group will study potential state leaders in the states where a Citcom will be necessary. We will utilize persons such as Dick Wiley, Jim Skidmore, George Bell, Jack Padrick, Ray Brown, and others who have had experience in previous Citcoms. Now that Harry Flemming and I have finished meeting with the state GOP chairmen, he, Harry Dent, and I can go over a list of the states and make a preliminary determination as to those states in which Citcoms will be useful and necessary.

B. Preparing the above list of potential state leaders involves the vertical Citcom organization. In addition to this we will have a horizontal Citcom (i.e., occupational groups) organization. Again, people such as Jim Low, George Webster, George Bell, and Jack Padrick who have been involved in this area in the past, will be putting together lists of coordinators in this area.

C. Abbott Washburn has agreed to take on the job of evaluating prior Citcoms.

D. George Bell, Henry Catto, and others will begin to suggest a budget for the 1971 and 1972 operations once we have established guidelines for some of the other categories mentioned herein.

E. Chuck Shearer, Jim Low, George Bell, and others will be putting together their thoughts as to ways in which to mobilize existing Citcoms such as the Citizens Committee for Revenue Sharing. We will also want to obtain mailing lists from these various Citizens groups.

F. A review will be made of the RNC budget to make certain that we will, as the campaign gears up, eliminate overlaps between the RNC and the Nixon Citcom, avoiding, for example, unnecessary duplication between nationalities activities at the Committee and nationalities efforts on behalf of President Nixon's candidacy.

We have asked each member of the planning study to respond to a questionnaire which is included in the materials found at Tab B which were prepared by Tom Evans. We are beginning to receive responses to the questionnaire this week, and some of the thoughts of those who were active

CONFIDENTIAL

3

in 1968 have been extremely perceptive.

Although we are not as far along in the Citcom task force as we are in the Convention and Field Organization groups, I think we are in fairly good shape considering that it is but July of 1971. Our next meeting of the full group is on September 8 and we plan to have a preliminary draft of our report on September 15. By September 30 we should be ready to submit our final report to campaign management and incorporate in it the various reports from the sub-groups.

Attachments

✓ bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

CONFIDENTIAL

July 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: BUSINESSMEN FOR NIXON - 1972

Following Peter Flanigan's suggestion that Don Kendall of PepsiCo head our businessmen for Nixon operation in 1972, and your approval of Kendall, Bob Odle and I met with him and agreed on the following:

1. Kendall will take an active role in leading the Businessmen for Nixon effort. He has made two of his key aides, Duke De Loach (former assistant to J. Edgar Hoover) and Harvey Russell (who is Black) available immediately to assist him.
2. Kendall, De Loach, Russell, and Odle will work together during the course of the summer to put together a suggested course of procedure for Businessmen which will be submitted to you for approval in the Fall.
3. De Loach, Russell, and Odle will spend an hour with Messrs. Colson and Flanigan next week to get their thoughts as to what this suggested course of procedure should include.
4. The preliminary guidelines under which the operation will function and under which the set of recommendations will be written are as follows:
 - A. Businessmen will be self-supporting and will raise enough funds to finance its own operations -- but probably no more. It should be relatively easy for it to raise enough money to keep it financially afloat and this would not detract from our regular fund raising efforts.

B. Businessmen will probably not emerge primarily as a finance or fund raising operation as similar groups have in the past. It will probably not undertake to solicit funds from businessmen for the campaign's "general fund." Rather, the main purpose of the organization will be to recruit as many businessmen as possible to work for the President's re-election -- from the smallest rural general store owner to the largest industrialist.

C. Businessmen will blend into the 1972 version of United Citizens for Nixon-Agnew as a major component of the national "Cit Com" operation. Any other business groups (e.g.: "Barbers for Nixon," "Retailers for Nixon," etc.) will fall under the businessmen operation which in turn will fall under the national "Cit Com."

Attached is a copy of a paper which was prepared for Messrs. DeLoach and Russell to orient them as to our thinking in regard to this operation. (The attachments to which the paper refers are not included because of their volume).

JEE S. MACRUDER

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

June 24, 1971

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0320

Attached are three documents which may be of help to you --

- 1) A proposal outlining how the entire national "Citizens for. . ." campaign might operate in 1972.
- 2) An analysis of the 1968 Citizens effort.
- 3) A suggested strategy for the farm vote in 1972 -- which is roughly comparable to the initial manner in which a businessmen's strategy might be recommended.

