

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>
27	6	12/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Attorney General RE: ideas from the Campaign Strategy Group. Strategy Statement from the Group and draft of a statement for RN attached. 13pgs.
27	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of potential questions and suggested responses for the Maryland chairman of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. 5 pgs.
27	6	12/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	News statement announcing the formation of the Maryland Committee for the Re-Election of the President and biographical sketch of Edward P. Thomas, who announced the body's creation. 6 pgs.
27	6	12/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	News release announcing the formation of the Oregon Committee to Re-Elect the President. List of potential questions and suggested responses for the Committee's chairman attached. 6 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	6	12/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Report	From Dent to unknown RE: the need for a telephone conversation. Note from Higby written on same memo. Sheet of handwritten notes on a meeting between Dent and Haldeman attached. 2 pgs.
27	6	12/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached information on various Senate races. 1 pg.
27	6	12/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to the Attorney General RE: Senate races in southern and border states. 3 pgs.
27	6	12/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	Notes relating to a potential meeting with RN to be arranged through Haldeman's office. 1 pg.
27	6	7/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to RN RE: the Southern GOP Conference and its support for RN. 2 pgs.

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27	6	12/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to the Attorney General RE: the Texas gubernatorial campaign. 2 pgs.
27	6	12/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent of the Attorney General RE: Mel Broughton as the North Carolina RN chairman. 1 pg.
27	6	12/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Attorney General RE: "Americans for Agnew." 1 pg.
27	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to various campaign matters relating to Buchanan. 3 pgs.
27	6	12/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to Haldeman RE: RN's name on the New Hampshire ballot. 1 pg.

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27	6	12/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to Haldeman and Colson RE: attached information on Wallace. 1 pg.
27	6	12/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	News article written by Nick Thimmesch titled "Wallace Feels Vindication on Former Stands." Handwritten notes added by unknown. 3 pgs.
27	6	12/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Buchanan to Haldeman RE: information from John Sears. 1 pg.
27	6	12/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to the Attorney General and Haldeman RE: conservative support for RN. 1 pg.
27	6	12/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to the Attorney General and Haldeman RE: Ashbrook's announcement and its repercussions. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten note relating to a briefing for Dick Allen. 1 pg.
27	6	12/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Richard V. Allen to Haldeman RE: conservative politics in the election. 1 pg.
27	6	11/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Letter	From M. Stanton Evans to Richard Allen RE: Allen's role in RN's administration. 1 pg.
27	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Other Document	Seventh page of a document relating to various political issues. Information on M. Stanton Evans and defense underlined. 1 pg.
27	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten note relating to Herb Klein and his election information from Jimmy Snyder and Joe Napolitan. 1 pg.

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27	6	12/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Klein to RN RE: Information from Jimmy Snyder and Joe Napolitan on RN's election chances and a potential Humphrey campaign. 1 pg.
27	6	11/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Higby RE: information on the Republican National Committee. 1 pg.
27	6	11/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Koch to Colson RE: notes from a meeting with Bob Dole. Key points of meeting attached. 3 pgs.
27	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Fourth page of a document relating to campaign information obtained by various White House officials. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 2 pgs.
27	6	12/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Colson to Haldeman RE: Koch's meeting with Bob Dole. 1 pg.

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27	6	11/29/1971	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to campaign advice from Mitchell and the Attorney General. 2 pgs.
27	6	11/23/1971	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to a Republican National Committee Program Book. 1 pg.
27	6	12/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Strategy Statement issued by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President laying out advice for the primary season and the general campaign. 7 pgs.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
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(202) 333-0920

December 16, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: THE CAMPAIGN STRATEGY GROUP

Three major areas were covered this week by the Campaign Strategy Group: (1) A preliminary advertising presentation by Peter Dailey; (2) Review of a preliminary design for the RNC Convention program and tickets; and (3) The timing of the President's announcement for re-election in relation to the New Hampshire primary.

ADVERTISING PRESENTATION. Pete Dailey discussed the preliminary strategy statement for advertising (Tab A). The group was in general agreement with the ideas set forth in that outline.

Four ideas were presented for a slogan for the New Hampshire campaign.

1. NIXON FOR THE U.S.A.
2. PRESIDENT NIXON FOR PRESIDENT
3. RE-ELECT OUR PRESIDENT - There was lengthy discussion on which slogan was more appropriate, RE-ELECT OUR PRESIDENT or RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT. It was the general consensus that for most voters, a commitment to President Nixon is made not on an emotional basis, but on a pragmatic evaluation of his effectiveness in office. Therefore, the use of "the" rather than "our" would reflect better the commitment which was being sought from the voter.
4. THE PRESIDENT NEEDS YOU--AMERICA NEEDS THE PRESIDENT - This reflects a theme of involvement which will be further developed over the next several days. It could be used in conjunction with any of the three preceding slogans.

Of the slogans presented, the group favored RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT. They also felt that the involvement message in number 4 above should be included in some form. The final recommendations regarding advertising content for New Hampshire will be developed by Pete Dailey, taking into consideration the comments of the Strategy Group, as well as those of other campaign advisors.

CONVENTION PROGRAMS AND TICKETS. Some preliminary artwork by B.B.D. & O. was shown to the group. The design was oriented very closely to the stars and stripes of the American flag. It was the consensus of the group that such a close resemblance to the flag might offend delegates and others, particularly when programs and placards are discarded on the floor. B.B.D. & O. will be invited to Washington to discuss other design themes for the convention.

PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT RELATING TO NEW HAMPSHIRE. Senator Muskie has committed to an announcement regarding his Presidential candidacy on Tuesday, January 4th.

The question was raised of the most appropriate date for the announcement by the President of his candidacy for a second term. Petitions for nominations in New Hampshire can be filed any time during the period of December 23rd through January 6th. Immediately upon receipt of the petition, the Secretary of State will wire the candidate concerning the filing, and the candidate has ten days from that date to react if he wants his name removed from the ballot. It is the thinking of the group that this ten day period should not be allowed to elapse before the President makes an announcement of his candidacy.

The alternatives for the date of the announcement are:

1. Thursday, December 23rd - This is the first day for filing in New Hampshire. It would violate the letter of the President's announced intention of being non-political in 1971. On the other hand, it would have the advantage of showing action by the President on the first date that the 1972

nominating process could formally begin, and would, therefore, not suggest any reactions to announcements by other candidates. It would also gain news coverage before the holidays and might get favorable play over that period when people are less involved in their own day-to-day business activities. It would not be in competition with the Muskie announcement of January 4th.

There will be substantial television exposure of the President and the First Family during the week of December 20-24 through other special events. On the 20th, the President will be in Bermuda with Prime Minister Heath. He will return on the 21st. On that date there will be a TV special, "A Day in the Life of the President," at 7:30 p.m., followed by a special on the Bermuda conference. On the 24th, the President will broadcast a Christmas message to the nation, and Julie Eisenhower will be featured on a CBS special at 10:30 p.m.

An announcement of candidacy may not be appropriate at this time.

2. Monday, January 3rd - The President had formerly stated that 1971 would be a non-political year. The announcement on the first working day of 1972 would be consistent with that policy and yet reflect the importance which the President attaches to his decision to seek a second term in office. This date has the advantage of being ahead of the Muskie announcement, and on one of the best days of the week for news coverage. However, the President will deliver a radio speech on January 2, which will be in the newspaper on the 3rd. (It is anticipated that the President will be in California or Florida.)

3. Wednesday, January 5th - This would directly follow the Muskie announcement. It would be within the filing period, so as to avoid a period of speculation in the press about the President's intentions, which might undermine his credibility about seeking the nomination in a straightforward way. In the case of both the 3rd and the 5th, the President would be sharing news coverage with Senator Muskie. There might be some suggestion in each case that Senator Muskie's announcement had triggered a similar action on the part of the President. (It is anticipated that the President will be in California or Florida.)
4. Saturday, January 8 - The President will be in California hosting Prime Minister Sato of Japan on January 6 and 7. It would probably not be appropriate to release the announcement at that time. January 8th is still within the week of the final New Hampshire filing date. (It is anticipated that the President will be in California.)
5. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, January 10, 11, 12 - The announcement would be sufficiently after that of Muskie to avoid the sharing of media coverage. (It is anticipated that the President will be in Washington.) On January 13th-16th there will be conflicting events.

The group believes that there would be no negative consequences of the President being an announced candidate. The Equal Time Provision only applies to candidates formally nominated by their parties. The Fairness Doctrine always applies, and an announcement should cause no change in its interpretation.

The group favored either January 3, which would upstage the Muskie announcement, or January 10, which would be after the Muskie coverage had died down.

A rough draft is attached (Tab B) to illustrate the type of statement which is recommended. It might be included in a letter to Governor Dwinell of New Hampshire, simultaneously released by Ron Ziegler in Washington. There was some strong feeling, however, that the President should make the statement personally, particularly if he did not plan to make an appearance in New Hampshire during the primary campaign. The personal announcement should not be formally staged, but could be made at an impromptu news conference or similar setting.

