

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	8	12/31/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: campaign finance and campaign organizational matters. 4 pgs.
27	8	12/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Lee Nunn to Strachan RE: campaign mailing and attached information. 1 pg.
27	8	12/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Sears to Haldeman RE: RN polling figures and campaign strategies. 10 pgs.
27	8	12/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of chairmen of state branches of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. Two addendums to the list attached. 3 pgs.

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27	8	1/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Lane Dwinell to RN RE: RN's name on the New Hampshire primary ballot and his presidential accomplishments. 1 pg.
27	8	12/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Attorney General RE: general strategy for the New Hampshire primary. Estimated budget and organizational chart attached. Graphical organization of strategy attached but not scanned. 7 pgs.
27	8	12/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Attorney General RE: the Campaign Strategy Group's meeting on its youth poster campaign and the 1972 Republican National Convention. 4 pgs.
27	8	12/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rietz to the Campaign Strategy Group RE: campaign material for youth. 3 pgs.
27	8	12/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Description of the layout for a "Re-elect the President" poster generated by Jimini Productions. Copy of picture of RN attached. 3 pgs.

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27	8	12/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Attorney General RE: an attached weekly report of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President and polling graphs. 10 pgs.
27	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Financial Records	Estimated operating expenses for January 1972 for an organization (possibly the CRP). 1 pg.
27	8	12/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten notes laying out large numbers, possibly budget figures. 1 pg.
27	8	8/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: soliciting citizens who have written in support of RN for campaign funds. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman. 1 pg.
27	8	12/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ann Dore to Magruder RE: announcing state chairmen of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. 1 pg.

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27	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to the announcement of various state chairmen of the CRP. 3 pgs.
27	8	12/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Flemming to Strachan RE: confirmed CRP state chairmen. 1 pg.
27	8	12/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle, through Magruder, to the Attorney General RE: Chotiner's wife as a campaign volunteer. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
27	8	12/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Handwritten notes relating to campaign advice from Teeter. 1 pg.
27	8	12/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Financial Records	Handwritten notes relating to the use of media, particularly television, in the campaign. 1 pg.

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27	8	12/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Hanwritten notes relating to Dwinell and other CRP matters. 1 pg.
27	8	12/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to RN's entrance into the New Hampshire primary. 1 pg.
27	8	12/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Strachan RE: attached information on the structure of the CRP and the functions of its employees. 7 pgs.
27	8	12/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Sedam to Magruder RE: procedures for putting RN's name on the 1972 presidential ballot. 1 pg.
27	8	12/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to various campaign matters, such as campaigning in New Hampshire and campaign mailing. 1 pg.

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27	8	12/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Strachan RE: the Citizens Committee's advice to emphasize RN's role as the President. 1 pg.
27	8	12/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rietz to the Campaign Strategy Group RE: putting together a youth newsletter and other campaign material for younger voters. 3 pgs.
27	8	12/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Written description of a "Re-elect the President" poster generated by Jimini Productions. 2 pgs.
27	8	12/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Rietz RE: posters. 1 pg.
27	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Order form for a Republican Party poster generated by the College Republican National Committee. 1 pg.

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27	8	12/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: campaign artwork for the New Hampshire campaign. 1 pg.
27	8	12/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Attorney General RE: administration officials as fundraisers in various states. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
27	8	12/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Attorney General RE: information from Rietz on the Democratic Party. 1 pg.
27	8	12/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Attorney General RE: the use of Nancy Brademas in the campaign. 1 pg.
27	8	12/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Attorney General RE: campaign strategies for RN after he announces his candidacy. 3 pgs.

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27	8	12/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to various campaign matters such as administration accomplishments and Republican Party dealings. 1 pg.
27	8	12/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Two news pieces related to Ashbrook's bid for the presidency. 1 pg.
27	8	12/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	News pieces explaining Representative John Ashbrook's presidential campaign. 2 pgs.
27	8	12/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Various news articles reporting on the political ideology and presidential campaign of John Ashbrook. 4 pgs.
27	8	12/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik to Klein RE: computer-based telephone technology and its use in the campaign. 1 pg.

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27	8	12/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rietz to Strachan RE: voter registration in Los Angeles, California. 1 pg.
27	8	12/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to "Larry" RE: Nofziger's role in California. 1 pg.
27	8	12/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: whether or not Nofziger has any campaign role in California. 1 pg.
27	8	12/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Talking paper for Agnew about his role in the 1972 election authored by Strachan. 1 pg.
27	8	11/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Strachan RE: attached information. 1 pg.

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27	8	10/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rita E. Hauser to Mitchell RE: the role of women in the 1972 Republican campaign. Information on a Volunteer Manpower apparatus attached. Attached proposal for campaign structure not scanned. 4 pgs.
27	8	11/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Hauser to Mitchell RE: Women Voters for the President. Duplicate attached. 2 pgs.
27	8	11/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	"Women Voters for the President" report authored by Hauser discussing the role of women in the 1972 campaign. 23 pgs.
27	8	11/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Attorney General RE: attached information for use during a meeting with Hauser. Document critiquing "Campaign Program: Women Voters for the President" with handwritten notes attached. 4 pgs.
27	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	"Campaign Program: Women Voters for the President" discussing the political awareness of American women and how to gear campaign material toward them. 28 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

December 31, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR :

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM :

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT :

Political Matters

Finances

1) Herb Kalmbach will meet with the Attorney General in California on December 31, 1971 to discuss the status of Secretary Stans as the Nixon Finance Chairman for 1972. Kalmbach will also work with the Attorney General on a suggested list of "political powers" and very strong financial supporters for the January 27 dinner with the President in Washington. Kalmbach hopes to have these lists for your review next week.

2) The current financial situation at 1701 is 3,484 raised, 1,125 disbursed for salaries and operating expenses of 1701, leaving a balance of 2,358, primarily in checks not cash. The estimated operating expenses for 1701 for January are 415 of which 100 will be for a finance direct mail effort, and the first payment on the polling of 160. The Attorney General recently questioned Magruder and Flemming on their travel and entertainment expenses, estimated at 25 for January.

3) The direct mail finance drive, which is to begin after the President formally announces on January 12, is being assembled by Lee Nunn. His memorandum, requesting your authority to key punch 20,000 of the 500,000 names on the White House support list, is attached at Tab A. On August 17 you approved the concept of a mailing using parts of the list with the proviso: "but no mailing until we review content." Nunn represents that the Chairman of the Nixon Finance Committee, hopefully Stans, will clear the letter and mailing with you.

Recommendation:

That Lee Nunn be granted authority to key punch 20,000 names from the White House support list.

Approve Disapprove Comment

Murray Chotiner

You asked the Attorney General on November 16 whether it was time to make a decision about using Chotiner in the Campaign. Magruder informed me that he will be used for "ballot security" but that neither the extent of the responsibility nor amount of Chotiner's time has been settled. Mrs. Chotiner will work as a volunteer for the Campaign but "in a non-sensitive position."

John Sears

He submitted an excellent analysis of the most recent Gallup poll as it relates to the 1968 race, the 1972 race, and the basic strengths of the Republican and Democratic parties. It is attached at Tab B. Sears submitted it directly to me because Pat Buchanan was unavailable, presumably working on the briefing book.

Bob Teeter

- 1) The poll results from New Hampshire and Florida, which he had planned to submit to you and the Attorney General on January 3, will not be available until the week of January 10. The delay is attributable to ORC spending too much time in the field interviewing in New Hampshire and Florida, according to Teeter. He will explain this to the Attorney General on January 4, when he hopes to have the Wisconsin poll results ready for you and the Attorney General.
- 2) The Teeter analyses of the Catholic voter, ecology issue, and Harris Domestic Issues Poll are due from Teeter to you and the Attorney General on January 7. They will be submitted directly to the Attorney General, not through Magruder.

Harry Flemming

On December 29 Flemming sent you the list attached at Tab C of the fifteen Nixon State Chairmen that are final but not yet announced. As to the rest of the states, five Chairmen have already been announced; five more are "set"; ten are in the "final stages"; and sixteen are still "fluid," according to Flemming.

Ann Dore, under the direction of Cliff Miller, is handling the press arrangements for the nine announcements scheduled in January.

Magruder's Projects

1) New Hampshire. On January 3, Nixon State Chairman Lane Dwinell will file the petition for the President to enter the New Hampshire primary. He will simultaneously release the letter to the President attached at Tab D at a press conference. Magruder approved the text of the letter. On January 12, two letters from the President will formally declare his candidacy. Ray Price is drafting both the letter to Dwinell and the one to the New Hampshire Secretary of State.

Magruder submitted an operating plan and schedule chart for the New Hampshire primary, which is attached at Tab E. The Attorney General approved the general plan but cut the newspaper advertising from 50 to 25, eliminated the TV ads, and emphasized that the tenor was to be very local.

2) Committee Personnel

Magruder prepared the Campaign organization chart at Tab F. It is a very rough interim guide as to how the forty-three professionals are organized at the Committee. None of the staff have titles, which will be assigned by the Attorney General at a later date.

Magruder and Miller recently hired Tom Garard of Metromedia in Washington to act as News Bureau Chief for \$27,000 per year.

Miller is pushing Malek, Colson and Klein to get a replacement for Van Shumway by January 7. The prime candidate is Ken Clausen of the Washington Post, but Klein has not yet decided to offer him the Deputy Director of Communications spot.

3) The Committee will receive 10% of the gross receipts for fundraising appearances by Executive Branch spokesmen and Senator Goldwater beginning immediately and 10% from appearances by Governors and Members of Congress after March 1, 1972. Spokesmen appearing in home states for local candidates will be exempt.

4) Kenney O'Donnell is reportedly establishing a special fund for the Democratic nominee.

5) Magruder is urging the Attorney General to meet with Keith Bulen, Harry Flemming, Bob Marik, and Bob Teeter to hear Bulen's description of his campaign techniques in Lugar's victory in Indianapolis.

6) The minutes from the December 30 meeting of the Middle Level Campaign Strategy Group are attached at Tab G. The subjects covered are the campaign poster and the convention.

7) Magruder's weekly report for the Attorney General is attached at Tab H.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

December 21, 1971

TO: MR. GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: MR. LEE NUNN

Confirming our conversation, the initial use of the names will be a testing operation in early January using the signature of Frank Dale, Chairman of the Committee For The Re-election Of The President.

I understand the letter to be used for testing purposes must be cleared by "H" before the names under discussion may be used. If the testing operation produces as expected, a full mailing using all names, is projected to go out over the signature of our new Chairman, using the name of The Nixon Finance Committee. The Chairman would also clear this mailing with "H" including copy and etc. The names for testing must first be key punched, approximately 20,000, before testing can get underway. If the test is successful, the total list should be key punched and compared with other lists to eliminate duplication, prior to a full mailing.

I am outlining the mechanics involved in the hope that some immediate action can be taken.

I would suggest that the Chairman Designate be contacted immediately before the holidays for his advise and approval.

TO: Haldeman
FROM: Sears

December 28, 1971

I. MOST RECENT GALLOP POLL - While it is always better to be ahead than behind, the recent Gallop Poll showing RN leading all Democratic contenders continues to reflect some disturbing characteristics about the 1972 race:

A. RN Still Maintains a 43-44% Range of Popularity -- Against the top Democratic contenders (Muskie and Kennedy) RN continues to poll in the 43-44% range. This is not enough against a united Democratic party.

What the polls are reflecting is a vote of 20-21% nationally from the Republican party (approximately 85% of the Republican vote), another 12-15% composed of people who call themselves Democrats or Independants but normally vote Republican in presidential elections and another 8-12% of the electorate which voted for RN in 1968 but could be convinced to go against him under certain circumstances. The rock bottom strength of a Republican presidential candidate continues to be in the 30-35% range.

The rock bottom strength of a Democratic presidential contender running with a united party is about 40% of the vote. This is composed of the straight line Democratic vote plus

Independants who vote Democratic in presidential elections.

While the most recent poll is somewhat satisfying in that it indicates RN is holding 8-12% of the vote above his rock bottom of 30-35%, it is disturbing to note that the mere mention of Muskie or Kennedy, without either one having been actually named as the presidential candidate and without either having campaigned in an effort to attract the 8-12% in RN's vote, is still enough to render a base, Democratic showing of 41% of the vote. This strongly indicates that as far as the normally Democratic non-Southern vote is concerned, the Democrats are not divided even now. Any difficulties Muskie or Kennedy have inside the party are not affecting either's ability to pull the base Democratic vote.

If the Democrats are allowed to go to their convention, and through it, with this kind of basic strength, they will be in good shape to add an extra 7-8% from the undecideds, the northern union, and/or ethnic, Wallace vote and the soft part of RN's 44%.

Another indication of RN's situation is the Gallop figures on a Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace race. In 1968, the percentages (rounded off) were:

Nixon	44%
Humphrey	43%
Wallace	13%

The recent Gallop Poll shows the following figures:

Nixon	47%
Humphrey	37%
Wallace	12%
Undecideds	4%

This reflects a rise of 3% for Nixon, a drop of 6% for Humphrey, a drop of 1% for Wallace and 4% who claim they "don't know" any more. Obviously, most of the 4% undecideds went for Humphrey in '68 and when election day comes, most would probably go Democratic again. The additional 3% which RN receives over the '68 race melts away immediately when RN is tested against Muskie and Kennedy. This is obviously a Democratic oriented vote also. Therefore, the Humphrey race indicates that when undecideds and the surplus of RN's vote as compared with '68 are added together there is a float of 6-7% which would make it a very close race even if Humphrey were the candidate.

Those who feel that if Wallace were to drop out of the race, RN would be an easy winner, should ponder the following facts:

1. In the recent Gallop Poll both RN and Wallace declined when measured against Muskie and Kennedy as compared

to Humphrey or McGovern. The number of undecideds remains about the same, leading one to speculate that most of the decline in both RN's figures and Wallace's went directly to Muskie and Kennedy. These are soft Democratic votes which rebound automatically when Muskie or Kennedy is mentioned.

2. In 1968 close to one-third of the entire Wallace vote came from 7 northern states (Illinois, New Jersey, Michigan, New York, California and Pennsylvania). Wallace got more actual votes in Ohio and California than in Mississippi or Tennessee. The vast majority of these northern, big state votes are Democrats to whom Muskie or Kennedy would have considerably more appeal than Humphrey did on grounds of religion, ethnics and economic problems.

Wallace received almost one half of his 9.9 million votes outside the South. If 75% of these were taken from the Democrats, his absence from the election in 1968 would have made a difference of approximately 3.75 million votes to the Democrats in the North. If the percentage was only three-fifths, this still would have given the Democrats 3 million additional votes, most of which would have been cast in the seven largest northern states.

B. It is important to bear in mind that the Democrats have not yet begun to fight. So far they have merely been concentrating on papering back together the northern portion of the old coalition.

Once the Democratic convention is over, they will move quickly to cut into retired people, farmers, small businessmen and lower middle class white collar workers. It is imperative that we use the time between now and next summer to solidify these groups as much as possible against the very predictable onslaught of the Democrats.

II. MUSKIE STRATEGY AND PERSONNEL

Whether he knows it or not (I suspect he knows it) Muskie has the Democratic nomination in his control right now. He has performed in much wiser fashion over the last 8 months than would have been expected immediately after the 1970 election. He has used most of this time to establish a position a shade to the left of the middle of the road, he has given the other Democratic candidates no excuse to be mad at him (both McGovern and Jackson easily tell reporters they would have no difficulty supporting Muskie and have had no difficulty dealing with him) and he has used the time to work

on political organization and endorsements, managing in the process to get rid of such token candidates as Bayh, Proxmire, Harris, and for all practical purposes, Mills. Part of the reason for this achievement has been the politicians he has gathered around him:

John English - Experienced New York political leader who has been involved in the national scene on behalf of both Johnson and Humphrey in the past -- he is an exceptionally good organizer and has an appreciation for delegate politics. While he has good relations with the left wing of the Democratic party, he is from the mainstream of Democratic organization politics.