What we should begin to do now --

A study should be made of what form a businessmen's effort might take in 1972. The objective of this study would be to develop recommended and detailed proposals for approval regarding the 1972 businessmen's committee. The study should be completed by August 31, 1971.

Drawing on the experience of the businessmen's effort in 1968 and the experience of other businessmen's committees in past campaigns, this study will chart the ways in which businessmen throughout the country can be recruited for the 1972 effort. Lists must be drawn up of the various sub-committees which should be formed and the individuals who might chair and run these committees. Also, recommendations for state committees should be put together, with emphasis at the beginning on key states and states with early primaries.

The study should also examine various issues which can or will be raised in the campaign and find ways in which to key these issues to various groups and geographical areas.

Also, the study must work closely with the Field Organization and finance people to make certain that leaders in each state are utilized in the proper area of the campaign.

What areas might be considered in the study --

- 1) The issues which are of concern to businessmen and to which we should be responsive. (E.g.: the Administration opposes tax credits. Are most businessmen for them? If so, what is our posture?)
- 2) Can we tack on questions to surveys being conducted by businessmen to determine feelings of businessmen and people in general on issues of concern to us? (E.g.: if Pepsi is doing a poll of attitudes toward soft drinks, can other questions be added?)
- 3) Catalog positions the President has taken on business issues and develop suggestions as to how to exploit them.
- 4) Survey business leaders to find out who is on our side, and who needs "friendly persuasion."
- 5) How can business mailing lists be obtained in 1971 and how can they be properly utilized in 1972?
- 6) How can the NAB be properly utilized? How can the various trade associations be used?
- 7) "Businessmen" should be self-supporting -- but not raise so much money that it would compete with the Finance operations. How would this be worked out?
- 8) The projected structure of the businessmen's effort: a suggested national chairman, executive director, officers, sub-group chairmen, state chairmen, metro chairmen, etc. A suggested budget. A time frame for each activity.

Having surveyed these and other areas, a preliminary version of the entire operating plan could be submitted for approval on September 1, 1971.

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Another person to contact would be John Spafford of Houston who runs the Associated Credit Bureaus. Since credit bureaus are located in every town and city throughout the country he could be of tremendous help to us and could, for example, during 1971 send out a questionnaire to all of his various local bureaus asking each of them to submit to him a list of the ten most respected businessmen in each of their communities. This would give us a 50,000 name mailing list.

Another person to contact would be Bill Keeler of Phillips Petroleum who is a Cherokee Indian and supports the President. Bill Baroody of American Enterprise Institute in Washington could also be helpful to us, as could John Swearingen of Standard Oil of Indiana in Chicago.

Mr. Colson suggested the use of the "private letter technique" whereby one businessman writes another on a first name basis along the following lines -- "I was at a meeting with the President the other day and he asked me to pass on to you (or to a few of my closest associates)..." These letters should be cleared at the White House, but could be used through the businessmen's operation very effectively in late 1971.

Since it makes little sense to contact anyone before a plan is outlined, a kit should be developed during the summer and given to each person who is contacted. The kit should tell that person exactly what to do; it could feature a system whereby the recipient of the kit reported in on what he had done in response to the suggestions which the kit made.

Mr. Colson suggested the study should focus on what businessmen can do with respect to their own employees -- the idea here being that each businessman should agree to be responsible for cultivating his own employees on behalf of the President's candidacy. In small, family-owned organizations, a letter from the owner or chief operating officer could be very effective. In larger industries, the employer might, out of his own personal funds, hire the necessary number of people to go into the ranks of the employees and speak up for the President, distributing literature and answering questions about the President's position on various issues. A scenario for the way in which this would be done should be incorporated in the businessmen's study.

Mr. Colson urged that the businessmen's effort not be over-organized -- too many meetings, too many sessions in which businessmen are brought together can be a waste of time. Meetings should be held to a minimum.

It was also suggested during the course of the meeting that Gene Bradley might be available to serve as Executive Director of the businessmen's operation.

Attachment

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JULY-DECEMBER 1971: On key Administration issues, assemble issue-related Citcoms to conduct specific projects to assist the President by writing to Congress, running advertisements, lobbying in Washington, etc. (Retain careful records of these groups as they and their issues fade so participants can be recontacted.)

SEPTEMBER 1, 1971: Complete the review of previous Citcoms.

NOVEMBER 1, 1971: Complete the demographic and marketing analysis.