MISCELLANEOUS. A brief discussion covered the possibility of Congressman John Ashbrook's entry as a conservative candidate in one or more of the primary elections. It was felt that although he had very low name identification, he could make some impact in New Hampshire with the active support of William Loeb. If he entered New Hampshire, his name would almost certainly be in the Florida primary. In that larger state, he would probably need substantial funding to achieve as much as 15% of the vote. Although the state Republican leadership is firmly behind the President, Congressman Ashbrook's possible candidacy should not be taken lightly because of the large conservative sentiment in the state.

With regard to activities of the Democratic opposition, there was feeling that Muskie's position had improved with recent events. The Muskie people are apparently asking for commitments now from leading Democrats in key states and forcing them to align themselves early. That was a factor in Senator Tunney's announcement in California, as well as his desire to control the state delegation at the Convention. Vernon Jordon of the Urban League has commented that Muskie's staff is not of high quality.

One strategy that was suggested to weaken Muskie was, in our own press comments, to reflect high expectations for him in the primaries. For example, if we stated that he was expected to get 65% of the vote in New Hampshire, and he got 55%, we could suggest that he was weaker with his own party than originally believed. A Muskie-Jackson ticket, without a bitter fight in the primaries and the Convention, could be very dangerous for us.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

STRATEGY STATEMENT

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DECEMBER 7, 1971

## STRATEGY STATEMENT

### COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

The purpose of this document is to set forth basic communications objectives and strategies for the initial, or primary states of the campaign, and to discuss a plan of action for later stages.

It is based upon the conditions of today, and is, of course, subject to alteration as circumstances dictate a need for change.

#### THE PRIMARIES

The objectives in the primary campaign will be to:

1. Encourage a large vote for the President.
2. Provide necessary support and materials for a "grass roots" movement.
3. Avoid creating an image of the President that would equate him in people's minds as "another politician scrambling for primary votes" along with other contenders.
4. Avoid heavy primary campaign advertising expenditures.
5. Encourage and stimulate campaign workers.
6. Inform, via advertising and promotion that the President wants and needs their help and their vote, and to overcome an apathy that may exist among supporters.

Reasons for these recommendations are as follows:

1. The President, as of now, faces no formidable opposition. To run a heavy campaign could tend to lower him, in the eyes of voters, to the level of other campaigners. He would be saying he takes the opposition seriously.

2. It is particularly important to avoid early, heavy expenditures. There has been much publicity recently concerning the proposed campaign funding legislation, and the President's threatened veto. The Republicans have been described as having "plenty of cash," while the Democrats have been described as "debt-ridden." To spend heavily at this stage could provide an issue (which the opposition needs). That issue would be to picture the President as trying to "buy" the election, and of the Republicans as the party of the rich.

3. Finally, it is neither necessary nor desirable to expose major strategies during the primary campaigning. We must assume the opposition will carefully record our efforts and words in a search for issues and counters to our positions.

#### THE PRIMARY STRATEGY

The creative objective in the primaries will be to position the President as what he is...the President of the United States, and not just another contender for office. He is a man of courage, of character. He is sincere. He has kept his promises. He is concerned

about our domestic problems, and he is working for world peace.

The public must know that the President wants, and needs, their support. The President cares. But he is the President. He is "doing his job." In short, the advertising campaign will have the appearance of "statesmanship."

It is recommended that for the first primary in New Hampshire, the effort consist of:

1. Campaign materials
  - a. Bumper stickers, buttons
  - b. Brochure
2. Media
  - a. Daily and local weekly newspaper insertions
  - b. Radio
  - c. Direct Mail

Television and outdoor is not recommended in that local television is weak, and Boston stations must be purchased to cover New Hampshire. This coverage would also extend into a wide New England area, and tend to defeat the grass-roots image. Further, it would add substantially to the campaign's cost. Outdoor is excluded in that it is not a particularly good medium in the winter months; the President does not have an awareness problem; and there appears to be some

feeling against outdoor in the state.

The immediate need is for promotional materials, particularly bumper stickers and buttons, so that campaign workers feel they have something to work with. Approval is required immediately for delivery in January.

A local agency will be retained for media placement to facilitate this matter, and to further the image of local support.

The preparation of newspaper advertisements and radio commercials should begin when research is received after Christmas. There will be time to prepare them then, and with the aid of research, will be properly focused on the concerns of the people of New Hampshire.

Other primaries will follow this same basic strategy, with alterations to fit local media and promotion needs.

Finally, the people of New Hampshire have long supported President Nixon. If time permits, a short visit to the state by the President would re-assure them that he remembers, and that he cares about their vote. One day would probably achieve more than all the primary advertising.

### TESTING

The question has been raised as to the possibility of using the primaries as "test markets" for future strategies. It is recommended that this not be undertaken at this time for the following reasons:

1. Test marketing, to be measurably effective, requires sufficient reach and frequency directed towards a target group in order to measure changes in attitude and action. This would require significant expenditures. Further, it is critical to know exactly what the attitude of the group is prior to the test, in order to measure the after-effects of the test itself. This requires prior research.

2. Test results from certain groups, while interesting in February and March, may be invalid by fall. Finally, it is difficult (and dangerous) to project results from limited test marketing.

The concept of testing, however, is a valid one, and will be used in other forms during the preparation of the campaign.

### THE LATER STAGE

The next, or major stage of the campaign will be developed following this procedure. First, the objective will be to develop communications that genuinely motivate people to vote for the President. A major national campaign will be developed. Additionally, special campaigns, directly targeted at certain groups and regions will be

developed, including communications directed at:

1. Key states
2. Problem markets
3. The Jewish vote
4. Blacks
5. Chicanos and Puerto Ricans
6. Senior citizens
7. Rank and file labor
8. Youth

It is premature and not to the benefit of this group to develop these strategies now, without the benefits of thorough analysis of research findings, the counsel of those who are now deeply involved, and the inputs of key experts who will be brought into the communications group.

A timetable, indicating requirements and due dates for each section and stage of the communications campaign will be prepared and available in January.

CONFIDENTIAL

## D R A F T

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT  
ON HIS CANDIDACY FOR A SECOND TERM

As you may know, a committee of New Hampshire citizens has filed petitions to place my name on the Presidential primary election ballot in that state. I am most gratified by their expression of support. As this election year begins, I feel that both they and all of the American people ought to know my thoughts about 1972.

When I took the oath of office in January, 1969, I said

We are caught in war, wanting peace. We are torn by division, wanting unity. We see around us empty lives, wanting fulfillment. We see tasks that need doing, waiting for hands to do them.

During the past three years, I believe we have been moving in the right direction in the search for peace in the world and in solving our problems here at home. However, we are still deeply involved in many important initiatives which are vital to the future of this country.

Therefore, I will seek the nomination of my party and the mandate of the American people in the election, to carry these programs forward for another four years.

POSSIBLE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR MARYLAND CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Q. Have you talked to the President about your Committee?

A. No.

Q. Is the President aware that you are organizing this group?

A. No, I don't think he knows that we have formed the Maryland group. Of course he is aware that other citizens have formed the National Committee for the Re-Election of the President which, as I understand it, has its headquarters in Washington.

Q. Have you talked to anyone at the White House about your Committee?

A. No, but of course, as you know, former members of the White House staff have joined the Committees' efforts which we hope will become nationwide.

Q. Do you expect the President to be a candidate for re-election?

A. Certainly, we are organizing this committee to give the President a clear indication of the outpouring of support that he has in this state among Republicans, Democrats and Independents.

Q. Will this group serve as the basis for the President's re-election campaign in Maryland?

A. We certainly hope that those of us at the Committee will be asked by the President to continue to serve when he announces that he will be a candidate for re-election, as we confidently expect that he will.

Q. Have you talked to Mr. Dale, the Chairman of the National group?

A. Yes, I called Mr. Dale and I told him we were forming this group.

Q. What did he say?

A. He was delighted. He feels as we do -- that President Nixon has done an outstanding job during his first term and will be called upon by the American people to serve a second.

Q. Have you talked to Attorney General Mitchell about the formation of this Committee?

A. No, we have not.

Q. Do you expect the Attorney General will head the President's campaign?

A. I really don't know. As you know he directed the President's 1968 campaign for the Presidency and that was a successful campaign, so the party members in Maryland certainly have reason to hope that he is active in the 1972 campaign.