Mark Schields - Approximately 36 but has worked in both Jack and Robert Kennedy campaigns. Has also worked on the Hill for Senator Proxmire. Ran Governor Gilligan's campaign in Ohio last year and was his Washington representative until taking a job with the Democratic National Committee. Good organizer and strong Democratic organization politician.

Bob Squires - Was in charge of major share of Humphrey's advertising and television programs in 1968 -- the originator of that T.V. spot on Social Security which gave us so much trouble. Not only very knowledgeable about television and

advertising but combines this with a real appreciation for political maneuver and strategy.

George Mitchell - Maine Democratic National Committee man and old friend of Muskie's. His acquaintanceship in Democratic National Committee ranks is very broad and he is highly regarded. He has little feeling for the far left of the party and favors reconstituting the old coalition.

Meanwhile, Larry O'Brien has been concentrating specifically on holding the party together and has met with some success in this regard already. The dispute over the chairman of the credentials committee showed the strength that he has in the party machinery and his success in placing Mrs. Harris in that position will keep any credentials fights under his control at least until the convention. He has put in force a sort of 11th Commandment (Thou shalt not speak ill of other Democrats) and is using the power of his position to enforce it.

With the kind of people Muskie has around him, some predictions can be made as to how he intends to run his campaign:

(1) he has undersold his chances of winning the Florida primary leaving the impression with the press that if he should win, it would show that he is even stronger than people thought but if he doesn't this will not harm his chances of being

nominated since it is a southern state in which he is not expected to be popular. In reality, Muskie is staging an all out effort in both New Hampshire and Florida hoping for impressive victories which would provide a band wagon effect through the remaining primaries. During the primary season, he will run generally against RN and say little or nothing about his opponents. He will stick to domestic issues with emphasis on what RN hasn't done rather than challenging what has been done.

(2) Once the Convention is over, he will turn to the job of cutting away some of RN's soft support (farmers, retired people, small businessmen, etc.). He will also step up his personal attacks on RN. Three things must be borne in mind, (a) we must not allow him to wage the campaign on his issues. By the time the Democratic convention is over we must be in a position of having so thoroughly sold the accomplishments of the Administration that he will have to attack on the basis of what RN has done rather than not done, (b) he will try to get RN to react to his personal attacks so that he can get out the vote among the left wing of his party (who are presently somewhat apathetic toward him) and the younger voters. If we are too quick to react to this kind of ploy we

will be merely forming up additional votes for the Democrats, (c) extra effort will be made next year to hold down the Wallace vote in the north. The Democrats were quite surprised in 1968 to see how much damage Wallace was doing to them and were forced to rush around in September and October trying to get back votes that they had already counted as theirs. They won't let this happen again.

(3) Muskie will not attempt to run in all the states. Essentially he will wage a big state northern campaign. Some of his people are already saying as much to reporters and indicating that since they enjoy a registration advantage in California, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts, their best shot at winning is to concentrate on taking all eight of these states (216 electoral votes) and then picking up the additional 54 electoral votes from Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland, Delaware, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Washington, Hawaii, Alaska, Nevada, New Mexico, West Virginia and Oregon (95 electoral votes). They will also wage a strong campaign in Texas but don't feel that it is essential to win there.

(4) Muskie will pick a vice president out of the

following group — Tunney, Stevenson, Jackson, McGovern, Gilligan, or Kennedy. Of these individuals I presume that it would come down to Stevenson or Jackson. If Muskie needs help with the unions to hold down the Wallace vote, feels the need to raise extra money from defense contractors and wants to protect his right flank rather than his left he will go with Jackson. If he is concerned about his left flank it will be Stevenson. If things were different he might prefer Tunney or Gilligan since both come from large states which RN carried in 1968 that are important to Muskie but both are Catholics as he is and this would harm him with the non-Catholic vote. McGovern would meet with approval on the left but could not even carry South Dakota and would add very little in the larger states. If Muskie were to run with Kennedy, the Catholic problem would be presented and there would be a natural confusion as to who was running with who.

* New Hampshire Governor Lane Dwinell (603) 224-7411
 N.H. Committee for the
 Headquarters: Re-election of the President
 New Hampshire Highway Hotel
 Concord, New Hampshire 03301

home: 94 Bank Street (603) 448-1121
 Lebanon, New Hampshire 03766

Wisconsin John K. MacIver
 office: Michael, Best & Friedrich (414) 271-6560
 626 East Wisconsin Avenue
 Milwaukee, Wisconsin

home: 5498 North Lake Drive (414) 962-2475
 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53217

Nebraska George Cook (402) 467-1122
 office: Chairman and Chief Executive
 Officer
 Bankers Life -- Nebraska
 Lincoln, Nebraska

home: 3070 Sheridan Blvd. (402) 423-6272
 Lincoln, Nebraska

* Oregon Wendall Wyatt (202) 225-2206
 office: House of Representatives
 Washington, D. C.

home: 1209 Huntley Place (703) 765-5421
 Alexandria, Virginia 22307

North Carolina Charles Jonas, Jr. (704) 377-3651
 office: Reynolds and Company
 330 S. Tryon Street
 Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

home: 302 Colville Road (704) 332-7018
 Charlotte, North Carolina

Illinois Thomas Houser (Campaign Manager)
 office: Suite 3200 (312) 329-7603
 One First National Plaza
 Chicago, Illinois 60670

home: 219 N. Hickory
 Arlington Heights, Illinois (312) CL3-7395

* Missouri Lawrence K. Roos
 office: Supervisor, St. Louis (314) 889-2016
 County, Missouri

home: 943 Tirrill Farms Road (314) WY3-3766
 St. Louis County, Missouri

*publicly announced

TO BE AN
 BY _____, Date: 12/27/71

ADDITIONS TO STATE CHAIRMEN
LIST

<u>* Maryland</u>	<p>Edward P. Thomas office: Senate of Maryland (301) 662-0713 Carroll and Frederick County Annapolis, Maryland</p> <p>home: 710 Wyngate Drive (301) 66 -5765 Frederick, Maryland 21701</p>
<u>Utah</u>	<p>Dick Richards office: 2610 Washington Boulevard (801) 399-3303 Ogden, Utah 84401</p> <p>home: 4753 Madison Avenue (801) 621-4163 Ogden, Utah 84403</p>
<u>Wyoming</u>	<p>Mrs. Robert (Barbara) Gosman (307) 243-9166 c/o Republican State Headquarters Box 241 Casper, Wyoming 82601</p> <p>home: 120 East 15th Street (307) 234-2801 Casper, Wyoming 82601</p> <p>(Bob Gosman's office phone (307) 235-5721)</p>
<u>Nevada</u>	<p>C. Clifton Young (Cliff) office: P. O. Box 1631 (702) 786-7600 232 Court Street Reno, Nevada 89501</p> <p>home: 2085 Regent Street (702) 329-0587 Reno, Nevada 89502</p>

ADDENDUM
STATE CHAIRMENMAINE

office: Ned Harding
P. O. Box 2011 (207) 773-1775
Portland, Maine

home: South Freeport, (207) 865-6565
Maine

COLORADO

office: Governor John Love
Executive Chambers (303) 534-8285
Colorado State Capital Bldg.
Denver, Colorado 80203

home: Executive Mansion (303) 892-2471
400 E. 8th Avenue
Denver, Colorado 80203

CONNECTICUT

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30 Trinity Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

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* NEW YORK

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Executive Chamber (518) GR4-7000 (Albany)
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(212) 582-7030 (NYC)

FLORIDA

*designated

PRIMARY COORDINATOR

*L. E. (Tommy) Thomas
P. O. Box 490 (904) 785-5221
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Concord, New Hampshire
January 3, 1972

President Richard Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

It is my great privilege to notify you, formally, that as chairman of the New Hampshire Committee for the Re-Election of the President, I have today filed a petition to place your name on our state's Primary Election ballot.

This action by citizens of our state, which prides itself in having the Nation's first Presidential Preference Primary Election, reflects our sincere sentiment that the nation needs your leadership as its President for another four years.

During three years as our President, you have clearly demonstrated the kind of initiative and keen insight into national and international problems and their solutions that marks your administration as truly historic. You have opened the door to a partnership of nations. You have shown the American people the path toward a national unity, a peaceful new American Revolution in its most positive sense. You have brought a new sense of dignity to our nation's highest office, and provided the inspiration to create a better world for all men for all time.

As citizens of New Hampshire and as dedicated Americans, we urge you to acknowledge our support, thus indicating your approval of our efforts and your determination to complete the task you have started -- to bring a new prosperity to this nation and restore peace in the world.

With our utmost respect,

Sincerely,

Lane Dwinell

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 17, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Operating Plan for the New Hampshire Primary

Attached (Tab A) is a schedule chart showing the proposed plan for the New Hampshire Presidential primary campaign. This plan has been developed in consultation with Harry Flemming, as well as Governor Dwinell and Allan Walker of the New Hampshire Committee. Estimated operating costs are tabulated in Tab B.

The objectives reflected in the plan are:

1. To maximize the per cent of the vote received by the President in the Republican primary.
2. To conduct the campaign in a manner so as to reflect local organization, local support and local management. The use of mass marketing techniques, such as out-of-state television stations, or the appearance of direction from Washington, will be minimized.
3. To apply the tactical concepts which have been developed over the past months, insofar as possible, to test their effectiveness in a campaign environment.
4. To establish the pattern of coordination and mutual support between the state organization and the Washington based Committee which will be necessary for success in the general campaign.

The various campaign activities have been grouped together on the chart, according to the categories in the left-hand margin.

Campaign Organization Activities reflect the building of the structure and staff of the state organization. Operations are proceeding according to the schedule.

Strategy and Management Control emphasize the need for establishing tangible objectives for the campaign and obtaining the feedback to assure that they are being met. It will be important in the primary contests to establish the best method of exercising this control in the campaign situation.

Fund-Raising activities are generally on schedule. The finance people in Washington are working with the New Hampshire Committee to advise them on the most effective techniques to meet their objectives.

Field Operations have been planned with the intent of securing a large participation by young people, as well as extensive involvement of volunteers of all ages. Current activities relate to the filing of nominating petitions. Broader campaign activities will begin in mid-January.

Brochures, Buttons, Bumper Stickers, etc. - Peter Dailey is adhering to the schedule and expects to have the materials in New Hampshire by the first week in January, ahead of the planned openings of the Concord and local campaign headquarters.

Telephone canvassing will be used to contact every Republican and Independent voter. Voter registration lists will be compiled, as shown under Field Operations. Independents will be called to determine which ones intend to vote in the Republican primary. (They can choose the primary of either party under the state law.) The registered Republicans, as well as Republican-leaning Independents, will then be grouped according to (1) those who support the President strongly, (2) those who definitely support an opposing candidate, or (3) those who are undecided. The names from the first group will be used in get-out-the-vote mail and telephone programs. The second group will be excluded from further mail or telephone follow-up. The third group will be sent letters and brochures covering the issues of particular interest. They will then receive another telephone call a week or so later to determine if they have decided to support one of the candidates. If they support the President, they will be added to the list for get-out-the-vote operations.

Direct Mail will be closely tied to the telephone campaign outlined above. The same name lists will be used for both operations. A mailing to all Republicans is contemplated for early February, to communicate the fact that a serious local campaign is being waged on the President's behalf, and asking for their support. This type of targeted communication will be particularly important if the candidate is not able to campaign in the state. The second series of mail will be to present particular issues to undecided voters, as determined by the telephone canvass. The Independent voters who are intending to vote in the Republican primary will then receive a separate mailing, because they are the group McCloskey is focusing on. A final mailing will be sent to all registered voters intending to vote in the Republican primary for the President. It will probably be in the form of a sample ballot, to facilitate the identification of the pledged delegates.

In addition, a direct mail campaign is planned for the first time voters. It will consist of three letters, spread over the six weeks prior to the election. A particular benefit of this program will be to compile a list of young voters which can be used for mail or telephone operations in the general campaign.

Newspaper Ads will be very important in the absence of a strong television campaign. The ads are scheduled to appear on a regular basis over the last three or four weeks of the campaign, in the several important daily and weekly New Hampshire papers.

Rallies and Other Speaking Engagements by key Administration spokesmen will have to compete effectively with Mr. McCloskey when the President is unable to visit the state personally. The schedule will be coordinated by Bart Porter in Washington. The New Hampshire Committee feels that the major rally scheduled for Friday, March 3, is of particular importance. In addition, the series of coffees to be held throughout the state, will feature the appearances of well-known figures as frequently as possible.

Polls - The baseline poll is currently in the field. Results should be available before the first of January. In addition, there will be telephone polls taken on a continuing basis over the final four weeks of the campaign, under the direction of Bob Teeter in Washington. Those results will be used to evaluate whether the campaign is achieving the desired level of support for the President, or whether more intensive measures will have to be taken.

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Television and Radio will be used over the last four weeks of the campaign. Because there are only two TV channels within the state of New Hampshire, commanding only a small fraction of the viewing audience, television will not be the dominant medium. (The major stations viewed in the state originate in Boston and Portland, Maine.) Radio, however, will be used extensively, particularly during the periods of peak commuter traffic. Several local stations will be employed throughout the state.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

CONFIDENTIALPRELIMINARY BUDGET ESTIMATESNEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY1970 Registration

Republican	162,000	(Assume 85,000 households)
Unaffiliated	125,000	(Assume 65,000 households)
Democrat	100,000	

Campaign MaterialsTotal Cost

Bumper Stickers: 10,000 @ 10¢ each	\$ 1,000
Buttons: 20,000 @ 5¢ each	1,000
Brochures:	
5 major brochures @ 20,000 each = 100,000	3,000
cost: \$30.00/thousand	

Campaign Organization Activities
and Field Operations

25,000*

Direct Mail

85,000 Republican households x 1 mailing	
30,000 Unaffiliated households voting	
Republican (estimated) x 1 mailing	
18,000 Undecided voters (estimated) x 1 mailing	
<u>100,000 Get-out-the-vote letters (estimated)</u>	
233,000 letters x \$150/thousand	35,000
Data processing of address lists	8,000
Series of letters to first-time voters	16,000

*To be raised by New Hampshire Committee

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Telephone

Total Cost

Assume:

Calling times - 10:00 A.M. - 8:00 P.M. = 10 hrs/day
x 6 days per week = 60 hrs per week
Three week campaign period = 180 calling hours

If one operator can reach 20 homes per hour,
then each telephone can reach about 3600 homes

If 20% of the calls must be re-placed because of
busy line or no answer, then 150,000 households
(Republican and Unaffiliated) require 180,000 calls.

Therefore, a bank of 50 telephones is required.