JANUARY-MARCH 1972: Aggressive organizational work in primary states if and as needed; utilization of certain professional groups where effective: e.g. lawyers, doctors, farmers.

APRIL-JULY 1972: Organization of nuclei of National Citcoms along occupational and special interest lines, based on what has been effective in the past, market analysis and demographic data and using activists generated along issue lines.

AUGUST 1972: During and around National Convention time, set up state-by-state organization of low-profile coordinators. [Note: This structure would depend on what might be needed and requested to augment the regular national campaign and state campaign organizations. State or local Citizens Chairmen, as such, may not be needed at all, but if they are, it works well to get them set up at Convention-time.]

SEPTEMBER 1972: Assemble and announce National Citizens Committees (as the Democrat dust settles) along occupational and special interest lines using nuclei developed pre-convention and Democrat fall-out.

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1972: Implement an appropriate national program for each Citizens Committee: direct mail, trade advertising, people-to-people projects, etc. Also activate state coordinators (or regular campaign state leaders) to build state and local Citizens Committees along occupational and special interest lines in battleground states.

MEMORANDUM

FOR: Rob Odle

FROM: T.W. Evans

July 1, 1971

Proposed Critical Path for 1972 Citizens Campaign

There are four attachments to this memorandum:

1. A calendar suggesting a day-to-day critical path for the next few months during the planning phase of the campaign.
2. A memorandum of January 8, 1971 which set out a suggested general outline for the 1972 Citizens Committee ("Citcom")
3. A questionnaire in the form of a letter which can be sent to the various members of the Citizens Task Force and certain others to gain necessary information for further planning in the campaign and to stimulate their early interest.
4. A brief survey of current citcom activities which might be utilized in the pre-campaign period.

First of all, I have no illusions about this memorandum. The dates, the assignments, the objectives and the personnel will all change. It is submitted merely as a starting point. The objectives and methodology are explained in the January 8 memo and will not be repeated here. Our goal is to enlist as many Independents and Democrats as possible in the campaign and to stimulate as much interest as possible among Republicans who might otherwise be inactive. Noted in the critical path will be dates on which: subgroups will meet on various assigned topics; reports necessary for planning will have to be submitted; proposed names for key personnel should be selected; questionnaires should be sent to prior citcom leaders and to experts in the field; and, finally, a schedule for collating, discussing and revising this information. The major activity over the next few months will be to gather information to assist campaign management in its decision as to how best to employ the citizens effort.

Basic Organizational Point: At this stage in the planning, I suggest that people who supply input on various groups and issues be designated as "coordinators" or some other similar title which does not suggest that they will be the chairmen or directors of those various aspects of the citizens effort. This should be explained to them. It may well be, after a number of months, that they will be selected as the official and public leaders of these efforts. I believe that it would be a mistake, and an unnecessary commitment, to have to make these official public leadership designations at this time.

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
<p>*NOTE: "Projects" assigned on July 9 should be discussed in greater depth by smaller groups (e.g. budget committee; leader list committee). Generally, these groups should submit their reports in August two weeks after initial meetings.</p>					2 Submit draft critical path	3
4 Independence Day	5	6	7	8	9 Meeting 1968 Lawyers' leaders Citcom Task Force: Review Questionnaire; assign projects to subgroups;	10 Review assign projects assemble initial mailing list
11	12	13 Project* Prepare list of potential state leaders [Wiley, Brown Skidmore]	14 Project* Prepare list of coordinators for early phases (e.g. occupational groups) [Low, Webster]	15 Mail Questionnaires	16 Project* Begin evaluation of prior citcoms [Washburn]	17
18	19 structure (with businessmen's group) market survey on business issues [DeLoach, Russell]	20	21	22	23	24
25	26 Project* Survey states in which citcoms might be useful [Odle, Dent]	27	28 Project* Draft citcom 1971 budget [Bell, Alexander, Catto]	29 Project* To mobilize existing citcoms (e.g. Rev. Sharing) and cull mailing lists [Shearer, Low]	30 Deadline for receipt of questionnaires	31

1971

JULY

1971

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1	2	3	4 Review RNC budget to eliminate overlap with Citcom [Odle]	5 Meet with AWP staff to ascertain future use [Bell]	6 Project* Review mailings for fall [Bell, Abrams]	7
8	9 Meet with Rev Sharing staff [Odle]	10	11 Project* Assemble demographic (minor issue) expert unit [Odle, Abrams]	12 Project* Draft White House mail campaign program [Bell, Odle]	13 Review reports of various units and circulate comments [Odle]	14
15	16	17	18	19	20 Review reports of various units and circulate comments [Odle]	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31 subgroup reports completed		<p>July</p> <p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31</p>	<p>September</p> <p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30</p>	

1971

AUGUST

1971

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

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

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.