- Q. Have you spoken to Mr. Jeb Magruder or Harry Fleming?
- A. Yes, we wanted to be certain that Mr. Magruder and Mr. Flemming were aware of our campaign here in Maryland.
- Q. What did they tell you?
- A. They indicated that he was finding substantial support for the re-election of the President in their travels around the country and they commended us for beginning an early movement here in this state. However, I want you to clearly understand that this is only the beginning of an organization and there are a lot of unanswered questions. We are getting into it simply because we want the President re-elected.
- Q. When you ask people to vote for President Nixon for a second term what reasons will you use?
- A. There are a number of them, but there are two which of course stand out. First, as he said in 1968, that he would, he is ending the tragic war in Vietnam. The troops are coming home. He has taken dramatic initiatives in matters of foreign affairs with a scheduled trip to Mainland China and with pumping new initiative into the SALT talks and areas of peace -- admittedly a touchy one -- in the Middle East. On the domestic front, he has proposed a revenue sharing plan which will return the power of decision to the people most affected by the decision. He has suggested a comprehensive program to clean up our environment. He has proposed and is pushing for welfare reform legislation of historic magnitude and a health program that will take care of those unfortunate who need without the tremendous cost proposed by others. The list really is endless.
- Q. Why are you announcing the formation of this group so far before the Primary?
- A. Well, it does take a certain period of time to put together an effort of this magnitude even in a state of this size. We had two options open to us really. One was to organize in a sort of semi-secret way -- we chose not to do that. Instead it was and is our feeling that we should announce the formation now in an open, public press conference.
- Q. Do you believe the President will win the Maryland Primary?
- A. I believe that he would win it.
- Q. Do you expect competition against the President in the Maryland Primary? In particular from Congressman McClosky?
- A. We have no indication of that at this time. We don't know what the Secretary of State will do. Representative McClosky is a fine young Congressman and I hope that he will ultimately support the President.
- Q. Who do you think will win the Democratic Primary in this state?
- A. That is a decision we will leave to the Democratic voters in Maryland. I would not speculate on what the party will do at this time.

- Q. Of the possible Democratic candidates, who do you think would get the most votes against President Nixon in this state, assuming the President is renominated?
- A. Again, gentlemen, I think those are things which depend on events that have yet to occur. As I have said, I believe the President will be re-elected on the record of accomplishments which he has amassed during his first term and those attainments are substantial. I am hopeful that when the record begins to be told to the people of the United States they will clearly understand what a great man they have sitting in Washington now.
- Q. Do you believe that Vice President Agnew will be on the ticket next year?
- A. As you know, the Republican State Committee in Maryland has already endorsed a Nixon/Agnew ticket for 1972. Ted Agnew certainly deserves the support of the people of Maryland both as a resident of this state and former governor, but we recognize that the ultimate decision is the President's.
- Q. Is the war in Vietnam going to be a political issue in the campaign next year?
- A. No, I don't think so. I think any time men are dying it's still an important political consideration, but the President's successful efforts directed toward bringing the war to a conclusion should deserve the heartfelt thanks and appreciation of the American people -- and of the people of Maryland. One American dying in Vietnam is one American being killed in Vietnam too many, but under this President the casualty rate has been cut down to less than 20 a week and I believe you will see some significant developments in future months.
- Q. If the economy doesn't improve do you really think the President can be re-elected?
- A. Well, the economy is improving. The President has said he believes this will be a good year for American business and next year will be an even better year. I believe him and so do the American people. His dramatic August 15 pronouncements -- the freeze and subsequent action which he has and will take -- are going to lead the American people into a new era of prosperity in peacetime -- and I think that accomplishment is enough on its own for the American people to re-elect President Nixon.
- Q. Who do you expect will be the President's opponent in 1972?
- A. I really don't think it makes any difference who it is -- the President will be re-elected.
- Q. Well, some of those who have already announced or have already been mentioned as possible candidates are Senators Muskie, Hughes, McGovern, Kennedy, Jackson. Of that group, which would you rather have as an opponent?
- A. Now, I'm not going to get into a name dropping game. As I have said, it doesn't matter who runs against the President -- he will win -- I am confident of that. He'll win in Maryland and he'll win in the country.

- Q. Do you know of any other primary elections around the country in which the President will enter?
- A. Well, now, I'm not certain at this time. He hasn't announced for re-election, he hasn't indicated whether he will allow his name on the ballot. But I am certain that the President will announce his intention at the appropriate time.
- Q. Have you taken any recent private polls in Maryland to indicate the type of support President Nixon can expect?
- A. We haven't. I personally haven't taken any polls and at this stage of the campaign this group hasn't.
- Q. If you had to pick out one reason, why you would support Richard Nixon for re-election -- what would that reason be?
- A. Because he has been a good President -- one who is aware of the problems of the world, the problems of the Nation, and the problems of Maryland, and is acting to solve them.
- Q. Do you expect to carry Maryland? You didn't in 1968.
- A. We always expect to carry a state and are optimistic particularly because we came so close in Maryland in 1968. Mr. Nixon is President and Marylanders have the tradition of supporting the President.
- Q. What specifically do you think will give you reason to carry Maryland in 1972?
- A. In addition to the fine job the President has done these three years in ending the war in Vietnam, reordering priorities, his successful plans to control inflation, and his ability to bring peace around the world, we are also confident that his record on behalf of the minorities will be a key reason.
- Q. Do you think the Black community in Maryland, Baltimore in particular, is ready to support President Nixon?
- A. I think that a look at the President's record should readily show the Black community at large and indeed the nation, that President Nixon has done more for blacks and indeed, all citizens of minority groups. For example, the 1971 \$235,000,000 civil rights budget of the Administration represents a three-fold increase over the Democratic 1969 civil rights budget of \$75,000,000. And the 1972 budget of \$455,000,000 is almost a 100% increase over the 1971 civil rights budget. The Emergency School Aid Act of 1970 proposed by President Nixon would appropriate \$1,500,000,000 to help end both de jure and de facto segregation and would help fund experimental projects to promote interracial experience among children where racial isolation exists. It is a fact, too, that the percentage of black pupils attending majority white schools had doubled in the 11 southern states from 18.4% in 1968 to 35% in 1970. In the area of welfare and employment the President's programs have brought realistic equality and opportunity to the blacks. The family assistance plan proposed by the Nixon Administration would provide an incentive for work, encourage families to stay together, put a dependable floor under the income of families, put 700,000 recipients into public service jobs, provide 225,000 job training opportunities, and

make compulsory the registration for rehabilitation purposes of all recipients who are alcoholics or drug addicts. The Food Stamp Program, Family Health Insurance Program, tax reforms, Minority Business Enterprise, and on and on. In effect, President Nixon has brought to life the laws for equal opportunity in remarkable new ways.

MARYLAND COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

FOR RELEASE: Wednesday, December 15  
10:00 A.M.

CONTACT: Cynthia Rosenwald  
727 - 1064

BALTIMORE -- The formation of the Maryland Committee for the Re-Election of the President was announced today by State Senator Edward P. Thomas, Jr., Chairman.

Senator Thomas made the announcement at a joint press conference which included U.S. Senators Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. and J. Glenn Beall, Jr., Republican State Chairman Alexander M. (Sandy) Lankler, and Archie M. Jones, Baltimore Republican Chairman.

The committee is affiliated with the National Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

In a statement, Thomas said:

"I am proud to announce the formation of the Maryland Committee for the Re-Election of the President -- and I don't want to leave any doubt that when I say the President, I mean Richard M. Nixon.

"The group of citizens who will make this effort work -- and carry President Nixon to victory next fall -- will do so because they sincerely believe in what our President has accomplished during his first three years -- and want to assure that he gets four more years to finish his task.

"He has begun a reordering of priorities in this country. He is bringing peace and prosperity with honor and with stability. He has restored confidence at home and brought respect abroad. No nation can ask more of its leader.

"Our Maryland group will have a broad base. It will include and utilize the abilities and efforts of men and women of all races working

together for the common goal of assuring the re-election of President Nixon in 1972".

Sandy Lankler expressed his commitment:

"As Republican Party Chairman of Maryland, it is a sincere pleasure for me to be here today. I am in a very fortunate position. Our party in Maryland already had gone on record endorsing the re-election of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew, a former governor of this state.

"Although he faces a Primary election, we made this endorsement at this early date because we felt it was the correct thing to do -- because President Nixon has started something in this nation and in the world that needs to be continued. The Democrats brought us war; President Nixon is bringing us peace. The Democrats brought up rampant inflation; President Nixon is bringing us fiscal stability. The Democrats caused the people of this country to lose confidence in their government; President Nixon is bringing us truth and with truth comes confidence.

"The Republican Party of Maryland proudly stands with President Nixon. We need a winning combination. Let me make one prediction today. I predict the Republican ticket will carry Maryland in 1972 by a decisive margin."

Senator Mathias commented:

"I come here today to endorse the re-election of a President who has proposed an array of progressive programs to meet our urgent needs at home and who has undertaken new and imaginative initiatives abroad that promise to bring the world closer to a just and lasting peace.

"I have supported in the Congress -- and I will support in the coming election -- a President who has, for example, offered us:

-- through the Family Assistance Program a way enabling impoverished Americans to achieve economic independence in relieving

some of the severe financial strain upon our state and local governments.

-- through Revenue Sharing a way of revitalizing our state and local governments and thereby our Federal system of government.

-- through executive reorganization a way of making the Federal bureaucracy far less confusing and complicated and far more responsive to peoples needs.

"I have supported in the Congress -- and I will support in the coming election -- a President who, in our relations with Russia and China, in the Middle East, at the SALT talks, in Southeast Asia, has demonstrated his understanding that we live no longer in the world of the 50's or even the 60's, and that we must frame our policies to fit a world situation that rarely stands still.