Cost per telephone:

Installation	\$ 15
Intra-state WATS line	250
	<u>\$265 per telephone</u>

Total cost = 50 x \$265 = \$13,250

Paid operators: 180 hrs @ 2.00 per hr = \$360/operator
50 x \$360 = 18,000*

Supervisors - 5 x 180 hrs x \$3.50/hr = 3,150
34,400

Mass Media

Newspapers 50,000
9 dailies, 17 weeklies

Television 6,000
4 weeks - 2 stations

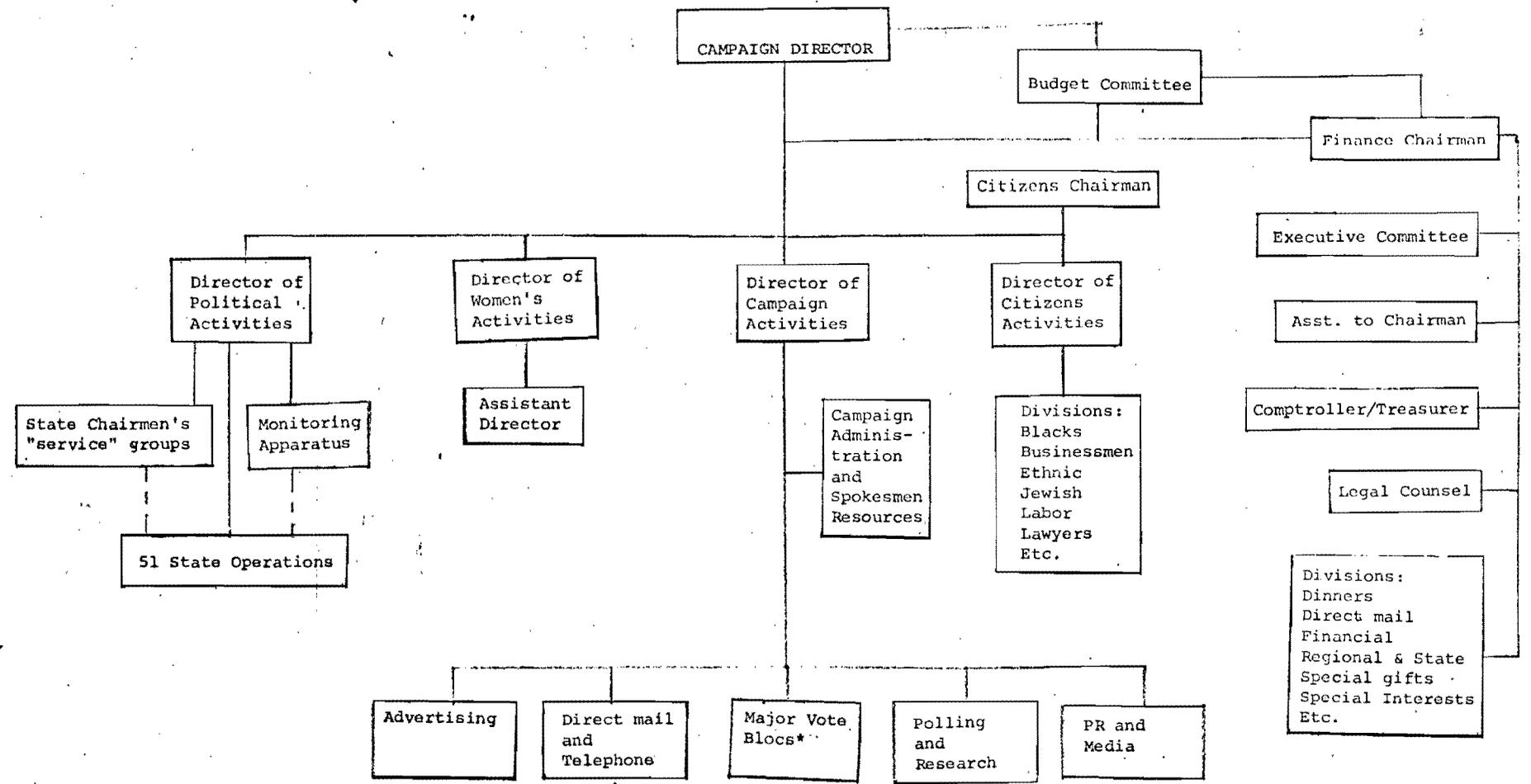
Radio 14,000
4 weeks - 14 stations

Production 30,000
100,000

TOTAL COST OF LISTED ITEMS \$223,400

*← probably 20-30,000
dropper AG*

*Volunteer telephone operators will be tested before
paid workers are recruited.



*Includes youth, farm, elderly, transient

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 30, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN STRATEGY GROUP

In its meetings of Monday, December 27th and Wednesday, December 29th, the Campaign Strategy Group focused on the youth poster program proposed by Ken Reitz, and the plans for the Republican convention.

YOUTH POSTER PROGRAM. Ken Reitz described the proposed program that he has been developing for a series of youth-oriented posters to be used throughout the campaign. His presentation is given in more detail in Tab A. Briefly, the concept is to capitalize on the popularity of posters among the young people, and to maintain continuing interest by issuing a new addition to the set each month from March through October. Each of these posters would stand alone and reflect a separate set of issues or Administration accomplishments. They would, however, all fit together to form a very large mural which could be mounted on a wall for decoration. At the center of the mural design, there would be one larger poster which would feature the President and reflect the central theme of the campaign. It would be analogous to the 1968 poster, "NIXON'S THE ONE," which showed the President supported by all of the leading figures in the Republican party.

The conclusion of the Strategy Group was that the idea was promising and should be implemented. More work is required on the design of the individual posters. The original thought was to produce the central poster first. However, it may be more appropriate to publish those on important issues first and to hold the main poster until the main theme is more fully developed later in the campaign. The final designs should be tested through focus interviews conducted by Bob Teeter. The main poster should show the President as a man who has mastered his job and is not overwhelmed by his responsibilities. It should emphasize the human aspect of the President. One photograph in the current issue of Time (Tab B) reflects the tone being sought.

It was suggested that the photo adopted as the central one for the campaign be one that can also be rendered effectively as a drawing. In that manner, posters and all forms of campaign material can carry the common theme.

THE CONVENTION. Bill Timmons outlined the plans for the convention as they are currently being proposed. The convention will take place on August 21-23. There will be five sessions during the three days with a total duration of approximately ten and one-half hours. The sessions are now scheduled as follows:

Monday, August 21st (Morning Session) - General organization: appointment of working committees (Platform, Credentials, Rules and Permanent Organization). There will also be a tribute to General Eisenhower and a presentation to Mrs. Eisenhower.

Monday, August 21st (Evening Session) - Keynote address, perhaps presented by three or four leading Republicans, each appearing for up to ten minutes. In addition there will be a 15 minute film on foreign policy achievements of the Administration. There will also be a tribute to the First Lady, including a brief film. It is hoped that she will appear before the convention at that time.

Tuesday, August 22nd (Morning Session) - Reports by Committees, including the presentation of the Platform. There will be a film dealing with the promises made in 1968 and their fulfillment during the President's Administration.

Tuesday, August 22nd (Evening Session) - Nomination of the President. He may make a brief appearance before the convention at that time.

Wednesday, August 23rd (Evening Session) - Nomination of the Vice President. Acceptance speech of the Vice President and acceptance speech of the President.

The morning sessions will start at 10:00 AM, Pacific time, or 1:00 PM Eastern time. The evening sessions will start at 5:30 PM California time or 8:30 PM Eastern time. The first half hour of the evening sessions will be taken up by opening ceremonies and introductions, so that the main business will start about 6:00 PM California time. Pete Dailey will obtain a Nielson curve showing television sets in use throughout the evening viewing time. The characteristics of the viewing population will vary throughout the evening. For example, in the early evening, the audience will tend to include a greater

proportion of older people. Later in the evening, there will be proportionally more young people. The prime viewing time across the country will probably be about 7:00 PM California time.

There will actually be three concurrent programs operating at the convention. The Official Program will be the schedule of events outlined above. The Political Program will involve questions of parliamentary procedure. For example, whether at some point to suspend the rules and nominate the President by acclamation. It will also include the scheduled activities of the leading politicians. The Media Program will include interviews with leading politicians and celebrities and activities outside the convention, such as those being planned through the youth program.

Most of the important chairmanships and other positions of responsibility in the convention will not be filled for several months; however, the Platform Chairman has been selected so that the work necessary to develop the platform positions can begin at an early date. It was suggested by the Strategy Group that in the polls that will be taken around June or July, some measurement be made of the standing of various leading Republicans in the eyes of the public. These results would be useful in making the final selections for key assignments in the convention.

It will be important this time that the delegations include a meaningful proportion of women, young people and minorities. The Nixon State Chairmen, who are now being appointed, have indicated a willingness to be responsive. Nevertheless, it is to be expected that the long-established politicians and financial backers will not want to yield their places on the delegations. In California that problem has been eased by making several financial contributors honorary delegates to the convention, thereby achieving more flexibility in the make up of the voting delegation. In the same manner, it was suggested that state office holders might be given an honorary status. It was also suggested that if some popular celebrities attended as delegates, a great deal of interest could be generated by having the media interview them on the convention floor. To achieve any realistic change from 1968 in the make-up of the state delegations, however, there will have to be strong behind-the-scenes salesmanship by someone in the Administration with political clout.

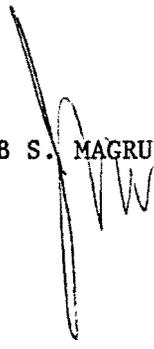
Over the past several months, separate committees have been working on the design of the badges, tickets, programs, etc., for the

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convention. Those activities will now be coordinated so that a common theme will run through all designs relating to the convention.

JEB S. MAGRUDER



CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

December 27, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE CAMPAIGN STRATEGY GROUP

FROM: KEN RIETZ

Materials needed for the young voters campaign will be minimal. As all of you know, the thrust of our effort is aimed at organization, not public relations or advertising. We believe involvement is the key. We can receive a substantial number of votes among the young if young people are involved in the campaign in a meaningful way.

We will, however, need several items. Currently in the discussion stage is a button (we've proposed "The President") and a recruiting brochure, flyer, or handout card. We will also need cheap issue flyers for distribution on college campuses.

The one major item we are proposing is establishing a multi-purpose newsletter. It has been designed to serve as a newsletter, campaign handout, and fold out into a wall poster.

This piece will be informative -- not newsy. As the mock-up shows, it will be titled "Young Voters" and each month will use attractive youth photographs. The inside will be issue orientated and at the same time interesting. Instead of talking about various aspects of the campaign, it will take one issue month and thoroughly discuss it. The newsletter will include, cartoons, editorial comments, interviews, etc.

We considered many different ideas on how to make young people want to read and retain this piece. Most campaign material is not studied and is thrown away. We want ours not only to be read, but sought after. We think we've found a unique way.

Posters are extremely popular. Millions of them are being sold, while two or three years ago, there was a decrease in interest. They are more popular now than ever.

Our proposal to make each newsletter fold out into an attractive and decorative Nixon wall poster. (Note sample of Lionel brochure). These posters will be designed along the same lines and by the same company as the highly successful '68 youth poster.

But, that's not where it ends. To make the campaign piece really sought after and collected, we are proposing that we publish one each month for eight months, with the first issue coming out just prior to the New Hampshire primary. Anyone collecting all eight posters and putting them all up on the same wall, would end up with a giant Nixon poster

that fit together and told the story of four years of accomplishment.

The first poster (late February) will be the central poster. It will be larger than the rest and become the main youth poster. It would be sent as a newsletter to a list of about 250,000 active young people (YR's, CR's, TAR's, Young Voters for the President etc.) who support the President. In addition, it would be available as a poster (without newsletter) for sale and distribution. It is our hope that the sale of this poster would finance the entire newsletter program and give our local organizations operating cash.

We would sell each poster to state Young Voters for the President organizations for 50 cents each. They, in turn, would sell them for one dollar each. The poster would only be available from the Young Voters for the President.

We estimate sales of the main poster at one million. This would yield over \$400,000 profit to finance the productions of the other posters/newsletters.

The cost of the main poster -- 22"x34" (folded to 8 1/2" by 11") including all artwork, creativity production, and printing (2 sides) is:

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Unit Cost</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
500 M	11.1 ¢	@55,500.00
1 MM	9.9 ¢	99,000.00
2 MM	9.4 ¢	188,000.00

The cost on the remainder of the newsletters is:

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Unit Cost</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
500 M	6.3	@31,500
1 MM	5.4	@54,000
2 MM	4.9	@98,000

We estimate using 500,000 newsletters each month for the first four months and 1 1/2 million each month for the last four months, which would give us a total of eight million pieces. If we sold one million of the main posters, gave an additional million away, and mailed and gave away six million of the newsletter/handout, our production cost and mailing cost (one million at 4 cents each) would be less than \$500,00.

This idea is unique in American politics. It has never been done before. We believe it has the kind of appeal necessary to attract attention and retain interest.

The attached memo from Jimini productions describes the central poster comprehensive layout. By using mood, we will achieve warmth and dignity. As stated in the memo, we feel the quantities it has been our objective to express -- those of personal warmth and strength combined with great dignity -- are apparent in this layout.

The seal cannot be used, and we feel the golfing photo should be changed to a working shot. Otherwise, the colors and content are good and we would proceed.

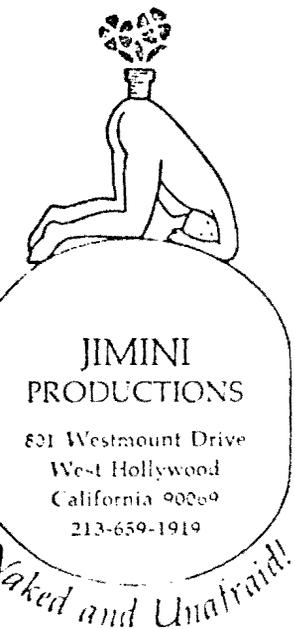
The calendar for completion of the first poster is:

- Comp approved to go to finished art - pending
- Finished art submitted by January 10.
- Finished art approved by January 14.
- Finished art to printer by January 17
- Color proofs submitted for final approval January 26.
- Begin printing January 28
- Printed posters delivered the middle of February.

To meet this timetable on the main poster, we need approval now of the initial order. We propose the printing of one million posters for no more than \$99,000. by February 15.

We also propose that 500,000 of these posters be printed on both sides and used as newsletter/handouts and that 250,000 be mailed to young people involved in the campaign. We will put the balance of the posters on sale to the states.

In addition, we propose that we be allowed to proceed on the layout and format for the subsequent poster/newsletter/handouts.