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.

An executive at another magazine says it is difficult if not impossible to obtain accurate data about 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 should be higher.

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 known 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. Briammer, 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.

Dear _____:

It would be most helpful to get your thoughts on how we can mount an effective campaign effort in 1972. With that in mind, I would appreciate your views on the following points:

1. Brief statement of strengths and weaknesses of your area of the [1968] campaign.
2. Was your budget sufficient?
3. Who were the key effective personnel?
4. Planning now for 1972, how would you revise the [1968] effort to make it more effective in the current campaign? Please discuss budget, personnel and timetable in as much detail as possible.

This is asking a lot I know, but your input is most valuable and we are on a tight schedule. Please be blunt in your comments. If you have any questions, please give me a call.

Many thanks. Very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Survey of Existing Citcoms

Chuck Colson's operation has established a number of groups, drawn vaguely on bipartisan lines, to support the Administration. Some, like the Tell-It-To-Hanoi Committee, were formed for the primary purpose of taking out newspaper ads on specific issues such as key votes in the Senate on our Vietnam policy. A group such as this can be mobilized immediately because almost all of its members are dedicated supporters of the President. Other groups, such as Americans for Winning the Peace and certain lawyers committees established in various cities throughout the country, are also quite responsive to the direct call from The White House, but, because an attempt was made in establishing these groups to give them a more broad spectrum of support, these groups cannot be mobilized instantaneously. Progressing further, the National Citizens Committee for Revenue Sharing is genuinely bipartisan and supports the President on this program, although many of its members have been critics of the Administration on other points, such as Vietnam. An active mailing operation, including letters from the President on specific issues, thanking group members for their support, has been initiated and should be scheduled for increased activity as we get into the campaign. Some of the groups which can be utilized in this process are:

- Businessmen (in formation)
- Americans for Winning the Peace (AWP)
- Americans for a Responsible Foreign Policy (ARFP)
- National Citizens Committee for Revenue Sharing
- Tell-It-To-Hanoi Committee
- ABM Committees (1970)
- Various Lawyers Groups (Supporting the President's Plan for Peace)
- Honor America Day Committee (1970)
- Farmers (under study)
- Nationalities (RNC)

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July 28, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Reliable sources have indicated to me that Tom Judge (Democrat), Lieutenant Governor of Montana, who was active in both John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy campaigns, has received a call from Ted Kennedy asking him to stay loose as far as any commitments for 1972 are concerned.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

July 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: RESEARCH - PROGRESS REPORT

This memorandum summarizes the status of planning and preparation activities for research in the 1972 campaign. In general, we are moving ahead on two fronts: the development of a strategy oriented to target states and target voters, and the building of capabilities for the campaign, both in the identification of key people and vendors, and in the testing of various campaign techniques. In that context, the RNC research organization has continued to demonstrate effective performance, which augurs well for its contribution to our efforts in 1972.

Polling

Three areas are being covered during the planning period:

1. Polling Consultant. Three candidates have been interviewed and other names are being compiled and checked out. We expect to have reviewed all qualified candidates and to have identified the top ones for a final decision by the end of August.
2. Polling Vendors. The six vendors which were selected in the initial review in March have been scheduled to make in-depth presentations of their capabilities here on August 9 and 10 (Tabs A and B). Final recommendations will be developed by Flanigan, Magruder, DeBolt (RNC), Strachan and Marik following those meetings.
3. Polling Plan. Dave Derge has submitted a suggested plan for 1972, based on the 1968 experience and on a target state strategy. The final plan, to be developed within the next few weeks, will take cognizance of the ideas of the leading vendors, as well as the polling consultant.

Simulation

A recommendation on simulation will be forthcoming in the near future. Dr. Lindstrom, who had contacted us through Dave Derge, made a presentation of his proposed model on June 24, to Finch, Flanigan, Magruder, DeBolt, Tarrance (Census), Strachan and Marik. Another vendor, Moshman Associates, has proposed a substantially less expensive model and will make a formal presentation on July 30. Sam Wyly of UCC has become actively involved in the review of the proposals from a technical and managerial viewpoint. At the July 30 meeting, he will provide a demonstration of the business simulation model which was developed for one of his subsidiaries.