"I can make this endorsement with an objectivity that should be apparent on the record. I have not flinched from expressing disagreement with Richard Nixon when compelled to do so by conscience and conviction. It is out of that same sense of conscience and conviction that I support in the coming election a President who has in such programs and policies as those I have cited -- carried on the tradition of progressive and responsible leadership that remains the best hope of the Republican Party and the nation."

In a statement, Senator Beall noted his support:

"President Nixon has made a commitment to an energetic international leadership in building a foundation for a generation of peace in the world. Under the Nixon Doctrine, enunciated in 1969, the President is creating a realistic partnership with our allies and friends around the world so that decisions are jointly made and burdens fully shared. The President has brought U.S. foreign policy from an era of confrontation to one of negotiation in the hope that international differences can be peacefully resolved

"Today we see visible results of the groundwork begun in 1969. Steps are being taken toward normalization of the relationships between the United States and the People's Republic of China after 22 years of mutual hostility and isolation. We see the first real hope of progress in the SALT talks.

"I confidently predict the next 11 months will be productive and inspiring. Personally, I dedicate myself to the work of this Administration. The President must be re-elected. He must finish the work which he has begun along the path to peace, the road toward a new prosperity.

"We must give him the opportunity to take us up the road to a generation of peace with prosperity."

And, Archie Jones states:

"I am happy to share in this occasion and to express my commitment to helping in the efforts to re-elect President Nixon.

"My commitment to President Nixon brings with it my praise and support for what this Administration has done for all citizens. Let's look at the record.

"The Emergency School Aid Act of 1970, proposed by President Nixon, would appropriate \$1,500,000,000 to help end both de jure and de facto segregation and would help fund experimental projects to promote inter-racial experience among children where racial isolation exists.

"The Family Assistance Plan proposed by the Nixon Administration would provide an incentive for work, encourage families to stay together, put a dependable floor under the income of families, put 200,000 recipients into public service jobs, provide 225,000 job training opportunities, and make compulsory the registration for rehabilitation purposes of all recipients who are alcoholics or drug addicts.

"The Department of Housing and Urban Development worked with 44 branches of the NAACP in 19 states in 1969, giving Federal assistance to the sponsorship of 8900 housing units valued at \$1,500,000,000. Also, because of my interest in the problems of the cities, I am encouraged by HUD's program entitled "Urban Studies Fellowship Program" is designed to develop professional urban specialists and is now given at several black universities with financial aid supplied by HUD.

"In addition, President Nixon is continuing to look to the Black community for staffing responsible positions. For this he set up a minority talent bank, upon which the Administration can draw when openings occur in positions subject to Presidential appointment."

Biographical Resume  
Edward P. Thomas, Jr.

Senator Ed Thomas was born August 3, 1928 in Frederick.

**EDUCATION:** He attended Frederick City schools before going to Mercersburg (Pa.) Academy two years, graduating in 1946. He attended Washington & Lee University, Lexington, Virginia four years graduating in 1950 with a BA degree.

**MARRIED:** To Lois Ann Thomas. Four children  
Steve 18; Anne 13; Sue 7; and Patricia 4.

**RELIGION:** Episcopalian

**BUSINESS**

**ASSOCIATIONS:** He currently is President of Terrace Lanes, Inc. in Frederick, Maryland which operates a 24-lane bowling center and the new Terrace Office Center. He is President of Edgewood Lanes, Inc. a 16-lane tenpin center in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

**POLITICS:** Active in local, state, and national political affairs. In 1966 elected to the Frederick County Republican Central Committee and named Chairman of that group from 1966-70.

Helped direct successful Frederick County campaigns for Spiro T. Agnew, Richard Nixon, J. Glenn Beall, Jr., Charles "Mac" Mathias; Mayor John Derr and others.

Named Alternate Delegate from Sixth Congressional District of Maryland to the 1968 Republican National Convention in Miami.

Named by the Nixon Administration to the Maryland District Advisory Council of the Small Business Administration.

Elected to the Maryland State Senate in 1970 to represent the Frederick-Carroll County District 2.

Serves on the Senate Judicial Proceedings Committee and the Administrative Law Committee of the Legislative Council.

**INTERESTS**

**FILIALATIONS:** Frederick Lions Club; VFW; American Legion; Elks; Frederick Touchdown Club; Frederick YMCA Board of Directors; Frederick Cotillion Club; Catocin Club.

**BACKGROUND**

**EMPLOYMENT:** After graduation from Washington & Lee University Thomas joined the news staff of the Roanoke Va. Times in 1950.

Served in the U.S. Army during the Korean conflict and logged overseas time in the European Theater before honorable discharge as a Sergeant.

OREGON COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

FOR RELEASE: Thursday, December 17  
1:30PM (EST)

CONTACT: Rep. Wendell Wyatt  
(503) 221-2901

PORTLAND, Oregon -- The formation of the Oregon Committee for the Re-Election of the President was announced today by U.S. Representative Wendell Wyatt, R - Oregon.

The First District Congressman who will be Chairman of the Committee, predicted President Nixon will win a second term.

"President Nixon will win because the people of Oregon and the United States want the President to have another four years in which to complete the crucial and innovative initiatives he has started," said Rep. Wyatt.

"He will win because he has found a long-sought formula for achieving prosperity with peace. He has wound down a major war while stabilizing the economy."

Under Oregon law, the Secretary of State enters the names of prospective candidates for President on the ballot. It takes a disavowal of candidacy to remove the name.

"I expect President Nixon's name will be on our ballot," Congressman Wyatt said. "I am certain he will win our primary regardless of the opposition -- and win the state this fall regardless of the opposition.

"Under President Nixon's new prosperity inflation which was taking dollars -- spendable dollars -- from our pockets has been cooled.

Wyatt cited Federal statistics to make that point.

"For example," he said, "the October Consumer Price Index rose by only .1 per cent -- the smallest change in the Consumer Price Index

on a year to year basis since February 1968. But if we take this one step further and eliminate the items not measured in September, the October index shows no change at all.

"From the period between August, just before the freeze on wages and prices began, and November, just before it ended, the Wholesale Price Index for all commodities declined by about .2 per cent.

"Those figures are good news for Oregon and for America.

"Meanwhile, our President has just returned from the first of a series of summit conferences that will culminate next year with a trip to China -- opening lines of communication with a nuclear power which in 10 years will represent a billion persons. He is recognizing the realities of our nation in a changing world."

Representative Wyatt, who represents Oregon's First District, is an Oregon native. He was born in Eugene on June 15, 1917, and graduated from the University of Oregon with his LLB degree. He served in World War II as a Marine flyer.

Now serving his fifth term in Congress, Representative Wyatt is the father of five children.

POSSIBLE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR OREGON CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Q. Have you talked to the President about your Committee?

A. No.

Q. Is the President aware that you are organizing this group?

A. No, I don't think he knows that we have formed the Oregon group. Of course he is aware that other citizens have formed the National Committee for the Re-Election of the President which, as I understand it, has its headquarters in Washington.

Q. Have you talked to anyone at the White House about your Committee?

A. No, but of course, as you know, former members of the White House staff have joined the Committees' effort which we hope will become nationwide.

Q. Do you expect the President to be a candidate for re-election?

A. Certainly, we are organizing this committee to give the President a clear indication of the outpouring of support that he has in this state among Republicans, Democrats and Independents.

Q. Will this group serve as the basis for the President's re-election campaign in Oregon?

A. We certainly hope that those of us at the Committee will be asked by the President to continue to serve when he announces that he will be a candidate for re-election, as we confidently expect that he will.

Q. Have you talked to Mr. Dale, the Chairman of the National group?

A. Yes, I called Mr. Dale and I told him we were forming this group.

Q. What did he say?

A. He was delighted. He feels as we do -- that President Nixon has done an outstanding job during his first term and will be called upon by the American people to serve a second.

Q. Have you talked to Attorney General Mitchell about the formation of this Committee?

A. No, we have not.

Q. Do you expect the Attorney General will head the President's campaign?

A. I really don't know. As you know he directed the President's 1968 campaign for the Presidency and that was a successful campaign, so the party members in Oregon certainly have reason to hope that he is active in the 1972 campaign.

Q. Have you spoken to Mr. Jeb Magruder or Harry Fleming?

A. Yes, we wanted to be certain that Mr. Magruder and Mr. Fleming were aware of our campaign here in Oregon.

Q. What did he tell you?

A. They indicated that he was finding substantial support for the re-election of the President in their travels around the country and they commended us for beginning an early movement here in this state. However, I want you to clearly understand that this is only the beginning of an organization and there are a lot of unanswered questions. We are getting into it simply because we want the President re-elected.

Q. When you ask people to vote for President Nixon for a second term what reasons will you use?

A. There are a number of them, but there are two which of course stand out. First, as he said in 1968, that he would, he is ending the tragic war in Vietnam. The troops are coming home. He has taken dramatic initiatives in matters of foreign affairs with a scheduled trip to Mainland China and with putting new initiative into the SALT talks and areas of peace -- admittedly a touchy one -- in the Middle East. On the domestic front, he has proposed a revenue sharing plan which will return the power of decision to the people most affected by the decision. He has suggested a comprehensive program to clean up our environment. He has proposed and is pushing for welfare reform legislation of historic magnitude and a health program that will take care of those unfortunate who need without the tremendous cost proposed by others. The list really is endless.