December 20, 1971

"Re-elect the President" Poster: Comprehensive Layout

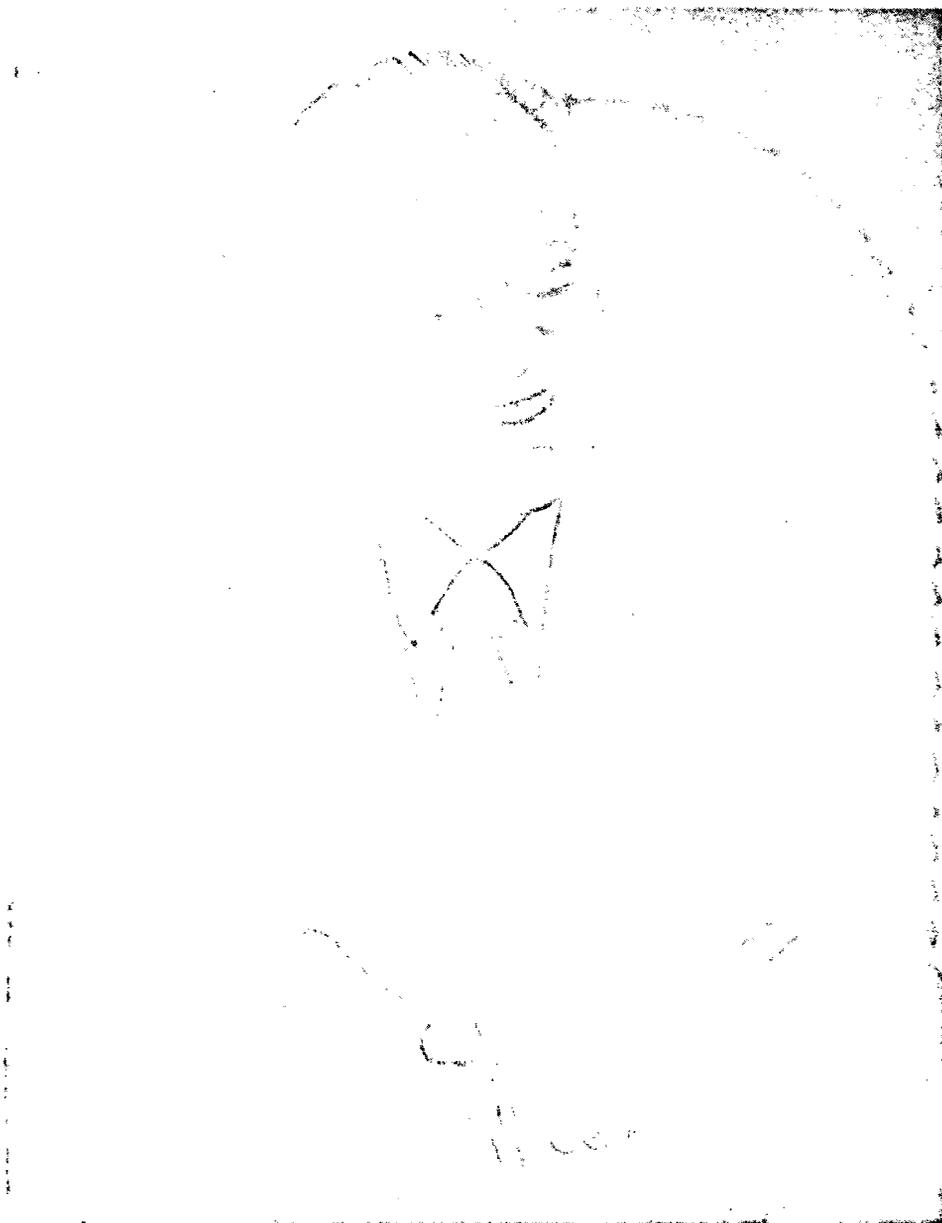
This comprehensive layout provides a more specific idea of how the central poster will appear when printed.

Progressing from the pencil-sketch stage, we have added overall color, including a close approximation of the carved-wood border. The words "Re-elect the President" have been inserted in the panel above the central portrait. The words "Nixon '72," beneath the portrait, have been retained, but reduced in size and emphasis.

As the poster is carried to final art, the central portrait represented here will be completely re-illustrated to achieve as perfect a likeness as possible. Any of the copy elements or subordinate photographs may be changed to suit your exact needs.

We feel that all the qualities it has been our objective to express--those of personal warmth and strength combined with great dignity--are apparent in this layout. We are confident that the final poster will express these qualities in a very striking and effective manner.

###



PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON OUTSIDE THE SAN CLEMENTE WESTERN WHITE HOUSE

Tab 4

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 21, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is our weekly report.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

~~✓~~ bcc: H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

POLITICAL

Three state chairmen were announced this week. Governor Nelson Rockefeller announced himself in New York; coverage was excellent and well received. In Maryland a press conference was held in Baltimore which included our state chairmen, Ed Thomas, Senator J. Glenn Beall, Senator Charles McC. Mathias, and State GOP chairman Sandy Lankler. Press coverage in Maryland and across the country was very positive. In Oregon, Wendall Wyatt handled the press announcement. Senators Hatfield and Packwood both sent positive statements supporting the President's re-election. Coverage in the state and nationally was also excellent.

We will announce Larry Roos as our chairman for Missouri on Wednesday, December 22. Announcements scheduled for January will include the following states: Wisconsin, Colorado, Nebraska, Illinois, Wyoming, Maine, Nevada, Connecticut, and Utah. In addition, we are ready for announcements in South Dakota, Arizona, California, South Carolina, and Florida but will hold these for various reasons.

Our chairman in Connecticut will be Nathan G. Agostinelli. Governor Thomas Meskill and the State GOP organization, headed by Brian Gaffney, will be backing up Agostinelli's efforts. Agostinelli is the first ethnic confirmed as chairman.

We now have four states announced, 14 ready for announcement, 19 in the final stages of setting up and 14 states where problems are being worked out.

PR/MEDIA

The media coverage of the Maryland announcement was superb with good stories in The Baltimore Sun, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times as well as good local Maryland TV and radio coverage. This was particularly significant in the expression of support for the President by Senator Mathias. In Oregon, the newspapers carried the story and the TV news shows gave the press conference excellent coverage on four stations.

Ann Dore is working with Van Shumway to prepare press kits for all announcements and has attended and will attend the press conferences in each state.

The press area is now operating with continued liaison between Washington and states that have announced their chairmen, particularly New Hampshire.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Last week was spent talking to others in the Administration and to state chairmen to get their thinking on eliminating areas of potential conflict between the state organizations and our operation. We have also started work on planning a motion picture film to motivate businessmen.

JEWISH

Criticism of the United States' abstention on the vote within the United Nations General Assembly on the Egyptian resolution last week has been fairly muted. The prevailing opinion is that the United States' vote was unfortunate but would result in nothing that would be of great significance.

Discussion of the results of Mrs. Meir's trip continues with some uncertainty, but a growing feeling is being expressed that it was a successful venture. The Jerusalem Post reports that the underlying purpose of the trip was to re-emphasize the alliance between the United States and Israel as a continuing friendship and to take emphasis away from the Phantoms. This appears to set a better tone in the Jewish community and political activities will be better received at this time.

ADVERTISING

Efforts are being concentrated on organizing and recruiting for the Task Force Agency, which will be located in New York. Office space is expected to be finalized this week.

Campaign promotional materials have been developed for use in New Hampshire, using the theme line "Re-Elect the President". Bumper stickers and buttons will be delivered January 3. A brochure for initial use is under development. Copy and layout will be submitted prior to production.

Primary states advertising will be developed in early January based on research findings due December 27.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

The first weekly meeting of schedulers for surrogate candidates has been held. The purpose of this and subsequent meetings is to coordinate the activities of all surrogate candidates, and to better inform the schedulers about spokesman resources.

The schedulers and advancemen for each member of the Cabinet have been identified and interviewed. A conference for the schedulers is to be held on Tuesday, December 21, 1971, for the purpose of the describing the Spokesmen Resources Program. Speakers at that conference will include Messrs. Flemming and Magruder, who will describe the importance of the program within the context of the campaign strategy. A subsequent conference for advancemen is to be held on Saturday, January 8, 1972, for the purpose of acquainting those individuals with proven advancing techniques. Speakers at that conference will include advancemen from the White House.

Representatives of charter aircraft companies have been interviewed and asked to submit written proposals for the provision of aircraft during the campaign. In addition, we are proceeding with the compilation of data on the availability of private aircraft, which might be donated or leased (if owned by a corporation) for use during the campaign.

We have met with Governor Dwinell and Allan Walker, of the New Hampshire Committee, and George Cook, of the Nebraska Committee, for the purpose of describing the Spokesmen Resources Program. Particular attention is now being given to scheduling spokesmen in New Hampshire.

YOUTH

New Hampshire: Fifty hardcore workers from college campuses have been recruited. Twelve college students from outside the state will spend full time in New Hampshire during January and receive college credit. More than fifty students from New York will go into the state to campaign, and we have requests from some fifty other students to enter the state for the campaign. The organizational building process will continue, and it now looks as if we will have a substantial youth effort in New Hampshire.

The volunteer effort, in cooperation with Allan Walker and Governor Dwinell, will be concentrated on:

January 21, 22, 28, 29 - voter registration drive.
February 25, 26 - literature distribution.
March 3, 4 - get out the vote door to door effort.

Florida: Our meetings with Tommy Thomas have been very satisfactory. He has given us office space and is assisting in setting up our voter registration activity.

Wisconsin: John MacIver and Rietz have established an initial young voters plan which will be followed up with meetings in early January.

California: Rietz has set a meeting with Gordon Luce for early January to lay out the initial youth plan.

Registration: Although the RNC still has not put its effort and resources into voter registration, Rietz has continued to set up state drives in cooperation with YR's and state party organizations.

Public Relations: The youth poster mock-up will be available for review this week.

WOMEN

Hauser and Steorts met with Nixon Chairman John MacIver to discuss plans for women in the '72 campaign. Mary Kay Hansen, his co-chairman, was also present. He agreed that he would have women in significant levels throughout the campaign and will have women vice-chairmen in all the municipalities. They have an excellent Volunteer Door to Door effort, which should be very effective in getting out the vote in target areas.

Tom Houser, Chairman of Illinois, has also been informed of the efforts and has appointed his co-chairman in Illinois. We met with her and Pat Kutar in Chicago. They are now making plans to recruit the necessary volunteers for the organization. The headquarters operation was discussed as well as the importance of very rigid ballot security in Illinois.

Steorts met with Larry Roos, Chairman of Missouri, and George Cook, Chairman of Nebraska, Mr. Roos is most enthusiastic about the new approach and was to meet with about 12 key women this week in St. Louis. They had originally been assigned to fund-raising, but voted unanimously to join the State Volunteer effort

for the re-election of the President. Mr. Roos feels they will be a real asset to his operation in St. Louis.

George Cook of Nebraska is very receptive of the idea of the new image of women in the campaign and wants his co-chairman to be preferably from Omaha as he resides in Lincoln. A woman of approximately 30-35 he feels would be better, as she would then attract the young vote. He is naming a State Executive Committee which will be male and female. He feels women are great fund-raisers and he plans to use some of them in this area.

Roma Spaulding, Assistant Chairman of New Hampshire, reports that she has now talked to each county chairman. Several women have been appointed as key city co-ordinators and one is being appointed as county co-ordinator.

Coffee hours are being planned in each county, city and suburb starting in January. The main purpose is to recruit volunteers. Mrs. Dwinell will hold the first coffee at her home in Lebanon and Congressman Cleveland is expected to attend. They plan to have a tape of President Nixon speaking at each of the coffees. Congressman Wyman is expected to attend a coffee in his district. Mrs. Spaulding is making an all-out effort to get young people at these coffees. There are plans for at least two coffees in each county, three in the cities, and two in the suburbs.

LEGAL

Gordon Liddy is now aboard and organizing the office. Contracts for polling, housing at the convention for youth and direct mail have been reviewed with changes negotiated where appropriate. Electoral reform legislation is under analysis for direction and options; business affairs, such as method of paying for telephone service has improved through negotiations. The proper form for the "in house" advertising agency is under study in light of electoral reform legislation. The "Equal Time" provisions and the "Fairness Doctrine" have been reviewed and appropriate members of the staff advised thereon. The staff is also receiving regularly interpretations of the Hatch Act as individual cases arise.

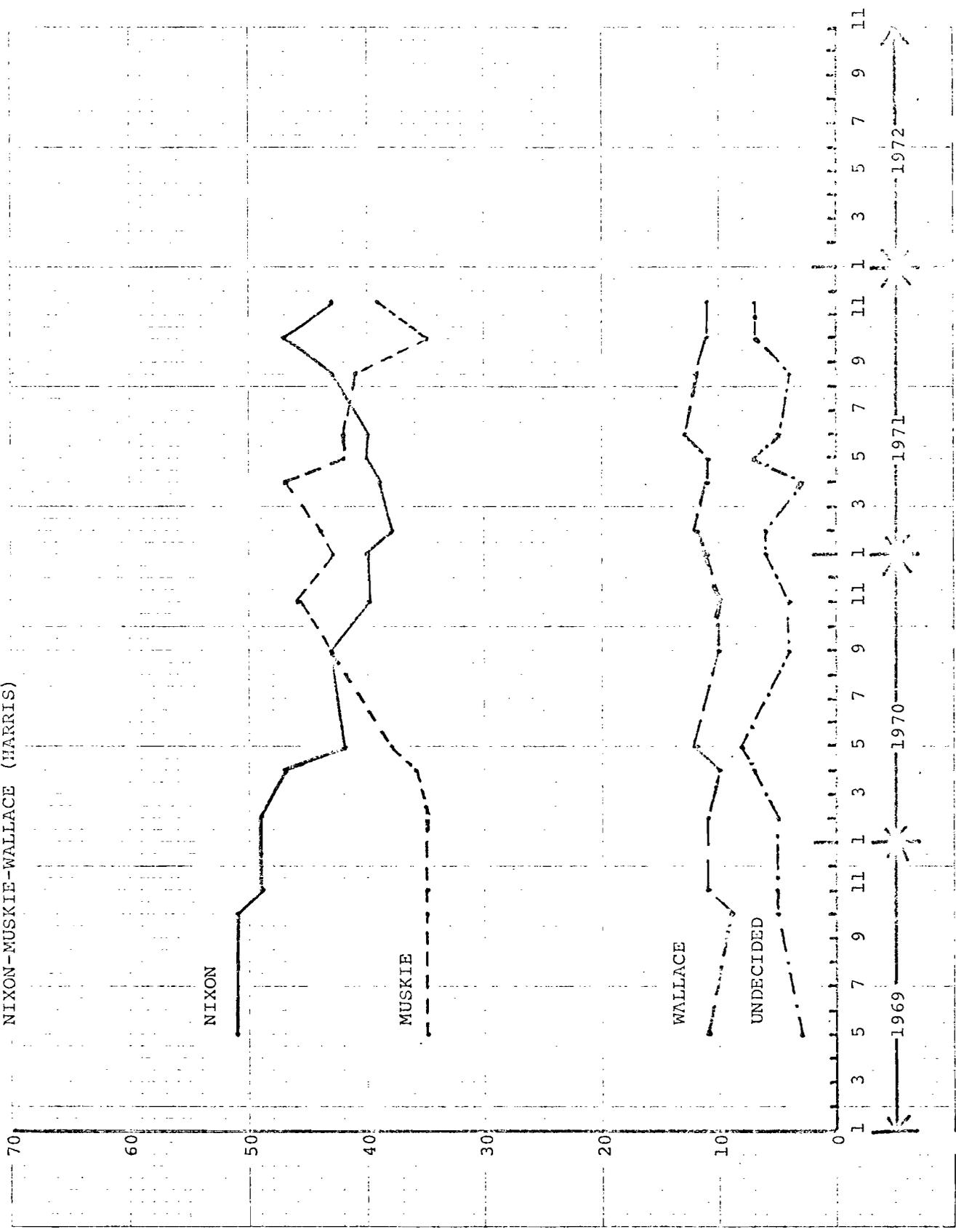
RESEARCH

L. Robert Morgan has been appointed Manager of the Direct Mail operation for the 1972 campaign. Bob will join the Committee on a leave of absence from the Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation of Houston, Texas, where he has served as Southwest Regional Sales Manager since 1968.