Compilation of Voting and Census Data

The RNC is proceeding on a comprehensive computer-oriented project during 1971, under a budget of about \$350,000. The goal is to develop highly sophisticated techniques of manipulating and displaying political information in a manner which facilitates allocating campaign resources by a decision-maker. A large bank of political information is being formed in a manner which will permit timely responses to the needs of management and analysis personnel. This information consists principally of county and state election results and 1970 population and housing Census characteristics. Precinct election results are being added for areas where more detailed analyses are considered appropriate. Census information describing the income, education, occupation and ethnic characteristics of the population will be added to the bank as they become available.

The computer will be generating reports on a rather frequent basis the next few months. Election analysis reports have already been made, and new ones are scheduled for every other week, beginning late in August. Reports displaying the demographic characteristics of counties, along with their vote patterns, will first be prepared in early September. Analysis of the relationship of the past Nixon vote to these characteristics will be made on one or more states for Census tracts and, in untraced areas, for Minor Civil Divisions or Enumeration Districts. At this time, the computer software will be tested and able to prepare additional analyses of past election behavior and relate it to significant demographics.

The importance of these activities is highlighted by the fact that the politician is, for the first time since 1952, presented with the opportunity to utilize current Census information. Computer equipment has grown three generations during this period, and processing large banks of information such as the RNC is developing is done with relative ease and speed.

Delaware Project

This project, now nearing completion, provides an opportunity to test manipulation of Census and election data. First and Fourth Count Census data, the integrated base file and "swing vote" calculations by various political subdivisions (precinct - county) will be included in the end product. Various written formats and visual graphic displays will be tested. A solution to the problem of how to transmit the tremendous volume of generated data to the decision-maker in a form that will be useful to him will be examined. Plans are underway to utilize shaded acetate overlays with significant political maps to display demographic and election information for decision-making purposes.

Targeted Communications

1. Direct Mail. The RNC is compiling a national inventory of all aspects of direct mail, including potential vendors and their capabilities, latest techniques, data on effectiveness, costs, postal regulation considerations, and the mechanics of distribution. An evaluation will also be made of several methods of operating a direct mail activity.

2. Telephones. Alan Peterson, the coordinator of the "Neighbors for Nixon" volunteer telephone operation in 1968, has submitted a comprehensive report which will serve as a starting point for 1972 planning. In addition, cost estimates are being prepared for a professional telephone operation in target states.

3. Name List Inventory. One full-time staff member at the RNC has been assigned the task of compiling a thorough list of sources and costs for state voter lists through contacting state GOP officials and state government election officials. Also to be inventoried will be sources and vendors of specialized name lists, such as ethnics, doctors, senior citizens, media, etc.

Field Testing of Research Techniques

Various 1971 elections for Governors, Congressmen, Mayors and State Legislatures will be utilized as test sites to supplement the historical and laboratory data gathered in the projects described above. RNC personnel will have key roles in the various campaign organizations to insure the utilization of techniques under study. Campaign surveys will be "piggy-backed", target and control precincts selected, and issue input provided for direct and mass media campaigns to support the project goals. Emphasis will be placed on analysis of direct communication results using professional political managers and market research experts to validate the findings.

Timetable for Research Planning

A summary time schedule for RNC activities relating to the areas described above is given in Tab C. A draft polling plan which would serve as a basis for near-term polling decisions should be completed by late August. A recommendation on simulation will be submitted by August 13.

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF POLLING VENDOR MEETINGS

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

Monday, August 9

9:30 a.m. - Decision Making Information
Vincent P. Barabba

1:00 p.m. - Chilton Research
Robert McMillan

3:00 p.m. - Market Opinion Research
Robert Teeter

Tuesday, August 10

9:30 a.m. - Market Facts
Omar Bendikas

1:00 p.m. - Cambridge Opinion Studies
Richard Hochhauser

3:00 p.m. - Opinion Research Corporation
Thomas W. Benham

July 27, 1971

Mr. Richard Hochhauser
Cambridge Opinion Studies, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Dick:

This is to confirm our telephone conversation of yesterday regarding polling in the 1972 campaign. A meeting of up to two hours duration has been scheduled at 1 p.m. on Tuesday, August 10. The purpose of the meeting is not to discuss a detailed, comprehensive proposal for the campaign, but to allow us to become familiar, in depth, with the particular capabilities of Cambridge Opinion Studies, Inc. as they might apply to our plans in the polling area.