Q. Why are you announcing the formation of this group so far before the Primary?

A. Well, it does take a certain period of time to put together an effort of this magnitude even in a state of this size. We had two options open to us really. One was to organize in a sort of semi-secret way -- we chose not to do that. Instead it was and is our feeling that we should announce the formation now in an open, public press conference.

Q. Do you believe the President will win the Oregon Primary?

A. I believe that he would win it.

Q. Do you expect competition against the President in the Oregon Primary? In particular from Congressman McClosky?

A. We have no indication of that at this time. We don't know what the Secretary of State will do. Representative McClosky is a fine young Congressman and I hope that he will ultimately support the President.

Q. Who do you think will win the Democratic Primary in this state?

A. That is a decision we will leave to the Democratic voters in Oregon. I would not speculate on what the party will do at this time.

- Q. Of the possible Democratic candidates, who do you think would get the most votes against President Nixon in this state, assuming the President is renominated?
- A. Again, gentlemen, I think those are things which depend on events that have yet to occur. As I have said, I believe the President will be re-elected on the record of accomplishments which he has amassed during his first term and those attainments are substantial. I am hopeful that when the record begins to be told to the people of the United States they will clearly understand what a great man they have sitting in Washington now.
- Q. Do you believe that Vice President Agnew will be on the ticket next year?
- A. I really don't believe either the President or the Vice-President could answer that question for you today. That option has to be left open. To be perfectly honest, however, I must say that the Vice President has been doing an excellent job of telling it as it is -- of enunciating the crucial issues of our day.
- Q. Is the war in Vietnam going to be a political issue in the campaign next year?
- A. No, I don't think so. I think any time men are dying it's still an important political consideration, but the President's successful efforts directed toward bringing the war to a conclusion should deserve the heartfelt thanks and appreciation of the American people -- and of the people of Vietnam. One American dying in Vietnam is one American being killed in Vietnam too many, but under this President the casualty rate has been cut down to less than 20 a week and I believe you will see some significant developments in future months.
- Q. If the economy doesn't improve do you really think the President can be re-elected?
- A. Well, the economy is improving. The President has said he believes this will be a good year for American business and next year will be an even better year. I believe him and so do the American people. His dramatic August 15 pronouncements -- the freeze and subsequent action which he has and will take -- are going to lead the American people into a new era of prosperity in peacetime -- and I think that accomplishment is enough on its own for the American people to re-elect President Nixon.
- Q. Who do you expect will be the President's opponent in 1972?
- A. I really don't think it makes any difference who it is -- the President will be re-elected.
- Q. Well, some of those who have already announced or have already been mentioned as possible candidates are Senators Muskie, Hughes, McGovern, Kennedy, Jackson. Of that group, which would you rather have as an opponent?
- A. Now, I'm not going to get into a name dropping game. As I have said, it doesn't matter who runs against the President -- he will win -- I am confident of that. He'll win in Oregon and he'll win in the country.

Q. Do you know of any other primary elections around the country in which the President will enter?

A. Well, now, I'm not certain at this time. He hasn't announced for re-election, he hasn't indicated whether he will allow his name on the ballot. But I am certain that the President will announce his intention at the appropriate time.

Q. Have you taken any recent private polls in Oregon to indicate the type of support President Nixon can expect?

A. We haven't. I personally haven't taken any polls and at this stage of the campaign this group hasn't.

Q. If you had to pick out one reason, why you would support Richard Nixon for re-election -- what would that reason be?

A. Because he has been a good President -- one who is aware of the problems of the world, the problems of the Nation, and the problems of Oregon and is acting to solve them.

AS

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 14  
11:15 a.m.

PHONE CALL  
HARRY DENT (231)

Needs to spend about half an hour  
with you to discuss politics.

AS

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status of this.  
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Dent to see H or H  
to call - L memo  
last wknd

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**Date:** December 15, 1971'

**TO:** BOB HALDEMAN

**FROM:** HARRY DENT

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

For your information XXXX

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED TO BE AN UNCLASSIFIED  
AND PUBLICLY AVAILABLE  
P.O. Box 100-102  
By SP-1/PLS, Date 3-2-72

December 14, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *hsd*

SUBJECT: Selected Southern and Border Senate Races

In this memo is a brief on the U. S. Senate races in the Southern and border states. What concerns me about them is our apparent inability to capitalize on some of our opportunities. To get the right horses in the right stalls may rock some boats and could possibly affect the Presidential race.

1. Kentucky: A poll is now being run to determine how the President and Nunn look for 1972. Nunn thinks the President is now down some in Kentucky based on the economic situation, particularly the recent actions of the wage and price boards. Nunn says that if the President isn't up and Nunn doesn't show too well, he will stick with his new \$60,000 per year law practice. The State Chairman says he talked with Nunn and Senator Cooper Sunday and he got the impression Cooper may be interested in going again although he did say he would step aside if Louie wants to make the effort. Without Nunn or Cooper in the race, we would have real difficulty keeping the seat.

2. Georgia: It looks like Congressman Fletcher Thompson will go for the Senate even though his congressional seat has been made a little safer by the reapportionment plan. Bo Callaway says he is going to be heading a big Atlanta corporation in January. Phil Campbell wants to run for Governor in 1974. Senator Gambrell is vulnerable, but for any Republican to win in Georgia would be a difficult task. I doubt that Thompson can. Even so, he is very much a lone ranger type.

3. Alabama: I delivered the message to Jim Martin regarding his busing attacks against Blount and coupling the President with these attacks. He said he is going to continue to work Blount over but he will be a team player and keep any negative matter regarding the President out of the race. He swears that he has been praising the President publicly. The young GOP lawmaker, Bert Nettles, will also be a tough opponent for Blount. Martin and Nettles both report that Blount is using the Administration, telling people that the President wants him to be the nominee. I have said that we are taking no part in response to inquiries on Blount's statement. Whoever gets the nomination will have a tough race against Sparkman, although he certainly looks his age.

4. Arkansas: It appears that although some want GOP Chairman Charlie Bernard, who ran against Fulbright last time, to take on McClellan, there will be no real Republican opposition.

5. South Carolina: Senator Thurmond continues to look good in his re-election bid.

6. Texas: Barefoot Sanders, former LBJ aide, has announced against Tower, but thus far Tower looks OK.

7. North Carolina: Congressman Broyhill has already filed for re-election to the House and Congressman Mizell will not consider the race this time. It appears that both Broyhill and Mizell are waiting for Senator Ervin to hopefully retire in 1974. Jim Gardner is either going to run for Governor or nothing. So, we are without a first-rate candidate in North Carolina. The new State Chairman is talking about the state Young Republican leader as a prospective candidate. I am still working on Gardner for the Senate.

8. Virginia: The Byrd Republicans, led by Congressman Joel Broyhill, think they can get Congressman Dan Daniel or former Congressman Jack Marsh to switch and run as a Republican for the Senate. First, Congressman Scott must be pulled back from

The Attorney General

December 14, 1971

Page 2

the race and Holton melted. In the meantime, Harry Flemming tells me that he and Dortch Warriner have concluded that it is best just to leave Congressman Scott in the race and, in effect, forfeit this contest to Senator Spong in 1972. He said there is no way to get Scott out of the race, even though only 14 people--half family--showed up for a \$100 cocktail party he had in Washington last week. Broyhill will let us know when a switchover is ripe.

9. Louisiana: It is expected that Senator Ellender will beat off any Democrat primary opposition and that if the Republican Party runs anyone it will be National Committeeman Tom Stagg. This would be fruitless, but it may be impossible to keep Stagg out of the race. He is now running for Attorney General in the February Governor's election.

10. Mississippi: Senator Eastland is expecting to be re-elected with relative ease.

11. West Virginia: Jennings Randolph is running again. This may keep Arch Moore running for Governor.

12. Oklahoma: Dewey Bartlett should get the GOP nod, but he will have trouble beating Ed Edmondson. Fred Harris isn't seeking re-election. Were Harris the nominee, this would be a sure bet for us.

Did it  
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set mtg

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Nothing has come out from HRH's office  
on this.

DG

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: HARRY DENT   
SUBJECT: Southern GOP Conference

The Southerners showed more attendance, spirit, and support at their conference than the other three regions-- as in 1969. David and Julie were most impressive, mixing well with the conferees at the reception and Roy Acuff hoedown. The Vice President showed up and was also well received.

There was no dissenting or displeasure expressed regarding the President. It was clear to the press that the Southern GOP belongs to the President.

The major news was the total willingness to add "color" to the Southern Strategy. Thirty-odd blacks attended and were spotlighted by Art Fletcher's speech. He offered their presence and his to show that the Southern Strategy means everyone is wanted. Fletcher made the greatest speech impression, getting a 4-minute standing ovation and an invitation from every State to appear and speak. (Fletcher is not happy to be leaving and says he'll be in a non-partisan job. We need him for black and white votes.)

Dolf Droge of NSC made a big hit with his pro-RN presentation on Vietnam. Many asked why he isn't on national TV.