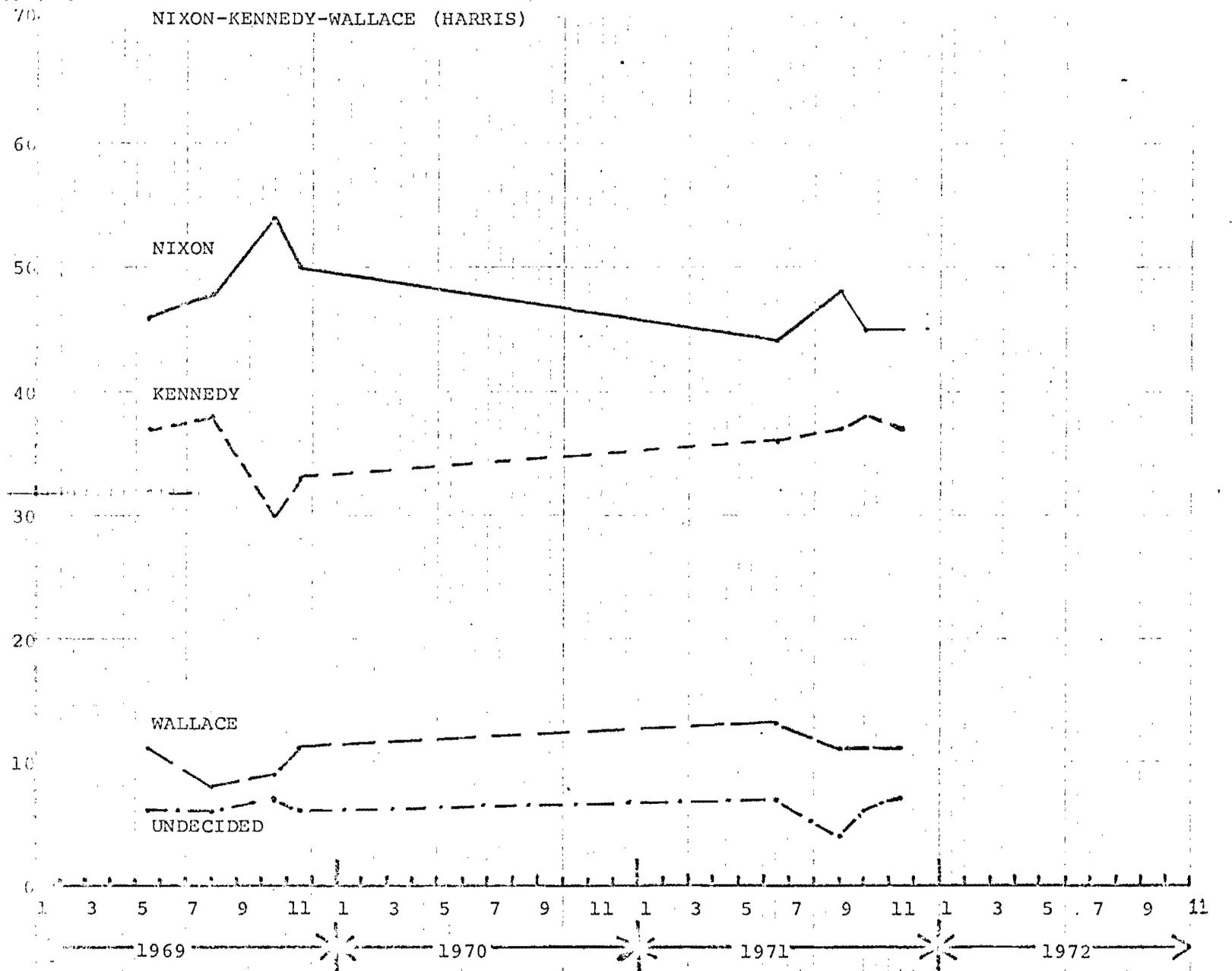
Paul Jones will join the Re-election Committee as Executive Director of Black Voter Activities for the 1972 campaign. Mr. Jones comes to the campaign organization from the Peace Corps, where he served as Deputy Director for Thailand. Prior to that, he served as Director, Office of Civil Rights of the National Highway Safety Bureau of the Department of Transportation.

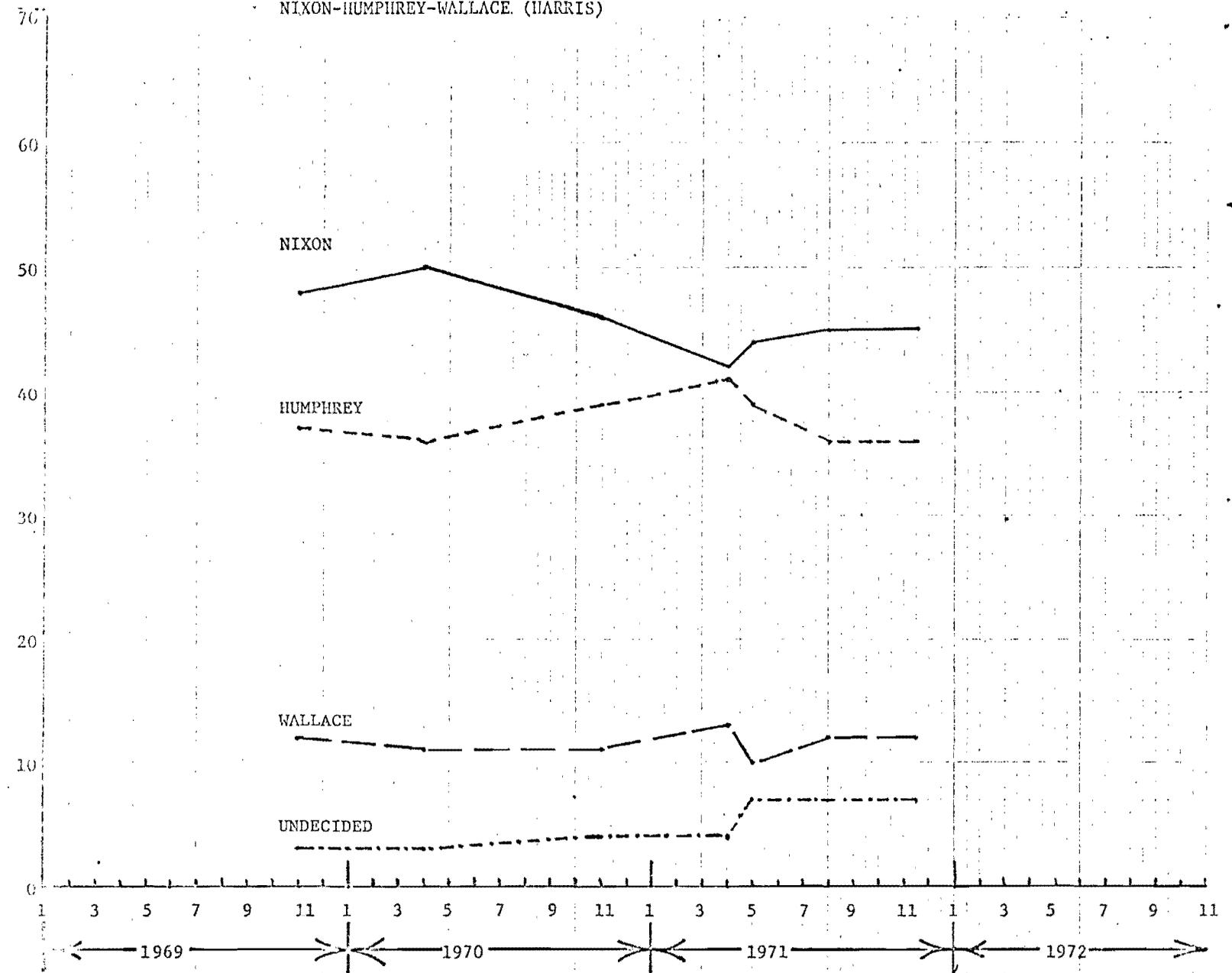
Attached are trend charts showing the most recent head-to head Harris survey results of Nixon-Muskie-Wallace and Nixon-Kennedy-Wallace.

NIXON-MUSKIE-WALLACE (HARRIS)



NIXON-KENNEDY-WALLACE (HARRIS)





ESTIMATED OPERATING EXPENSES FOR JANUARY 1972

PERSONNEL - 57 Employees (Gross Figures)

Campaign Committee (51 - increase of 16 over Dec.)	\$ 80,525.00
Finance Committee (6 - increase of 1 over Dec.)	<u>7,475.00</u>
	\$ 88,000.00

TRAVEL AND ENTERTAINMENT

Campaign Committee	25,000.00
Finance Committee	<u>3,000.00</u>
	\$ 28,000.00

OPERATING EXPENSES

Rent	5,865.00
Meetings	500.00
Parking	440.00
Telephone	8,000.00
Taxes (F.I.C.A. and D. C. Unemployment)	6,400.00
Insurance	1,400.00
Accounting and Misc. Professional Services	1,400.00
Office Equipment Rentals	2,000.00
Office Supplies	2,500.00
Postage	200.00
Furniture, Carpets, and Draperies	10,000.00
Finance Direct Mail	100,000.00
Polling	160,000.00
Miscellaneous	400.00
	<u>\$299,105.00</u>

TOTAL EXPENSES FOR JANUARY (ESTIMATED)	\$415,105.00
RESERVE	\$ <u>(105.00)</u>

ESTIMATED REQUIREMENT	<u>\$415,000.00</u>
-----------------------	---------------------

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

	<u>R</u>	<u>12/30/71</u> <u>D</u>	<u>B</u>
L	213,000.00	150,451.62	62,548.38
CH	2,923,425.34	860,139.01	2,063,786.33
MP	232,500.00	—	232,500.00
FCRPN	<u>115,097.35</u>	<u>115,097.35</u>	<u>—</u>
	3,484,522.69	1,125,687.98	2,358,834.71

Sloan up fr/ 650
on Dec 16?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

August 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *G*

SUBJECT:

White House Support List

Five-hundred thousand people have written to the President in support of his various programs over the last two and one-half years. Possible use of this list for financial solicitation has been raised before. No decision other than "postpone for now" has been made.

Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan are particularly anxious to try a second financial mailing aimed at the 500,000 on this White House support list. Their interest has increased since the modest return (\$72,000) from the 32,500 recipient initial mailings by Citizens.

Jeremiah Milbank and State Republican Party people would be quite upset if this White House support mailing occurred before the November 9 dinner. However, in light of the 20% per year attrition rate of mailing lists, a test mailing should be made before the truly effective mailing in February 1972, when arguably the President may have to declare his candidacy. Therefore, the best timing for the preliminary test mailing should be in the middle of November 1971 in order to shake down the list during the two months during which the money flows.

Lee Nunn has approached the Attorney General about the project and timing and has tentative approval. The Attorney General is really deferring to you in terms of control of use of this Presidential support list.

Kalmbach is anxious for the financial benefits but not particularly interested in mail solicitation of funds.

Maurice Stans has no comment on use of the list.

Recommendation:

That the 500,000 White House list be reviewed and a specific mailing fund solicitation program be prepared by Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan.

Approve *H*

Disapprove *but no mailing until we*

Comment _____

*Gordon Strachan
8/17*

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jeb Magruder

FROM: Ann Dore

DATE: December 20, 1971

RE: Announcements for State Committees for the Re-Election of the President

The following is a projected schedule for the announcements of State Chairmen for the Committees for the Re-Election of the President. This has been prepared in conjunction with Al Kaupinen.

<u>State</u>	<u>Week in January</u>
Wisconsin	1st
Colorado	1st
Nebraska	2nd
Illinois	2nd
Wyoming	2nd
Maine	3rd
Nevada	3rd
Connecticut	3rd
Utah	3rd or 4th

Al and I agreed that in all cases he will see that local Republican officials, Senators and Representatives of the states will be contacted by him in a courtesy call alerting them to the announcement.

Also, we agreed that all Chairmen that have either been announced or who are firm will receive a copy of the press release announcing each Chairman as it is announced. It was decided by Harry Fleming that we would not, at this time, send the release to the Republican State Chairmen.

The above schedule of announcements could be lengthened.

Ann

F.

announced as of 12/23

- NH - Lane DeVinell
- MD - Ed Thomas
- ORE - Wendell Wyatt
- NY - Gov. Rockefeller
- Mo. - Harry Ross

Ready to

- Wisc
- Del
- N.C.
- Ill
- Me
- Calo
- S.D.
- Utah
- Tex -
- Wyo -
- Ariz -
- Conn - ~~Augustine~~ ^{Mardian}
- Cal - Ronald Reagan
- So Cal - Hal Byrd
- Fla - Tommy Thomas, but no ^{action} _{done}

Ready to set up:

- N. D.
- Ga - Ben Gilmer, former AT+T
- David Ray

Iowa -
Vt
Indiana - Will Hays

Final

Ala - Edith Holm

D.C. - Norman Neverson

Idaho -

Okla -

Minn -

Ohio - Ray Bliss

~~Ill~~

Ala

Ark

Del

Ill

Kan

Key

La

Mass - Gov. Sargent - not set

Mich

Miss

Mont

~~ND~~

~~AZ AR~~

Pa -

Texas - A.G. Connelley

Wash
W Va
Virginia -

5 announced
~~17~~5 ready to announce.
5 read set
10 final stages
16 fluid

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

December 29, 1971

TO: Gordon Strachan

Attached is a list, including names and addresses of those people who have been confirmed to serve as our state chairmen. Only Governor Lane Dwinell, New Hampshire; Edward P. Thomas, Maryland; Governor Nelson Rockefeller, New York; Wendall Wyatt, Oregon; and Lawrence K. Roos, Missouri have been announced to date.

Should you want to contact or work with any of the other people listed please contact me or Allan Kaupinen first so we may apprise you of any additional information you should know about the chairman or that state. We will send you updates on the list as new chairmen are added.

Harry Flemming

NOTE: Please see changes in phone numbers on Edward P. Thomas, Maryland. Error in previous listing.

12/27

Teeter

To AG week of 1/3	{	Wisc	- out of field	12/20	MOR DMI
		Key	- " " "	12/21	
			- beef of deal w/ Gov Louie Nunn poll		
Week of 1/10	{	NH	- still in field		
		Fla	- " " " over half done		

- AG unaware of delay but doesn't want results before 1/3.

- AG doesn't want demos
H to receive demos concurrently

- Simul a written report → AG

- 30-40 pages per st + include some tables

- Then series of paper on strategy, later - few days

- Finally an outline to cover orally w/ Camp people + private meetings w/ Daily, et

- few memos, rather oral.

- analysis

- ① head to head ③ Issues ⑤ Strategy
- ② awareness + keep ④ St Cond Implic's

A G approved w/this gen'l

Reduce of

JSM
12/30

news h/50 → 35

TV 6 out

Tenor very local

- JSM to submit
revised plan

J8m

12/30

Duvinell - 1/3 -

full
petition - Press conf at 10a
- Magruder signed
off on letter
- letter released up there
Ashbrook - Duvinell welcome
into primary, hope after
primary over, join in
support of P.

Loeb - don't know who will
switch for Yotky to Ashbrook
for full front

Peter O'Donnell - may be finance
comm.

JSM
12/23

1/12 - P. announces

Jan 3 - file petition

Letter fr/ Dwinell → P after 1/3 +
then P responds by letter

fr/P → Dwinell + RZ release here on 1/12.

major press conf in NH, Gov, Sen +
Chmn

John Ashbrook will definitely announce Mon.

1/24 → Secy. of St. - pledged slate of Del's.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 22, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORENDUM FOR:

MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM:

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Pursuant to your request, attached are three items:

At Tab A is a very brief description of the function of each staff member -- these are descriptions, not titles.

At Tab B is an up-to-the-minute listing of staff openings.

At Tab C is a very rough organizational chart put together rapidly one afternoon at the request of the Attorney General. It is not a formal, operating document -- merely an interim guide.