In particular, we would be interested in your recommendations and past experience relating to:

- (1) The type of polling information which should be provided to the campaign, particularly reflecting changes in the state-of-the-art since 1968.
- (2) How survey research can best be related to other campaign activities, such as media advertising, travel scheduling, field activities, etc.
- (3) Criteria for determining which voters should be the "target voters"; that is, those people who will vote in greater numbers for the President if particular emphasis is placed on them during the campaign.
- (4) Technical approaches to measuring and projecting eligibility vs. intention vs. likelihood of voting in November of 1972--among the total electorate, and within target voter segments of interest.
- (5) Analytical approaches to filtering "total" importance for national and local issues down to "leverage" issues expected to influence actual voting behavior.

(6) Analytical approaches to structuring target segments of the electorate for continuous "tracking"--on the basis of demographic or attitudinal groupings of interest.

If you need any additional information, please give me a call.

We look forward to seeing you on August 10.

Sincerely,

Robert H. Marik

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

July 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: TRACKING PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDERS

Attached is a memo by Pat Buchanan outlining a strategy for dealing with opposition contenders. Several specific recommendations are made which will establish the direction and scope of our activities over the next several months.

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1971

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

CONFIDENTIAL

The clear and present political danger is that Senator Muskie, the favorite in the early primaries, will promenade through the primaries, come into the convention with a clear majority and enormous momentum for November. That would be bad news for us.

If there is to be a contested convention, a divided convention -- the first priority is to trip up Muskie in the primaries. This is in Kennedy's interest, in Humphrey's interest, in our interest.

Thus, Senator Muskie is Target A as of mid-summer for our operation. Our specific goals are (a) to produce political problems for him, right now, (b) to hopefully help defeat him in one or more of the primaries (Florida looks now to be the best early bet, California, the best later bet), and (c) finally, to visit upon him some political wounds that will not only reduce his chances for nomination -- but damage him as a candidate, should he be nominated.

As for the other Democrats, Kennedy, Jackson and Humphrey are the only credible ones we see - Humphrey the most desirable from our viewpoint. But any of these three -- especially Kennedy and even Jackson -- should be the subject of attack.

For the next several months, especially while Muskie is hibernating in Maine for the summer, we proposed to concentrate our efforts on him.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

How. In the long run, for the November election, the best offense against Muskie is to point him as far left as possible, leaving the President as much of the center as possible. For the nomination, however, any stick should be used to beat him. He can and should be attacked from Right and Left.

For example, from the right, Muskie can be charged with cutting space and defense and throwing union workers out of jobs, with killing the SST and thus killing Seattle, with smearing the FBI, and Mr. Hoover, with endorsing Communist-Kook demonstrations, with favoring "forced integration," etc. From the Left -- and we should not ignore this line of attack -- it can be argued that Muskie is an amoral opportunist who supported the war when he didn't believe in it, who has protected polluters, who lacks the political courage of McGovern, who is indecisive and gutless, who is trying to have his toadies at the DNC "broker" the convention, instead of have it open -- of having spent a dozen years in the Senate without having accomplished a single objective.

Further, we should begin now to acquire two, three or several tags, to stick Muskie with -- such as the "Tricky Dick" that has been so damaging to the President over the years when utilized by his political enemies.

JACKSON. This presents a serious problem. First, Scoop is a friend of sorts of the President's, a supporter on defense and most foreign policy issues. Secondly, while he would be a formidable opponent for the President, if nominated, he cannot realistically be nominated -- unless the political focus turns to matters of war and peace and security. Then while it would be in our interest to have him knock Muskie down in Florida -- such a stunning victory for Jackson would boost him into a long shot for the nomination and a strong shot Vice President -- on a Kennedy ticket.

Any attack on Jackson, whose hard-line credentials are awfully good, would -- if it were to be an effective attack -- focus on his "secret liberalism," portraying him as the Errand Boy of George Meany. This could be done; it might actually "elevate Jackson (drawing the media to him) to the point where it would actually assist him in a Democratic Primary.

But, do we want to attack Scoop Jackson at all? This is a question for higher ups. Where, for example would Jackson stand in a Nixon-Kennedy race, where Jackson was not on the Kennedy ticket, Scoop is 60 or more -- 1972 is his last run at the nomination - would he prefer a seat in a Nixon Cabinet or a Kennedy Cabinet? Again, higher ups should decide if and when we should pull the lanyard on Scoop Jackson. Surely, it would make news.