In essence, these people want to win in 1972 and believe they can win more black votes than in 1968 and take their states in 1972.

A letter from the President to Clarke Reed is being prepared. Also Art Fletcher--on his speech and support of the President at the conference and to a subsequent meeting of Tennessee blacks.

December 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT   
SUBJECT: Texas Governors Race

State Senator Henry Grover of Houston is expected to run for Governor on the GOP ticket and is expected to announce right away. He is an articulate, good-looking, very conservative guy who has been a consistent winner as a Democrat and, later, as a switch-over Republican. He does not get along with Tower, O'Donnell, or the state chairman. However, he can force himself on the GOP as the candidate for Governor or at least force someone to beat him in a primary.

The GOP leadership is not interested in running anyone except someone like George Bush. In other words, they want to run their first-rate candidate or none at all. Grover believes that the Democrats are particularly vulnerable at this time because of the insurance scandal. He thinks Lt. Governor Barnes will be hit with a scandal of some type soon and that Preston Smith will wage an all-out fight for re-election, trying to make a martyr out of himself. Thus, he feels the race for Governor can be won as do some others, including quite a few party regulars who now smell Democrat blood in the State House.

I know of no way that Grover can be dissuaded from running. It is possible that some attention by the Administration such as an appointment might deter him. He says he will be able to raise his own money for the race.

With regard to the Presidential campaign, we might consider sending Ken Towery, the No. 3 man at USIA and Tower's former

The Attorney General  
December 10, 1971  
Page 2

top man, back into the state to work on a full-time basis. He is very able, pragmatic, and his first loyalty today is to the President. I had a good conversation with him today.

He expects Tower to play a rather independent role in the campaign. He does think it is important that whoever handles the campaign have some type relationship and influence over Tower to keep him from going too far astray on some issues such as busing and others.

He was not asking for this type position because he is very happy where he is.

✓bcc: H. R. Haldeman

December 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Attorney General

FROM: Harry S. Dent 

The new North Carolina Republican Chairman has suggested that Mel Broughton be named to succeed Willis Smith, Jr., as the Nixon Chairman in North Carolina for 1972. Broughton is a former Chairman of the North Carolina Democratic Party who ran second to Bob Scott in the Democratic Primary for Governor in 1968. He has been ready to change parties and run for state-wide office as a Republican.

I will get more background information on him and turn it over to Harry Flemming for consideration.

He is also from Raleigh and his father was Governor of North Carolina. The Broughton name is a big, important, and respected name in North Carolina.

cc: H. R. Haldeman

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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aware*

December 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: Honorable John N. Mitchell  
The Attorney General

FROM: Harry S. Dent *HSD*

A group calling themselves "Americans for Agnew" have done some soliciting from GOP contributors over John Wayne's signature. Sources have asked us to find out if this has the Vice President's blessing. The Vice President's staff says that they are attempting to discourage it, but that some good people have been drawn in now, which makes it touchy.

## Pat Buchanan

① He recently received the entire Democratic contenders trading and attack capability. Buchanan believes that the RNC is performing its research function well, that the committee ~~is~~ succeeding in its attempts to implement Buchanan suggestions for attack, and that no additional resources need to be assigned to this operation now.

② <sup>George</sup> Waller is appealing to the Repul right with his Blue Ribbon Panel Report on the poor state of

national Defense under P. Nixon

③ An excellent ~~suggestion~~ analysis of ~~our~~ the ~~approach~~ ~~that should be to~~ McCloskey candidacy in R H and ~~the appor~~ suggestions for an appropriate responses is attached at Tab —

④ You asked that John Sears submit his political suggestions through Buchanan. Sears first memo is attached at Tab B —

If the Administration can give  
⑤ ~~The only way to~~ ~~the~~ Asherwell and some of the Manhattan 12 line item proof of hard, tangible items in the Strategic Weapons ~~and~~ R + D budgets of Defense,

Buchanan believes Ashbrook will  
withhold ~~is~~ his announcement  
scheduled for 12/27.

- Have Buchanan get  
the information from Haig  
and inform the Conservatives  
with Colson
- Tell Buchanan the  
information is not available
- Other

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 9, 1971

*H  
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MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

Have probably written this before, but am doing so again -- because I think it is an important point.

My view is that the President be straightforward about letting his name go on the ballot in New Hampshire -- but this does not mean an irrevocable declaration of candidacy, and the latter will create problems for us. If RN announces himself as a candidate -- as opposed to approving of their use of his name, without stating any final commitment -- then:

- 1) Everything he does tends to carry more of a political tinge and
- 2) The Democrats may demand with greater success -- equal time for every appearance, political or not, the President makes.

I noted that in an internal memo, Muskie's people tell him to take advantage of the free TV time in California, this month, because that is the last "free" time he is going to get.

Buchanan

*Handwritten note:*  
H. R. HALDEMAN  
SEE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
CHARLES COLSON

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

You might take time to give this column a quick reading. Wallace is his old self again. Of interest is his defense references, especially, the Blue Ribbon Panel Report. Now that "blue ribbon panel" is almost a code word for the Republican conservative single big issue against the President -- Defense. George is quite apparently shifting tactics a bit. He's got the usual "foundations, rebellion, bussing, law and order" issues in here which hit Blue Collar -- largely Democratic voters in the South. But with this "Blue Ribbon Panel" and the "Asian allies" we might lose etc, he is clearly making an appeal to the Republican Right -- which he only half-heartedly went after last time. His running from the race issue can be seen in the same light -- the Republican Right is turned off by his racism.

Buchanan

THE NICK THIMMESCH COLUMN

RELEASE DATE: Saturday, December 11, 1971, or  
Sunday, December 12, 1971

WALLACE FEELS VINDICATED ON FORMER STANDS

by Nick Thimmesch

MONTGOMERY, Ala.--George Corley Wallace runs for President again and maybe he ought to. It's no good to fussily dismiss him as racist, ego-maniac or spoiler. Wallace vents a feeling and covers issues that other aspirants avoid. He puts political planners, who like to neatly block out the election year, on guard. The republic can afford and must endure him.

He could be called the "just enough" candidate. He has "just enough" voter strength (13% in current national polls) to scare both parties; money and organization to make a campaign go; and record of being right to make him credible. As a politician, Wallace is skillful, demagogic, audacious and possesses plenty of gumption.

"I'm motivated," he said in his office last week. "I want to help educate the American people. They say I'm too ambitious. Why can't an Alabaman be ambitious? All these politicians running for President are ambitious.

"I think we've got something practical to tell the nation. That's why in 1968 I rode on planes through all those thunderstorms, and put up with people spitting on me, and all that hatred. Up at Dartmouth, those professors and students came running at me, crying 'Kill him!' There must have been 150 fist fights. The ones standing there trembling with anger and screaming 'Bigot' were the real bigots."

Since race has greatly diminished as an issue in the South, Wallace lays off it, even talking about "nondiscrimination," and how well he gets along with the black state representatives (Fred Grey and Tom Reed) from his home county (but Reed says it isn't quite that way). Wallace now runs from the race issue as fast as he once ran to it.

(MORE)

Page Two . . . THE NICK THIMMESCH COLUMN . . . ran to it.

But he has a bundle of arguments, anyway. "I hope the President's trip to Peking is successful," he says, before warming up, "but the history of peaceseeking with the Communists is futile. I doubt that he succeeds. We might lose our Asian allies over this."

"An Alabaman sitting on a tractor or on the courthouse steps can tell you we got to be so strong that the Communists will want to talk to us. But while we're talking disarmament, the Soviets double the number of ICBMs they have. Nixon's own blue-ribbon report called on the nation to regain, not retain, but regain our nuclear superiority. Parity won't work. This country is a second-rate military power. When the people find out, they will deliver swift political vengeance."

He won't talk wage-price freeze, but he thumps about tax inequities, his prime targets being tax-free foundations and church-owned commercial interests.

"My people told me not to go after the churches," Wallace declares, but I'm not after the church house, hospital or orphanage, I'm after the profit-making businesses they're not taxed on. That's how the French Revolution got started, you know. And look at old Henry VIII. I don't want that to happen. And these foundations shelter the super-rich like Rockefeller, Ford, Carnegie and Mellon. If they're so charitable, why don't they just stand up and give their money to the poor? What do Kennedy, McGovern and them know about being poor? We've got good people down here, black and white, who know what outdoor plumbing and hard work is. They don't need surveys to find out about the poor."

Wallace delights in bragging that "we predicted all the big issues--rebellion, law and order, busing trouble, the country going broke from giving money away to hypocrites like India. Why on NBC, they said 'I was ahead of my time.'"  
(MORE)

*good line*

Page Three. . . THE NICK THIMMESCH COLUMN . . . of my time."

He loves it, so he's close to announcing he'll enter the Democratic primary in Florida (where he won 43 of the state's 67 counties in 1968) "without the illusion of ever being nominated President, but to have Floridians tell the national Democratic Party that they'd better stop taxing us to death and following all that silly liberal stuff about busing and disarming the country."

He's 52 now, and his new young wife joins him in the governor's mansion basement gym where he works out on the exercycle and the punching bag. Wallace had a bout of blood trouble, so he's thinner now from a nonfat diet.