Attachments

CONFIDENTIAL

David J. Allen -- Foreign Policy Issue Coordinator
Thomas D. Bell, Jr. -- Youth Assistant
Nancy L. Blair -- Secy to Steorts and Hauser
Henry Buchanan -- C.P.A. (Advisor)
Monico Bungato -- Driver-Messenger
Maxwell Calloway -- Youth Fieldman
Victoria Lynn Chern -- Secy to Reisner
Patricia M. Cochran -- Secy to Kayser
Josephine L. Creighton -- Secy to Marik
Connie Cudd -- Secy to Rietz
Peter H. Dailey -- Director of Advertising
Jane M. Dannenhauer -- Finance Assistant
Ann L. Dore -- PR/Media Assistant
Martha H. Duncan -- Secy to Porter
Barbara B. Fierce -- Secy to Kaupinen
Arthur Finkelstein -- Demographics Analyst
Harry S. Flemming -- Field Operations
Kristin Forsberg -- Secy to Mrs. Mitchell
Roy Gibson -- Guard
Sharon Renee Gillis -- Secy to Goldberg
Lawrence Goldberg -- Director of Jewish Liaison
George Gorton -- College Director
Roni Haggert -- Secy to Yeutter
Angela Harris -- Youth PR Director
Rita E. Hauser -- Director of Women's Activities

J. Curtis Herge -- Master Scheduler
Judith G. Hoback -- Bookkeeper
Joseph Horacek -- Celebrities Coordinator
Eveline M. Hyde -- Finance Assistant
Philip Joanou -- Assistant Director of Advertising
Elizabeth Johansen -- Secy to Joanou
Marilyn K. Johnson -- Secy to Rietz
Paul Jones -- Director of Black Liaison
Paul W. Kayser -- Director of Business and Industry Committee
Frank Leonard -- PR/Media/Advertising
G. Gordon Liddy -- General Counsel
Jeb S. Magruder
Robert H. Marik -- Director of Research
Jeanne C. Mason -- Secy to Odle
Peggy McClung -- Secy to Minshall and Herge
James McCord -- Security Advisor
Clifford A. Miller -- PR/Media Consultant
William E. Minshall, III -- Scheduling Assistant
Jeannie Downs Mitchell -- Secy to Dailey
Robert Morgan -- Direct Mail Director
Lee R. Nunn -- Finance and Political Consultant
Robert C. Odle, Jr. -- Director of Administration
Michael O'Donnell -- Youth Fieldman
Kathleen O. O'Melia -- Receptionist-Switchboard Operator
Sylvia Panarites -- Secy to Liddy

Herbert L. Porter -- Director of Spokesmen Resources ✓
Barbara Preve -- Secy to Smith, Gorton, Bell
Robert A. F. Reisner -- Administrative Assistant to Magruder ✓
Kenneth C. Rietz -- Director of Youth Activities ✓
Gene E. Roberts -- Secy to Magruder
Michael Scully -- Youth Fieldman ✓
Glenn J. Sedam, Jr. -- Staff Director to Mrs. Mitchell ✓
Hugh W. Sloan, Jr. -- Interim Finance Chairman ✓
Kenneth M. Smith -- Youth Assistant ✓
Nancy H. Steorts -- Assistant Director of Women's Activities ✓
Patricia A. Strunk -- Secy to Nunn and Sloan
Robert Teeter -- Director of Polling ✓
Dolores Ulman -- Secy to Flemming
Carrie Elizabeth Wagner -- Research Assistant ✓
Ted Wigger -- Youth Fieldman ✓
Tom Wince III -- Driver for Mrs. Mitchell
Clayton Yeutter -- Farm Director ✓

<u>Recruiters</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Qualifications</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Target Date</u>
Porter	Assistant Scheduler	Young man to assist Curt Herge.	B. Rogers*	12-15	March
Porter/ Marumoto	Ethnic Vote Director	Preferably Catholic, Italian, from north-east -- non-captive nations.	E. Ladeira J. Burgess	20-25	February March
Porter/ Marumoto	Spanish Speaking Director	Chicano; knows spanish community.	M. Ortiz A. Armendaris	20-25	February March
Porter/ James	Transient Vote Director	Good organizational and absentee voting background.	D. McAdoo D. Martin	25	March
Porter/ Bell	Labor Vote Director	Background of labor union involvement.		20-25	February March
Marik/ Marumoto	Black Vote Assistant	Black; politically astute.	B. Maxwell N. Neverson	16-17	February March
Marik/ Marumoto	Elderly Vote Director	Familiar with problems of aging.	W. Todd*	20-25	February March

<u>Recruiters</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Qualifications</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Target Date</u>
Marik/ Teeter/ Marumoto	Polling Assis- tant	Technically knowl- edgeable in area of polling, ability to coordinate while Director (Teeter) absent. Young guy.		15	February March
Marik/ Marumoto	Domestic Issues Coordinator	Bright writer, re- searcher, thinker to identify and coordinate use of domestic issues.		15-20	February March
Marik/ Finkelstein/ Marumoto	Demographics Assistant	To assist A. Finkelstein; young.		10-15	January February
Marik	Telephone Assistant	Line Manager for Telephone work		15-20	February

<u>Recruiters</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Qualifications</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Target Date</u>
Odle/ James	"Citizens" Director	To run overall citizens effort: someone in 30s or 40s, well-connected in D.C. and New York; someone with political "clout."		25-30	January February
Odle	Assistant	To work on personnel and administration of campaign office.	Mrs. Donald Santarelli	15	March
Odle	Executive Secretaries	Top-quality office skills, especially typing and shorthand. "Gal Fridays." Black girls especially needed.		Based on previous salaries	Immediate and through November
Hauser & Steorts/ Franklin?	Director of Field Operations - Women's Division	Acceptable and known to Republican Women types.	P. Hutar	20	January February

*Denotes tentative agreement to hire individual.

The Advertising (Dailey/Joanou) and PR/Media (Miller/Shumway) divisions will ask for assistance in staffing at a later date.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: GLENN SEDAM

The deadline for filing petitions to have the name of a candidate for President placed on the ballot is January 6.

The deadline for a delegate to file a declaration of candidacy to have his name placed on the ballot is January 24.

Whenever the Secretary of State receives a petition which would qualify the name of a candidate to be placed on the ballot, he must, in accordance with the statute, notify the prospective candidate and advise the candidate that, unless he withdraws his name from the ballot by January 16, his name will appear on the ballot. If the candidate signifies his desire to withdraw his name, it will not be printed on the ballot. Therefore, a candidate will have permitted his name to be on the ballot or will have withdrawn his name from the ballot prior to the filing date for delegates petitions.

Candidates for convention delegates will not be printed on the ballot unless the candidate files a declaration of candidacy. If a candidate desires, he may add to such a declaration (1) "I am favorable to _____ as a candidate for said party....", or, (2) I pledge myself, if elected...to vote...for the nomination of _____... so long as he shall be a candidate before said convention...." In the case of the second option, the pledge shall be printed upon the primary ballot only if the candidate for President files his written consent thereto.

Therefore, inasmuch as the Presidential candidate would have had to either leave his name on the ballot or withdraw it prior to the deadline for delegates filing, and inasmuch as he must approve delegates pledging themselves to him, while the statute does not specifically answer the question you pose, the implication seems strong that if the Presidential candidate consents to a pledged delegate, he is, in fact, a declared candidate.

Ken Smith - ~~10~~ at WH + ~~10~~ at Comm 12/20
11.4 " ~~12~~ " "
~~difference covers parking~~

JSM → ~~Clinton re ballot security~~
per AG ~~decree~~; not full time

NH plan - ~~everything appears~~
~~bought locally~~

AG still to join firm - Flan, etc

Frank Leonard - 30 - Comm | 1/3/72
AG brought in 25 - RNC

RF up on ~~desert~~ - mail, JSM to
put hold + delay

Pat Huter - ~~Ill~~ - ~~Dir of Volunteers~~
for Nixon - the Pat Hutt type
of st'd womens type - ~~line~~
responsibil in Camp + Rita
to be p/r only for womens' li's

Tentative camp plans in RI + Mass
in case Mc Q goes in.

Flemming chart on 8's.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 23, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. GORDON G. STRACHAN

FROM:

JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT:

Citizens Committee Report

With reference to your memo of December 18, it was always our intention from the beginning (we selected the Committee's name last May) to stress the President's incumbency by the use of his title in advance of his name. So, too, with the Citizens memo -- and on the last page of it is proposed a name for the operation which does include the word "President." It was also our intention that any sub-group formed under the Citizens panoply would use the word "President." We merely talked about Doctors for Nixon, Businessmen, etc., for the sake of brevity. We always planned on using titles when the groups are put together which would stress the fact that the President is President, e.g., Don Kendall's "Business and Industry Committee for the Re-Election of the President."

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

December 27, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE CAMPAIGN STRATEGY GROUP

FROM: KEN RIETZ

Materials needed for the young voters campaign will be minimal. As all of you know, the thrust of our effort is aimed at organization, not public relations or advertising. We believe involvement is the key. We can receive a substantial number of votes among the young if young people are involved in the campaign in a meaningful way.

We will, however, need several items. Currently in the discussion stage is a button (we've proposed "The President") and a recruiting brochure, flyer, or handout card. We will also need cheap issue flyers for distribution on college campuses.

The one major item we are proposing is establishing a multi-purpose newsletter. It has been designed to serve as a newsletter, campaign handout, and fold out into a wall poster.

This piece will be informative -- not newsy. As the mock-up shows, it will be titled "Young Voters" and each month will use attractive youth photographs. The inside will be issue orientated and at the same time interesting. Instead of talking about various aspects of the campaign, it will take one issue month and thoroughly discuss it. The newsletter will include, cartoons, editorial comments, interviews, etc.

We considered many different ideas on how to make young people want to read and retain this piece. Most campaign material is not studied and is thrown away. We want ours not only to be read, but sought after. We think we've found a unique way.

Posters are extremely popular. Millions of them are being sold, while two or three years ago, there was a decrease in interest. They are more popular now than ever.

Our proposal to make each newsletter fold out into an attractive and decorative Nixon wall poster. (Note sample of Lionel brochure). These posters will be designed along the same lines and by the same company as the highly successful '68 youth poster.

But, that's not where it ends. To make the campaign piece really sought after and collected, we are proposing that we publish one each month for eight months, with the first issue coming out just prior to the New Hampshire primary. Anyone collecting all eight posters and putting them all up on the same wall, would end up with a giant Nixon poster

that fit together and told the story of four years of accomplishment.

The first poster (late February) will be the central poster. It will be larger than the rest and become the main youth poster. It would be sent as a newsletter to a list of about 250,000 active young people (YR's, CR's, TAR's, Young Voters for the President etc.) who support the President. In addition, it would be available as a poster (without newsletter) for sale and distribution. It is our hope that the sale of this poster would finance the entire newsletter program and give our local organizations operating cash.

We would sell each poster to state Young Voters for the President organizations for 50 cents each. They, in turn, would sell them for one dollar each. The poster would only be available from the Young Voters for the President.

We estimate sales of the main poster at one million. This would yield over \$400,000 profit to finance the productions of the other posters/newsletters.

The cost of the main poster -- 22"x34" (folded to 8 1/2" by 11") including all artwork, creativity production, and printing (2 sides) is:

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Unit Cost</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
500 M	11.1 ¢	@55,500.00
1 MM	9.9 ¢	99,000.00
2 MM	9.4 ¢	188,000.00

The cost on the remainder of the newsletters is:

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Unit Cost</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
500 M	6.3	@31,500
1 MM	5.4	@54,000
2 MM	4.9	@98,000

We estimate using 500,000 newsletters each month for the first four months and 1 1/2 million each month for the last four months, which would give us a total of eight million pieces. If we sold one million of the main posters, gave an additional million away, and mailed and gave away six million of the newsletter/handout, our production cost and mailing cost (one million at 4 cents each) would be less than \$500,00.

This idea is unique in American politics. It has never been done before. We believe it has the kind of appeal necessary to attract attention and retain interest.

The attached memo from Jimini productions describes the central poster comprehensive layout. By using mood, we will achieve warmth and dignity. As stated in the memo, we feel the quantities it has been our objective to express -- those of personal warmth and strength combined with great dignity -- are apparent in this layout.

The seal cannot be used, and we feel the golfing photo should be changed to a working shot. Otherwise, the colors and content are good and we would proceed.

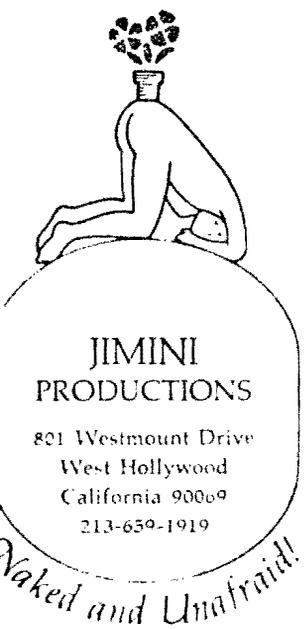
The calendar for completion of the first poster is:

- Comp approved to go to finished art - pending
- Finished art submitted by January 10.
- Finished art approved by January 14.
- Finished art to printer by January 17
- Color proofs submitted for final approval January 26.
- Begin printing January 28
- Printed posters delivered the middle of February.

To meet this timetable on the main poster, we need approval now of the initial order. We propose the printing of one million posters for no more than \$99,000. by February 15.

We also propose that 500,000 of these posters be printed on both sides and used as newsletter/handouts and that 250,000 be mailed to young people involved in the campaign. We will put the balance of the posters on sale to the states.

In addition, we propose that we be allowed to proceed on the layout and format for the subsequent poster/newsletter/handouts.



December 20, 1971

"Re-elect the President" Poster: Comprehensive Layout

This comprehensive layout provides a more specific idea of how the central poster will appear when printed.

Progressing from the pencil-sketch stage, we have added overall color, including a close approximation of the carved-wood border. The words "Re-elect the President" have been inserted in the panel above the central portrait. The words "Nixon '72," beneath the portrait, have been retained, but reduced in size and emphasis.

As the poster is carried to final art, the central portrait represented here will be completely re-illustrated to achieve as perfect a likeness as possible. Any of the copy elements or subordinate photographs may be changed to suit your exact needs.

We feel that all the qualities it has been our objective to express--those of personal warmth and strength combined with great dignity--are apparent in this layout. We are confident that the final poster will express these qualities in a very striking and effective manner.

###

December 30, 1971

TO: KEN RIETZ
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Now these are effective posters!

Sorry, This is the
best we can do!

K

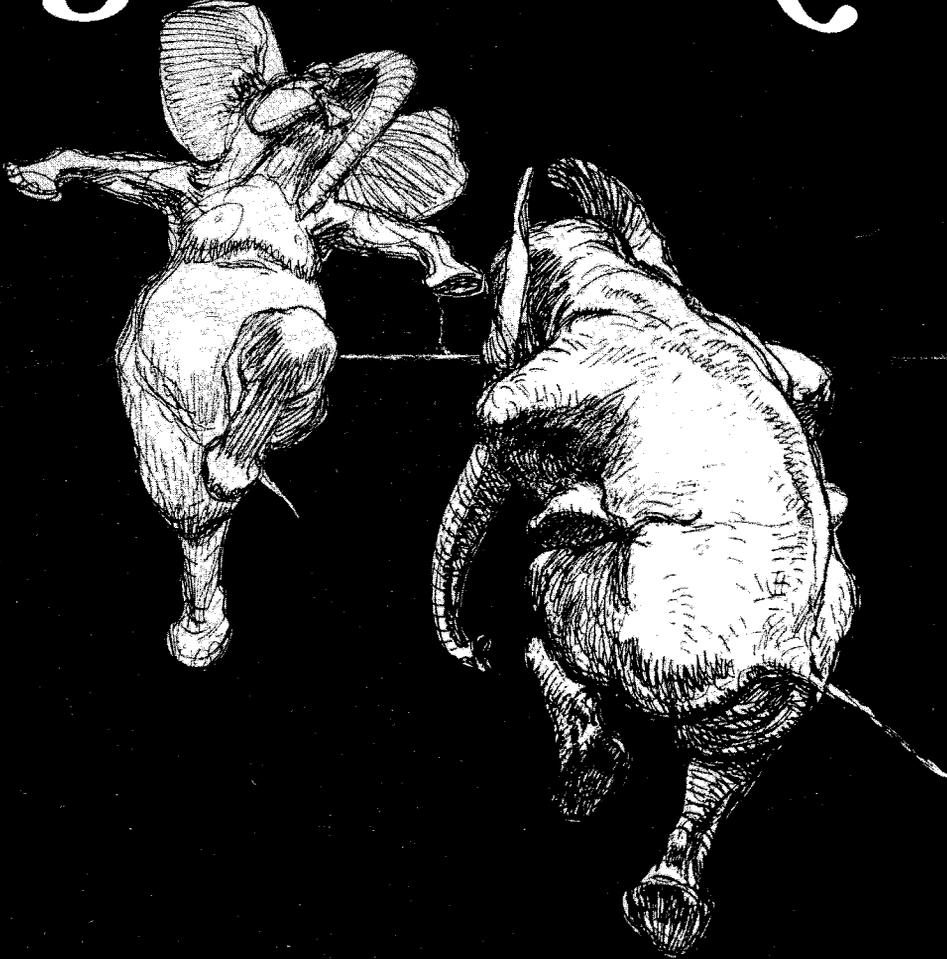
NOW AVAILABLE FROM THE COLLEGE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE ---- THE NEWEST
REPUBLICAN ANSWER TO WALL BOREDOM. "GET IT ON! JOIN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY" POSTER.