Options: Attack Jackson as any other candidate.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Go easy on Jackson in the hopes of hurting Muskie.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

KENNEDY. A major target of opportunity, but not the primary target. Focus here should be on immaturity, recklessness, jet-setter -- not up to the stature required or stability required of a President.

HUMPHREY. If we have to run against someone, we prefer Humphrey right now, as no President is so virtuous as to be granted George McGovern to run against. Humphrey's nomination would be in our interest -- it may be necessary, frankly, to provide him with support.

MCCLOSKEY. At this point, we agree McCloskey should not be attacked by his superiors within the GOP, or the national Administration -- in a manner to elevate him. Clearly, we believe that the proper way to deal with McCloskey is to have his national appearances (the media gives him network time regularly) matched by someone of Congressional level -- like Jack Kemp, who is beginning to match McCloskey and trouble him on their joint appearances. No major attack from the Cabinet, Vice Presidential or RNC National level, or Congressional leadership level should be made at this time -- in our view.

The proper way to discredit McCloskey is to (a) paint him as far left as possible and (b) if at all possible, find his sources of support, publicize them, and paint him as simply a pawn or cat's paw of the Democratic Party. Our objective is to damage his credibility with Republicans.

But we should do nothing to allow him to paint himself as a political martyr.

Specific options are detailed in the attached memorandum from Jeb Magruder.

RESOURCES

MONDAY is a credible publication--which gets irregular wire copy--and which we shall use weekly to move party line material aimed at issues dividing Democrats.

Bob Dole can be effective, but only occasionally--like Ford and Scott, he is inhibited by his relationship, his Senatorial courtesy to a fellow member if you will.

The White House Staff which could be utilized to put out some of this party-line material -- not for attribution of course -- on Muskie, is currently inhibited by an edict of "no politics" in 1971. We might need to have this altered for some individuals -- as we can serve as regular conduits for the kind of political material we want to move. The White House staff should be considered as a resource in the near future to pass on not-attributed material to the press.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

The Vice President -- We will need to know his inclinations and the President's desires on his use -- but he could be extremely effective in selected political attacks. He gets enormous coverage -- and he can put across a credible line on the Democrats.

Should the Vice President be used as a resource for opposition attack?

Yes _____ No _____ Comment _____

The Republican Party outside Washington -- especially state chairmen and state officers -- should be put to use. We believe that a co-ordinated system should be set up of calling these Chairmen, to have them issue coordinated attacks when something like the Kennedy comment on RN re: Vietnam breaks -- and to issue regular statements on the arrival of major Democratic candidates in their state.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

These last are political animals by choice, and their attacks upon Democrats do not constitute partisanship on the part of the White House. (Statements for these individuals could be drafted in our shop, but transmitted to the states via RNC.)

Some discussion has gone on of using the Citizens as Middle Man between WH and RNC -- we can of course follow that procedure, but, given a secure man at the RNC of which there are many, we think that direct contact would be best from here. We currently follow this procedure in drafting materials for Monday. We need to know basic policy on this.

(1) Direct contact with RNC be made through Buchanan shop.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

(2) Establish in Citizens (target date November 1) an operational arm which will implement strategy and tactics initiated by Buchanan shop.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Finally, we are giving some thought to preparing paid media advertisements -- issue-oriented -- in here and have them placed by the Citizens Group, or some political group formed in the various states. This can be an effective tool for driving home particular issue points we need made -- and drive them home before the political season starts -- when little is believed anyhow.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Special Projects. We would like to utilize Ron Walker's resources where possible to handle some close-in operations, pickets and the like, when candidates visit various cities. The candidate normally brings with him his own media; he attracts local media; and we would like to be able to "piggy back" on that media -- with our own operations, anti-candidate. This requires support activities from some source; Ron has an operation in place; and they will need approval -- either general or specific -- for these covert operations.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Contact with Walker for activities may be made directly from Buchanan shop.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Contact with Walker should be made through operational arm in Citizens but initiated in Buchanan shop.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Further, for non close-in operations -- we should use party personnel, working through the national committee. By these I mean handbills outside factory gates in the morning and evening -- when Muskie votes against some appropriations for SST. Something of that nature, which the local party can surely handle.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____