His campaign office showers the true believers with literature and fund appeals. The gang which ran his 1968 campaign is mostly gone, some in disfavor. Untrusting, Wallace brings in new, younger people to run things, and keeps a wary eye on them.

They portray him as a battling savior who tells it like it is, and his wife of one year, Cornelia Ellis Snively, a divorcee, was recently moved to testify: "With the exception of good cigars, which he does not inhale, he is void of any self-indulgence."

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 1, 1971

FU  
12/14

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

Talked with John Sears; he said he had been extremely busy of late; but he is working up now, and will have, in the very near future some materials, not dealing with organization so much as strategy.

Buchanan

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Superseded  
by memo  
that went  
directly  
to L +  
mtg w/  
Goldwater*

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MESSAGE

E.O. 12958, 12958-102

By                     , Date 3/16/72

December 3, 1971.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

From a reliable source, here is the scenario the Conservatives will follow. They have gone to John Ashbrook, who has gone to Barry Goldwater, who will ask the President for a breakfast meeting on Tuesday. At that meeting the right wing on the Hill, or what they can produce of it, will ask the President for commitments on the "demands" that have already been presented to Colson and Buchanan. Failing a satisfactory answer, they will break openly; my understanding now is that they are trying to convince Ashbrook to carry the ball against us in the primary -- although this last does not come from my primary source.

My thought is that (a) the President should see the Congressmen, if they push on this, and that (b) PJB should prepare a briefing paper, on each of the issues that will be raised in their list of demands -- with a response. On a number of these, I am sure, the President can himself give the kind of assurances that we could not. In any event, my view is that here is a good opportunity to scotch for the time being -- perhaps for good -- a primary challenge to the President. If the meeting with the President does not come off; or should it come off unsatisfactorily, I don't know how the Conservatives have any other choice -- since they have crawled far out on this limb -- but to start working against us, either in the spring or fall.

I recognize that there is a school of thought which argues that we should tell the Manhattan Twelve where to stuff their "demands;" for that group also a golden opportunity lies at hand.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

The Twelve have apparently prevailed upon Ashbrook to withhold his announcement until the 27th of December, which is twelve days from now, and which would give them sufficient time to gear up in New Hampshire, should things go awry.

My view is this: With the exception of William Rusher and one or two others, they want a way to get back off the limb they are currently on; they would prefer not to run; and if we can provide them with some early proof (line items) of hard, significant, tangible items in the Strategic Weapons and R. & D. budgets of Defense, we can yet abort this thing. If, on the other hand, we intend to do nothing significant in terms of military hardware and R. & D. -- then I think we will have Ashbrook and the Twelve Angry Men in New Hampshire. As Senator Goldwater used to say, "It's as simple as that."

Buchanan

## Dick Allen

You approved Dick Allen  
Lawrence J. Meisel  
briefing ~~for executives~~ on defense  
and national security issues. In  
a memo to you <sup>Allen</sup> he is asking for  
general authority "to start a 'dialogue'  
with the right wing" on national  
security issues.

- Approve Allen 'dialogue'  
with right wing
- Disapprove
- Other

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1971

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN *RV*

SUBJECT: Conservatives

The attached from Stan Evans (President of the American Conservative Union and one of our friends now in opposition) may be of interest.

I believe it is possible to devise a plan to start a "dialogue" with the right wing, especially on the defense and national security issues. It would take a meeting of interested White House and 1701 people.

If the President would be interested in moving forward on this matter, I would appreciate an advisory to that effect.

Att:

EYES ONLY

M. STANTON EVANS  
*Editor*

NOV 19 1971

November 17, 1971

Mr. Richard V. Allen  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for International Economic Affairs  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

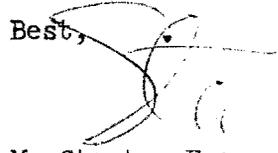
Dear Dick:

Thanks for your good note and my apologies for the delay in answering. Your comments about Spectrum are most appreciated; at least it's a foot in the door.

Unfortunately, my trips to D.C. of late have been quickies--leaving little time for a get-together. I would like a chance to get your views one of these days when we could converse at leisure.

Your re-joining the administration is some of the best news I have heard in quite a while. I have talked to Buckley about un-suspending support for that portion of administration policy for which you are responsible.

Best,



M. Stanton Evans

MSE:cg

and noted that he answered questions without hesitation.

US Ambassador Neumann said Afghanistan urgently needs 220 more Peace Corps volunteers to help avoid famine resulting from the worst drought in its history which is likely to kill 70% of the national economy's backbone -- sheep.... A UPI dispatch leads: "Admin officials, embarrassed by new legislation which will put the US in violation of the UN sanctions against Rhodesia, began a search for ways out of the dilemma."

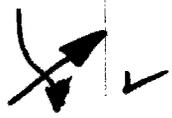
DEFENSE

NEWS  
SUMMARY  
19 NOVEMBER 71

Adm. Moorer said his biggest worry is not VN or growing USSR power but the "will and resolve of the American people."... M. Stanton Evans writes in National Review that the PRC trip is not RN's only "liberal" foreign-policy initiative.  
As far as Evans is concerned, Jerome Wiesner and the disarmament lobby would feel fully comfortable presenting Packard's summer explanation of linkage, ABM and weapons -- "a chilling picture" which reveals the Admin. is "deliberately" leaving the country open to enemy attack and that it is simultaneously restrictive to our offensive capacity.

The Black Caucus warned that if legislation to rid "racism in the military" did not come from its hearings then "all we can say is that time has run out." Witnesses have warned all week of the "explosiveness" of black GI feelings. Dellums said GI's interviewed by the caucus are warning "they face reprisals for talking to us".... State says the US agreed in '51 not to station Black GI's on Iceland, but the informal agreement was abandoned in '61.

DOD acknowledged its agents did again make a night time raid through Pentagon newsroom desks, but said it was a mistake not to be repeated. Note by CBS. Gen. James said the



Herb Klein

A memo for the P indicates that Klein talked to Jimmy the Greek who gave him posted "odds favoring Nixon re-election at 7-5... over Muskie and either 8-5 or 9-5 over Jackson and Humphrey. Joe Napolitano told Klein that Humphrey had offered him a job indicating that Humphrey is building an organization and will definitely run.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HERBERT G. KLEIN *HK*

Two interesting political notes:

1. Jimmy "the Greek" Snyder was in to see me and says he is now posting odds favoring Nixon re-election at 7-5 odds over Muskie and either 8-5 or 9-5 over Jackson and Humphrey.

He says he is keeping the odds at this level so they would not necessarily reflect a drop at a bad time, although surveys indicate that the odds should be higher in favor of the President.

As you know, he is personally friendly to you and has agreed to keep me informed on other unusual trends he picks up on his surveys for odds-making.

2. Joe Napolitan, veteran Democratic manager, who worked for Hubert Humphrey in 1968, told me in Brussels that he had turned down a direct offer from Hubert Humphrey to return to his campaign in a managerial capacity with emphasis on the media.

He reaffirms that there is no question but that Humphrey is building organization and will definitely run.

covered in Political Action/Horton/Malek  
in matter

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DEC 14/6 11/26

TO:

Larry

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Looks like the RNC is even more screwed up than generally considered. Would welcome your advice on whether H should discuss with AG or leave it in Olson's hands.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK COLSON  
FROM: NOEL KOCH  
SUBJECT: Meeting with Senator Dole

Attached are my brief notes from a meeting I had with Senator Dole today. He appears very anxious to straighten out the communications problem between here and the Hill, and feels much of the problem of his coverage hinges on bad press operation at RNC. He noted extensive coverage by all media this week -- said all arranged out of his own office.

My impression is that the difficulties shouldn't be hard to solve if everybody were talking to everybody else; Dole is obviously prepared to do whatever is necessary to get things straightened out, but there are clearly responsibilities that fall between the ears because nobody wants to get in anybody else's way. The press operation is one example. Dole apparently doesn't feel that he can prudently go in and clean it up, so he resigns himself to needling Nofziger. I think he might clean it up if he were confident the operation was blessed down here. Obviously, some of the general problem stems from the hydra-headed leadership of RNC -- if more than one man is responsible, then nobody is responsible.

I am generally hopeful something can come out of this sit-down next Thursday.

Speeches --

Dole blames lack of coverage on press operation at the RNC; says no matter how many speeches you give or how good they are, if they don't get to the press, they're useless. I asked him whose fault it was they don't get to the press, and he said the Committee operation is a disaster. Says Nofziger has a bunch of people who can't produce. I asked why not fire them. He said they're Lyn's people and Lyn is the President's man. I said, the consensus at the White House is that you ought to take hold of that operation and make it work. Dole says Nofziger takes three-hour lunches -- 12 to 3, that's when everything happens on the Hill, and you have to be around then. Lyn apparently has no working relationships with the press.

Dole said Committee is falling apart. I said if it falls, it'll fall on you. He disagreed, said he has a letter, either from RN or Mitchell, delineating responsibilities -- Tom Evans is supposed to run the Committee; Evans has big ego problem. He already put two secretaries in hospital; brought in Barry Mountain -- his friend -- now Mountain wasn't speaking to him. RN told Dole not to get involved in penny-ante operations, to concentrate on big stuff and leave the driving to Evans. Evans can't drive.