THIS FOUR-COLOR, FULL-SIZED (17" x 22" BIG), POSTER IS JUST THE THING FOR GOPers WHO WANT
WANT TO SHOW THEIR MOD POLITICAL HUES.

THE POSTER (shown below) CAN BE ORDERED DIRECTLY FROM THE C.R.N.C. AT ONLY:

30¢ for single poster
\$2.50 for 10 posters
\$20.00 for 100 posters
And even cheaper prices
for bigger quantities!

GET IT ON!



THIS IS AN OFFICIAL
ORDER BLANK (but if you
don't want to rip this up, use
a separate sheet)

() Yes, send me ----- copies
of the poster. I have enclosed
a check or money order made
payable to the College Repub-
lican National Committee.

Send me my posters at

Name-----

Address-----

City-----

State ----- Zip-----

() Yes, send me ----- copies
of this promotional flyer. I
promise and solemnly swear
that they will be distributed
to Republicans who might
want to "Get It On!"

RETURN ORDERS TO THE COLLEGE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, 310 FIRST STREET, S.E.,
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

HIGH PRIORITY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 22, 1971

NOTE FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This is the "final artwork" for the
campaign materials for New Hampshire.

Peter Dailey has specifically requested
an answer ASAP so that production can
begin immediately.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

*I don't want to be a
part of the approval
process.*
HIGH PRIORITY

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

December 17, 1971

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

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Fundraising Appearances

Our Spokesmen Resources Program has requested a determination of the policy regarding fundraising appearances by members of the Administration. We recommend the following:

- 1. Governors and Members of Congress (not including Senator Goldwater) should continue to make their dollar arrangements through March 1, 1972 (through Lincoln Day Speeches).

Approve X Disapprove _____ Comments _____

- 2. Fundraising appearances by

- (a) Cabinet members, other spokesmen from the Executive Branch and Senator Goldwater (including Lincoln Day dinners); and,
- (b) Governors and Members of Congress after March 1, 1972,

which are scheduled through the Committee, should be made subject to a contribution to our Finance Committee of 10% of the gross receipts. In addition, the sponsoring organization should be required to reimburse the speaker's expenses.

Approve X Disapprove _____ Comments _____

- 3. Exceptions should be made in the case of a spokesman appearing in his home State on behalf of local candidates.

Approve X Disapprove _____ Comments _____

Exempt for Nixon State Organizations


JEB B. MACRIDER

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 11, 1971

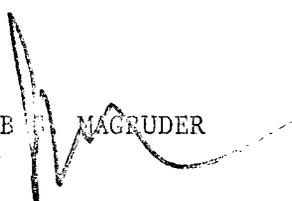
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Ken Rietz has given me the following information which I thought you would be interested in.

1. He has been informed that Kenny O'Donnell has been raising money for whoever wins the nomination. There is some concern that all the Democratic candidates are using up available funds and O'Donnell has set out to establish a special fund for the nominee.
2. Also, a close associate of Senator Kennedy has informed him that the chances of the Senator seeking the nomination are almost zero. The staff pressure he was under to get into the race has become much less severe during the past several months, and there is a lot less "in the family" talk about it.

JEB F. MAGRUDER



CONFIDENTIAL

D

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

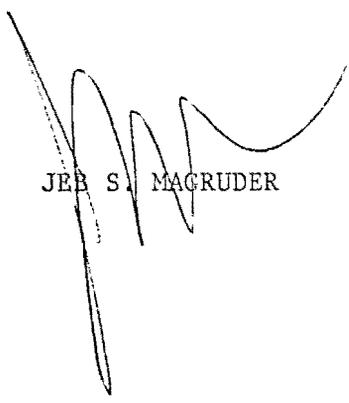
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

December 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

At your request, Keith Bulen has been asked to put together a presentation which will describe the campaign and subsequent victory of Mayor Lugar in Indianapolis. Included in this presentation will be material which has been prepared by Miss Nancy Brademas who has worked with Bulen in Indianapolis. A number of sources have indicated that she might be an extremely valuable person to assist us in the telephone area.

We recommend that a meeting with you, Harry Flemming, Bob Marik, Bob Teeter, and me be scheduled at which Keith Bulen will make his presentation on Indianapolis with Nancy Brademas participating. This meeting would allow us to determine whether or not she is as good as we have been told she is. If she is the kind of person that we feel we would like to have working with us, we could interview her the next day.



JEB S. MAGRUDER

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333 0922

December 17, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: The President as an Announced Candidate

We are aware of some thoughts within the Administration that the President should not formally announce his candidacy during the first half of 1972. The rationale is that he is most effective in the role of the incumbent, and that an announcement might lead the media to place a partisan political context around his current foreign policy initiatives.

He strongly believe that such a strategy would be wrong, for the following reasons:

1. Challenge from within the Republican Party. Pete McCloskey is already an avowed contender. John Ashbrook will very likely enter the primaries as a conservative. The President should be able to withstand both challenges and emerge with overwhelming support within the Party. However, the downside risk is very great. If the contenders can convince the voters in New Hampshire, for example, that the President takes them for granted and chooses not even to acknowledge that a primary campaign is going on, they may withdraw enough of their support that the election results will be very embarrassing. The memory of McCarthy in 1968 is fresh enough to show New Hampshireites what kind of leverage they have in Presidential politics, if they choose to use it.
2. Credibility. As the Democratic contenders announce their candidacies, one by one, speculation will naturally focus on the President. Most journalists assume he will run, and will wonder aloud why he chooses to stay outside of the political arena in a political year. The criticism might go along the lines of, "After his 1970 experience, the President has apparently decided that he is better off staying away from the campaign trail." The Democratic contenders may pick up a similar theme, attacking the President on one more issue, when they might otherwise be attacking each other. In short,

CONFIDENTIAL

the criticism of the President's posture, in a campaign season, will very likely outweigh any image of statesmanship he would hope to enhance.

3. Media Coverage. There may be some change in the coverage which the media would feel obliged to provide for the President's Democratic and Republican opponents. The two most important factors are interpreted as follows:

a) EQUAL TIME:

This privilege applies only to a person who is a "legally qualified candidate" within the meaning of the 47 USC 315 (a). The case law distinguishes between a candidate for the nomination of a party and the nominee of a party. With respect to the former, the equal time provision applies only in intra-party; the latter, inter-party.

In view of the foregoing, should the President announce he will seek re-nomination by the Republican Party, or should the President acquiesce in the listing of his name as a candidate for such nomination in a state Republican Primary election, Representative McClosky, as another candidate for the Republican nomination, could invoke the equal time provision. The Democratic candidate, however, could not do so until after both conventions.

The standard test as to who is a candidate for nomination is a formal announcement. The test as to who is a candidate for President is formal nomination by a political party.

It should be borne in mind that when the equal time provision is operable there are four statutory exceptions thereto: Bona fide newscasts; bona fide news interviews; bona fide news documentaries (if the appearance of the candidate is incidental to the presentation of the subject or subjects covered by the news documentary) and on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events (including, but not limited to, political conventions and activities incidental thereto).

b) FAIRNESS DOCTRINE:

This doctrine always applies, but it is directed toward issues rather than persons. The initial judgement is made by the licensee (broadcaster) as to:

- a) Whether the subject matter of the broadcast is an issue concerning which he should afford equal time to a spokesman for the opposing view, and
- b) The choice of an appropriate spokesman for the opposing view.

The fact that the President is a candidate for re-election is a factor to be weighed by the licensee (broadcaster) as to whether the appearance by an incumbent President is such that fairness requires the granting of time for the exposition of an opposing view; it is not, however, controlling.

Summary. To avoid an announcement when the President's name will be entered in several important primaries will, in our judgement, create more problems than it solves. Our recommendation is that he make a low-keyed, but sincere announcement in the context of the New Hampshire Primary filing dates, and then return to his job as the incumbent President, to carry out his major initiatives at home and abroad.


JEB S. MAGRUDER

Miller
→ L 11:45

12/29

Oshrook

45 - min press conf
statement

did announce

- 68 platform

- cut of adm of China,
UN, deficits +
divided

heavy on mili

- Very good coverage be/

slow news

- all - nets there

- comp to P on & Lt nemy
UNazation

- Run up in Rep party,

no 3rd

NH + Fla only at
this pt

- discussed w/ - noted
Tower Gold ← desuade
not talked to RR.

- Hoped candidacy publi
admin → center
rather than "lurch to left"

1st? - has anyone at WH - no

not appted comp or fin admn.

- state → NH + ~~the~~ Per Gov + Devinell,
Rep is party of open door.

WASHINGTON--ADD ASHBROOK (37)

IF AMERICANS WANTED THE KIND OF PROGRAM NIXON HAS PRODUCED, ASHBROOK CONTENDED, THEY "WOULD HAVE STUCK TO THE PARTY WITH THE REAL EXPERTISE IN THESE AREAS, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY."

BUT HE SAID NIXON WAS ELECTED BECAUSE HE OFFERED CHANGE "AND IT WAS TO BE IN THE CONSERVATIVE DIRECTION."

"I CAN'T HELP FEELING," ASHBROOK SAID, "THAT MANY AMERICANS--AND CERTAINLY MANY NEW HAMPSHIRE AND FLORIDA REPUBLICANS, FOR EXAMPLE--WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO REMIND PRESIDENT NIXON OF THE SOLEMN PROMISES HE MADE DURING THAT CAMPAIGN."

ASHBROOK SAID IT WAS "BECAUSE THE PROMISE AND HOPE OF THE 1968 CAMPAIGN HAVE BEEN SO LARGELY ABANDONED THAT I AM DECLARING MY CANDIDACY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

"IT IS MY FIRM BELIEF," HE SAID, "THAT THE NIXON PROGRAM OF 1968 GENUINELY REFLECTED MAJORITY SENTIMENT IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THROUGHOUT THE NATION," HE SAID.

WE1050AES DEC 29

ASHBROOK

BY JOHN BECKLER

WASHINGTON (AP)--ACCUSING PRESIDENT NIXON OF LARGELY ABANDONING HIS 1968 CAMPAIGN PROMISES, REP. JOHN M. ASHBROOK ANNOUNCED HIS CHALLENGE TO NIXON FOR THE PRESIDENCY TODAY TO GIVE CONSERVATIVES WHAT HE CALLED AN OPPORTUNITY TO REMIND NIXON OF THOSE PROMISES.

THE OHIO REPUBLICAN SAID HIS CAMPAIGN FOR THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION WOULD BEGIN WITH THE NEW HAMPSHIRE AND FLORIDA PRIMARIES.

ASHBROOK ACCUSED NIXON OF ENDANGERING U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY, DEEPENING THE "ILLUSION OF DETENTE" WITH RED CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION IN DEFIANCE OF PLEDGES THREE YEARS AGO AND "THE LARGEST, MOST OUTRAGEOUS STRING OF DEFICITS IN AMERICAN PEACETIME HISTORY."

ASHBROOK ALSO ASSAILED NIXON'S FAMILY ASSISTANCE PLAN, SAYING IT WOULD MORE THAN DOUBLE THE U.S. WELFARE ROLLS WITH A GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME.

WE1045AES DEC 29

(ASHBROOK)

WASHINGTON--REP. JOHN M. ASHBROOK OF OHIO, DECLARING THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ABANDONED HIS 1968 CAMPAIGN PROMISES AND "ENDANGERED NATIONAL SECURITY," ANNOUNCED TODAY HE WILL OPPOSE THE PRESIDENT IN NEXT YEAR'S REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES.

THE CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN SAID HE PLANS TO TAKE HIS INSURGENT CAMPAIGN INTO BOTH THE NEW HAMPSHIRE AND FLORIDA PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES IN MARCH.

ASHBROOK CRITICIZED NIXON FOR BREAKING 1968 CAMPAIGN PLEDGES THAT HE COULD LOWER FEDERAL SPENDING, OPPOSE A GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME AND WAGE-PRICE CONTROLS AND MAINTAIN A MILITARY SUPERIORITY OVER THE SOVIET UNION.

HE SAID THAT NIXON'S FIRST THREE BUDGETS RESULTED IN THE "MOST OUTRAGEOUS STRING OF DEFICITS IN AMERICAN PEACETIME HISTORY.

"HE (NIXON) HAS CONTINUED AND IN SOME CASES INCREASED THE WASTEFUL GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS WHICH HE RIGHTLY QUESTIONED IN 1968," ASHBROOK SAID.

ASHBROOK SAID THE PRESIDENT'S DEFENSE POLICIES HAVE WEAKENED THE NATION'S MILITARY POSTURE TO A POINT WHERE HE "HAS ENDANGERED OUR NATIONAL SECURITY.

"WE HAVE SEEN HIM LEAD THE TRIUMPHANT CHARGE OF THE RED CHINESE INTO THE UNITED NATIONS," HE ADDED. "WE HAVE SEEN OUR ALLIE OF 30 YEARS STANDING, NATIONALIST CHINA, CYNICALLY EXPELLED FROM THE UNITED NATIONS WHILE WE STOOD BY AND DID EFFECTIVELY NOTHING."

ASHBROOK SAID THAT THESE POLICIES WERE NOT "WHAT I VOTED FOR IN MIAMI BEACH IN AUGUST, 1968, NOR IS IT THE PROGRAM THAT RICHARD NIXON RAN ON THAT YEAR."

ASHBROOK TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE THAT HE BELIEVED "MANY AMERICANS ...WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO REMIND RICHARD NIXON OF THE SOLEMN PROMISES HE MADE DURING THAT CAMPAIGN."

ASHBROOK CHARGED THAT NIXON HAD OFFERED POLICIES TO LEAD THE COUNTRY "IN THE CONSERVATIVE DIRECTION" BUT HAD REVERSED HIS POSITIONS ON MOST NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS. HE SAID THAT NIXON'S PROMISE TO APPOINT CONSERVATIVES TO THE SUPREME COURT, TO PASS NEW ANTI-CRIME LEGISLATION, AND TO MAINTAIN HIS VIETNAMIZATION POLICY WERE THE ONLY 1968 PLEDGES HE HAS KEPT.

12-29--PA1110AES

ASHBROOK TOLD HIS CROWDED NEWS CONFERENCE THAT HE WAS RUNNING AS AN "INSIDER" IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND WOULD NOT LATER JOIN A THIRD OR FOURTH PARTY CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT TO OUST NIXON.

"I'M A SERIOUS CANDIDATE," THE OHIO REPUBLICAN SAID. "I HOPE TO GET A SERIOUS RESPONSE."

ASHBROOK SAID HE WAS "NOT A SPOILER OR IN A MOVEMENT TO DUMP NIXON."

BUT HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WAS RUNNING AGAINST THE PRESIDENT BECAUSE OF WHAT HE SAID WAS A DRIFT LEFTWARD BY THE PRESIDENT FROM HIS 1968 CAMPAIGN PROMISES.