Dole supposed to meet next week with <sup>MacGruder</sup> MacGruder and Fleming; said there is rumor Evans may quit. Dole says MacGruder and Fleming

won't deal with Evans. Morale is rock bottom at Committee.

Dole suggested meeting with communications people at White House. I said it should be with Colson. Dole agreed to this; wants Nofziger there also to get everything on the line. I said I would arrange for Tuesday.

Colson can't make Tuesday. It is presently set up for Thursday at 11:00 a.m.

Chuck Colson

1) In discussion with a Democrat from Illinois, Colson obtained some accurate helpful background information on the Illinois political situation. This was transmitted to Flemming and Magruder. They disagree with Colson's assessment that Nixon State Chairman Tom Houser "is a very bad mistake. He's a nice guy but definitely not heavy enough to pull all of the strings together."

Dick Allen

You approved Dick Allen briefing Lawrence J. Meisel on defense and national security issues. In a memo to you Allen is asking for general authority "to start a 'dialogue' with the right wing" on national security issues.

- Approve Allen 'dialogue with right wing
- Disapprove
- Other

Herb Klein

A memo for the President indicates that Klein talked to Jimmy "the Greek" who posted "odds favoring Nixon re-election at 7-5 . . . over Muskie and either 8-5 or 9-5 over Jackson and Humphrey. Joe Napolitan told Klein that Humphrey had offered him a job indicating that Humphrey is building an organization and will definitely run.

→ He met with Senator Dole and established a system authorizing Noel Koch to issue statements in Dole's name. In a follow-up meeting, Nofziger "happened" to be there and the old dispute between Nofziger's "intransigence" and Colson's need for a spokesman emerged. Koch can still issue statements for Dole but Koch believes Nofziger is "doing a job on (Dole)" instead of for him. Dole likes Nofziger but is trying to see the A G about firing →

some of Nafziger's people. Aole and  
Koch are working on getting the Dems  
to hold hearings on the Pentagon  
Papers.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON   
SUBJECT: Bob Dole

You asked to be kept advised of the Dole situation. You might want to skim the attached. Koch met with Dole. Some progress is being made. I want to see how this works for a little while and then I may have some further recommendations. I have talked to Dole a couple of times this week and he is very upbeat. Things may be looking up.

11/29

JSM -

- ① Prob w/ Shumway
  - ② JSM → Peterson per AG, memo
  - ③ Dispute for replacement of Shumway  
HGK wants Jim Holland  
fr/ Post Office  
CUC dislikes Holland
  - ④ JSM has 10 St Comm ready  
to announce & he needs  
press man - Shumway
  - ⑤ Whole prob boils down to  
Oct 15 telecon w/ H. re  
when Shumway can leave  
per Miller's authority to deal
  - ⑥ AG anxious to have press man  
over to protect ag another NH.
- 

Rolling - list of materials

---

JSM Films by D.C.

- RAC Film being completed
- Film work - Father McLaughlin  
→ attends mtgs on Films

G → D.C.

AG thinks it work.  
H + A agreed Peter Bailey interested  
to 30 min docum. + JSM wants involved.

A G Wed - Org

- HFE { ① Regis  
② Get out vote  
③ Ballot security

memo 12/9  
RNC Mtg

Rietz

JSM → Kleindienst, Mardian,  
Meet Marik, Kaupinen,  
Tonight Dave Allen, JSM  
So Flemming using Rietz  
for Regis.  
Allen prepare 8t books.

A G beginning to focus on Regis, etc

A G agreed to Citizens plan  
for Odle + TWE

Tom Evans wants to head Cit  
A G + TWE talked + A G said  
TWE - must clear w/ps of MR

Dem Contenders - Rashigian  
Potter + JSM  
G check ↑

A G - meet Evans this wk  
on Finances

5 - 6<sup>30</sup> - drinks RW conf Rm

11/23  
JSM

#

Summary  
RNC Convention Program Book  
produced by Ben Kendall  
in conj. with <sup>Battin</sup> <sup>Barton</sup> <sup>Dunston</sup> & <sup>Calvin</sup>  
- 200 pp's adveis at 14,000 per page  
w/ front + back covers negotiable

Content approved by middle  
level Strategy Group  
- Garment & Buchanan

STRATEGY STATEMENT

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DECEMBER 7, 1971

## STRATEGY STATEMENT

### COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

The purpose of this document is to set forth basic communications objectives and strategies for the initial, or primary states of the campaign, and to discuss a plan of action for later stages.

It is based upon the conditions of today, and is, of course, subject to alteration as circumstances dictate a need for change.

#### THE PRIMARIES

The objectives in the primary campaign will be to:

1. Encourage a large vote for the President.
2. Provide necessary support and materials for a "grass roots" movement.
3. Avoid creating an image of the President that would equate him in people's minds as "another politician scrambling for primary votes" along with other contenders.
4. Avoid heavy primary campaign advertising expenditures.
5. Encourage and stimulate campaign workers.
6. Inform, via advertising and promotion that the President wants and needs their help and their vote, and to overcome an apathy that may exist among supporters.

Reasons for these recommendations are as follows:

1. The President, as of now, faces no formidable opposition. To run a heavy campaign could tend to lower him, in the eyes of voters, to the level of other campaigners. He would be saying he takes the opposition seriously.

2. It is particularly important to avoid early, heavy expenditures. There has been much publicity recently concerning the proposed campaign funding legislation, and the President's threatened veto. The Republicans have been described as having "plenty of cash," while the Democrats have been described as "debt-ridden." To spend heavily at this stage could provide an issue (which the opposition needs). That issue would be to picture the President as trying to "buy" the election, and of the Republicans as the party of the rich.

3. Finally, it is neither necessary nor desirable to expose major strategies during the primary campaigning. We must assume the opposition will carefully record our efforts and words in a search for issues and counters to our positions.

#### THE PRIMARY STRATEGY

The creative objective in the primaries will be to position the President as what he is...the President of the United States, and not just another contender for office. He is a man of courage, of character. He is sincere. He has kept his promises. He is concerned

about our domestic problems, and he is working for world peace.

The public must know that the President wants, and needs, their support. The President cares. But he is the President. He is "doing his job." In short, the advertising campaign will have the appearance of "statesmanship."

It is recommended that for the first primary in New Hampshire, the effort consist of:

1. Campaign materials
  - a. Bumper stickers, buttons
  - b. Brochure
2. Media
  - a. Daily and local weekly newspaper insertions
  - b. Radio
  - c. Direct Mail

Television and outdoor is not recommended in that local television is weak, and Boston stations must be purchased to cover New Hampshire. This coverage would also extend into a wide New England area, and tend to defeat the grass-roots image. Further, it would add substantially to the campaign's cost. Outdoor is excluded in that it is not a particularly good medium in the winter months; the President does not have an awareness problem; and there appears to be some

feeling against outdoor in the state.

The immediate need is for promotional materials, particularly bumper stickers and buttons, so that campaign workers feel they have something to work with. Approval is required immediately for delivery in January.

A local agency will be retained for media placement to facilitate this matter, and to further the image of local support.

The preparation of newspaper advertisements and radio commercials should begin when research is received after Christmas. There will be time to prepare them then, and with the aid of research, will be properly focused on the concerns of the people of New Hampshire.

Other primaries will follow this same basic strategy, with alterations to fit local media and promotion needs.

Finally, the people of New Hampshire have long supported President Nixon. If time permits, a short visit to the state by the President would re-assure them that he remembers, and that he cares about their vote. One day would probably achieve more than all the primary advertising.

### TESTING

The question has been raised as to the possibility of using the primaries as "test markets" for future strategies. It is recommended that this not be undertaken at this time for the following reasons:

1. Test marketing, to be measurably effective, requires sufficient reach and frequency directed towards a target group in order to measure changes in attitude and action. This would require significant expenditures. Further, it is critical to know exactly what the attitude of the group is prior to the test, in order to measure the after-effects of the test itself. This requires prior research.

2. Test results from certain groups, while interesting in February and March, may be invalid by fall. Finally, it is difficult (and dangerous) to project results from limited test marketing.

The concept of testing, however, is a valid one, and will be used in other forms during the preparation of the campaign.

### THE LATER STAGE

The next, or major stage of the campaign will be developed following this procedure. First, the objective will be to develop communications that genuinely motivate people to vote for the President. A major national campaign will be developed. Additionally, special campaigns, directly targeted at certain groups and regions will be

developed, including communications directed at:

1. Key states
2. Problem markets
3. The Jewish vote
4. Blacks
5. Chicanos and Puerto Ricans
6. Senior citizens
7. Rank and file labor
8. Youth

It is premature and not to the benefit of this group to develop these strategies now, without the benefits of thorough analysis of research findings, the counsel of those who are now deeply involved, and the inputs of key experts who will be brought into the communications group.

A timetable, indicating requirements and due dates for each section and stage of the communications campaign will be prepared and available in January.