ANSWERING QUESTIONS, HE SAID HE HAD NOT BEEN CONTACTED PERSONALLY BY ANYONE IN THE WHITE HOUSE IN AN ATTEMPT TO DISSUADE HIM FROM RUNNING.

NIXON ALSO FACES A CHALLENGE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE FROM CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PAUL MCCLOSKEY, A GOP LIBERAL. BUT ASHBROOK SAID HE HOPED HE WOULD RUN AHEAD OF MCCLOSKEY EVEN THOUGH THE CALIFORNIAN HAD A SIX MONTH'S HEAD START.

ASHBROOK HAD CONTACTED, HE SAID, IN RECENT DAYS ALL CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN LEADERS WITH THE EXCEPTION OF GOV. RONALD REAGAN OF CALIFORNIA, WHO EARLIER HAD ANNOUNCED HE WAS SUPPORTING NIXON ALL THE WAY.

ASHBROOK ADMITTED SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, R-ARIZ., HAD TRIED TO TALK HIM OUT OF HIS CONSERVATIVE CHALLENGE. ASHBROOK SAID ALSO HE DID NOT EXPECT TO RECEIVE ANY ENDORSEMENTS OF SUPPORT FROM ANY SENATOR INCLUDING SEN. JAMES BUCKLEY, ELECTED AS A CONSERVATIVE FROM NEW YORK.

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ASHBROOK SAID HE WILL ALSO FILE FOR RE-ELECTION AS A HOUSE MEMBER AND EXPECTS THE FILING DATE IN FEBRUARY TO BE MOVED UP IN TIME. HE SAID HE HAS NOT DECIDED YET WHETHER TO ENTER THE OHIO PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY THIS SPRING.

ASHBROOK SAID HE WOULD BE PLEASED TO HAVE VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW AS HIS RUNNING MATE SHOULD HE SUCCEED IN HIS PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING QUEST.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, ASHBROOK SAID, THE DISCUSSION OF AGNEW BEING DUMPED FROM THE TICKET IS ONE OF THE REASONS FOR HIS ANNOUNCEMENT.

HE SAID HE HAS NOT NAMED A CAMPAIGN MANAGER YET BUT BELIEVED THAT HE WOULD HAVE ADEQUATE FINANCING FOR THE NEW HAMPSHIRE CONTEST.

12-29--PA1122AES

UPI-56

ADD 1 ASHBROOK, WASHINGTON (UPI-54)

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12-29--PA1122AES

LPI-54

(ASHBROOK)

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12-29--PA1110AES

WASHINGTON--ADD ASHBROOK (37)

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WE1050AES DEC 29

UPI-12

(ASHBROOK)

WASHINGTON--REP. JOHN ASHBROOK, R-OHIO ANNOUNCED TODAY AS A CHALLENGER TO PRESIDENT NIXON IN REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES, SAYING HE WOULD BE APPEALING "TO THE MAJORITY SENTIMENT" IN THE GOP.

ASHBROOK, A CONSERVATIVE SERVING HIS SIXTH TERM IN THE HOUSE, ACCUSED NIXON OF ALLOWING THE NATION'S MILITARY STRENGTH TO DETERIORATE AND WITH FAILURE TO TAKE "A MORE FORCEFUL POSITION" TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION AND RED CHINA.

HE SAID HE WOULD OPPOSE NIXON IN THE MARCH 7 NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY, AND THAT HIS "PHASE I" PLAN THEN ALSO WILL INCLUDE RUNNING IN THE FLORIDA PRIMARY MARCH 14.

AFTER THAT, ASHBROOK SAID, WILL BE HIS "PHASE II" -- DETERMINING WHETHER HIS CAMPAIGN, "STARTING BASICALLY FROM ZERO," HAS GAINED ENOUGH SUPPORT TO BECOME AN ALL-OUT NATIONAL EFFORT.

ASHBROOK WAS INTERVIEWED ON THE CBS MORNING NEWS PROGRAM IN ADVANCE OF A NEWS CONFERENCE LATER IN THE MORNING.

ASHBROOK SAID NIXON HAD BROKEN PLEDGES MADE IN WINNING THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION IN 1968 AND THAT CONSERVATIVES COULD SEE LITTLE DIFFERENCE IN MANY ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS FROM THOSE OF THE DEMOCRATS.

HE SAID NIXON HAD ACCUSED THE DEMOCRATS OF WEAKENING U. S. DEFENSE FORCES BUT HAD ALLOWED THE SITUATION TO GET WORSE.

ASHBROOK SAID NIXON'S DECISION TO VISIT RED CHINA WAS THE FINAL FACTOR THAT CAUSED HIM TO BECOME A CHALLENGER TO THE PRESIDENT.

NIXON WAS SAYING, ASHBROOK SAID, THAT "WE'VE BEEN WRONG AND WE'VE CHANGED," WITHOUT ANY CHANGE IN ATTITUDE BY PEKING.

HE SAID NIXON NEEDS "TO TAKE A MORE FORCEFUL POSITION VIS A VIS THE SOVIET UNION AND RED CHINA," AND THAT IN PEKING HE HOPED THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE ABLE TO "DEAL FROM STRENGTH" IN DISCUSSIONS WITH RED CHINA'S LEADERS.

"BUT HE CAN'T DEAL FROM STRENGTH IF THE DEFENSE POSTURE CONTINUES TO DECLINE," ASHBROOK SAID.

12-29--PA902AES

UPI-56

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NIXON ALSO FACES A CHALLENGE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE FROM CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 20, 1971

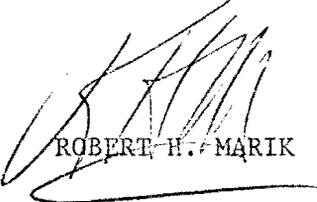
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HERBERT KLEIN

SUBJECT: COMPUTER BASED TELEPHONE CAPABILITY

Gordon Strachan has forwarded to me the letter from Mr. Trelegan, concerning a computer based telephone device, along with your response.

We have been investigating such techniques for possible use in the upcoming Presidential campaign. In January, when we expect to have a Manager of Telephone Operations on the Committee staff, we will contact Mr. Trelegan and follow up on his letter.



ROBERT H. MARIK

cc: Gordon Strachan
Jeb S. Magruder

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KR*

Registration figures for Los Angeles in the November 30th report are misleading and exemplify a statewide problem in getting usable data in California. Up until this report our figures were for just new voters 18-24, with a few others coming from mobile voters who had recently moved into the area. After local elections, however, some election commissions started purging processes and added all voters, including new voters to the computer. When we called for our end of November figures we were given the figures for all the voters who were added to the new computer lists after the local elections. This figure included all transient voters, voters who had been previously purged and had to re-register, and new voters 18-24. Because all these voters were included in our figures, they were inflated.

Although we have been in frequent contact with our people in Los Angeles County and the State of California, it is no longer possible to attain meaningful figures by our old methods because new voters are no longer kept as separate lists. We are attempting to find a new way of arriving at new voter statistics for California.

The Los Angeles election commissions officials estimate that only about 15%-20% of the new 18-24 year old voters have registered. This, however, is only an estimate and is not as reliable as figures we used previously. Nationwide the trend is less than 30% and there is no reason to think this would not hold true for California.

cc: Jeb Magruder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

12/20

TO: Larry

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

- The report that Nofziger will run Calif is true.
- The information appears in the 12/17 talking paper for the A.G. I learned of the decision from Magueller on 12/17.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 18, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY L

It is my understanding that Nofziger is now going to run the Campaign in California, that Mitchell has asked him to do it and Nofziger has agreed.

Is there any truth to this and if so, what's the case? Why isn't it in your report.

TALKING PAPER FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

RE: 1972 - Current Comments

1) Some loyal, outside observers have suggested that it would not be best to emphasize your willingness to leave the ticket.

2) Whatever the decision about your candidacy, these comments may cause us trouble during the Campaign.

3) If you are under the impression that some on the White House Staff are actively lobbying for your removal, you are wrong.

GS
12/20/71

lm

November 18, 1971

FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: JEB MAGRUDER

For your information.

*AG
approved*

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

October 29, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Attorney General John N. Mitchell
FROM: Rita E. Hauser *R.E.H.*
SUBJECT: Activities Program for Women Campaign Volunteers

The Campaign Program for Women Voters submitted to you heretofore outlined a new conception of total integration of women into the campaign structure. The purpose of total integration is two-fold: (1) To convey the message to all women that the President actually believes in equality of opportunity for women by carrying it out in his own campaign, and (2) to attract to the Nixon Campaign many new women, not otherwise involved in regular party operations, both to vote for Nixon and to work in the campaign in any aspect which may be appealing to the individual woman.

For organizational purposes, we propose to call our operations VOLUNTEERS FOR NIXON. My functional title, therefore, could be Director, Volunteers for Nixon. Our operations would encompass the various programs outlined in our principal Campaign Program.

In order to utilize the thousands of women in the various states who will want to volunteer their services to the local Nixon campaign to perform the traditional activities carried on by many women, we propose to include in our program an activity to be call VOLUNTEER MANPOWER.

The VOLUNTEER MANPOWER Program will provide for activities such as dissemination of literature, coffee hours, registration drives, poll-watching, baby-sitting on Election Day, etc. We will set guidelines for these diverse activities, and provide sugges-

tions and case studies for each state. We will suggest to each Nixon state chairman the woman in his state who we believe is most capable of heading up this VOLUNTEER MANPOWER Program. The program, however, must be open to all people, men and women alike, although it is obvious by the time available to women and their predilections that most of the volunteers will probably be women.

I propose to put Mrs. Bucky Kaiser in charge of this field operation. She will be based in Washington, but is happy and anxious to travel greatly. (Her background and requirements are spelled out in our major Campaign Program). She is available as of December 1, 1971. Each Volunteer Program Chairman will be obliged to report to Mrs. Kaiser on a regular basis. We may, in addition, need fieldmen as the program unfolds. Attached you will find an organizational diagram which indicates the structure and activities proposed.

In addition, I intend to maintain very close working relationships with Mrs. Armstrong (RNC) and Ms. Armitage (Federation) to ensure that their political structures function harmoniously with the Volunteer Manpower Program in each state. The two women have made clear to me their great desire to get their women out working.

AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY

- I. Recruitment of Volunteer Manpower:
 - A. Volunteers will encompass all types of women:
 1. Career, at-home, young suburbanite, traditional club woman, Republican Federation woman, etc.
 2. Men who are interested in volunteering their time will also be recruited.
 - B. Responsibilities of the volunteers will include:
 1. Registration drives,
 2. Poll-watching,
 3. Minor fund raising,
 4. Dissemination of literature, and
 5. Other diverse activities.
- II. Promotional Coordination will involve plans for:
 - A. Minor fund raisers
 - B. Newsletters and press releases
 - C. Get-out-the-vote information
 - D. Politically oriented social activities
 - E. Speakers bureau
- III. Convention Coordination will include
 - A. Involvement of volunteers in many aspects of convention activities

- B. Integration of women in all facets of convention
 - C. Coordination of other activities pertinent to the volunteer area.
-

FIELD COORDINATION

I. Field Coordinator will:

- A. Coordinate the field operation and
- B. Direct the activities of the state and local volunteer programs.
 - 1. Regional field directors will report directly to the field coordinator.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

November 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: Attorney General John N. Mitchell
FROM: Rita Hauser
SUBJECT: Women Voters for the President

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
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November 11, 1971

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SUBJECT: Women Voters for the President

WOMEN VOTERS FOR THE PRESIDENT

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WOMEN VOTERS FOR THE PRESIDENT

INTRODUCTION

All competent social observers are agreed that a change in outlook and self-evaluation of major significance is occurring at present among American women in every age and socio-economic group. Not all are agreed on the nature, content and extent of this change, and, like other matters involving rapid social transformations unfolding before us, hard data is difficult to come by. Many opinions have been put forth without adequate documentation, often making the subject long on emotion and short on reasoned analysis.

We have reviewed the available serious studies of changing attitudes among American women. Rita Hauser has also spent considerable time with Lou Harris, an old friend, to review the findings of his organization made on behalf of Virginia Slims in anticipation of launching a new cigarette geared essentially to the "liberated" woman. Collectively, we have met with representative women in many fields and have probed their attitudes.

While we cannot therefore "prove" our case with reams of documentation, we believe that the new approach to women we propose for Campaign 72 is in tune with the great currents of change affecting American women today. We believe further that this new approach, as it is carried out by the Campaign Organization and by the President himself, will emit a message to women voters that is crucial for their sustained sympathetic view of the President. In a close election where the candidates may not differ greatly on the big issues, for many women the choice will turn on a candidate's attitude toward women as a group.

If organization is the key to the young voters, many of whom are not yet politicized, then sensitivity to a new self-awakening is the key to the women voters of all ages. This is especially applicable to many young women who, like younger men, may not yet be politically acute, but who are most surely attuned to the new thinking prevalent among women as a whole. Of the great bloc of young voters (ages 18-30), slightly more than one-half are women, but as Lou Harris argues, about 75% of women in this age group are breaking out of old molds and

searching for a new life style. We propose to convince this woman in Campaign 72 to vote for Nixon, as well as the more traditional minded woman in the older age group.

PART I - THE BACKGROUND

THE NEW SELF-AWARENESS OF WOMEN - HOW IT OCCURRED

From time immemorial, the woman's role has been perceived as that of homemaker, rearer of children and supportive of her husband. Women who departed substantially from this role were viewed as oddities, and written up as such. Men who were happily married to active, participating women with lives outside the home, were likewise viewed as oddities by fellow men. Moreover, the reigning modern theory of child-raising (Dr. Spock) and psychiatry (Frued) ordained a life of mal-adjustment and distress for children who were denied access to a constantly available mother whose sole concern in life was the raising of these very children.

Like many other social myths, this role standard persisted and dominated literature and the education of women despite inherent major contradictions from the outset:

1. From the earliest days of the nation's history, the majority of women in America always worked, although very often without financial compensation. They worked, while married and as mothers, on family farms, and in family businesses as well as in factories, offices and shops. Most worked simply because they had to. Prior to the post World War II prosperity, a husband often did not earn enough to support his family. As we note below, since the increasing inflation of the 1960's, women are again seeking employment in great numbers primarily to help meet family needs. It is essential to realize that in 1970 women made up 43% of the labor force. Most women work for economic reasons; many, however, seek employment in order to derive personal professional rewards and independent recognition.

2. The myth of the "at-home" woman never took account of the millions of women who never married, were divorced or widowed, and therefore without benefit of a husband-breadwinner.

3. The myth was sustained despite the tremendous increase in college educated women since the 1930's, al-

though often at a price of confusion and dejection as highly educated women, exposed to the outer world during their education, were expected to turn inward for the raising of children and the submergence of their knowledge to the routine of family life. Many educated women adjusted, many, we now know, did not, as the incidence of suburban alcoholism and depression has demonstrated. Indeed, the vast numbers of at-home women giving their services to volunteer organizations indicates the extent to which activities other than child-raising are vital to the personal fulfillment of such women.

During the tumultuous sixties, a change in attitude on the part of many younger women, in particular, as to this prevailing social myth, began to be perceived. The reasons are complex and not fully understood by social scientists. But, among other factors, the following can be noted:

1. The development and rapid increase in the use of birth control pills and devices rendered younger women free of sexual inhibitions common to prior generations and placed young men and women on an equal plane in their social contacts. The married women, as well,

for the first time came to feel a mastery over the most important event in her life - the timing and number of children - and permitted her to plan a life independent of, or in addition to, child rearing duties.

2. The whole era of a quest for equality on the part of minorities made women conscious of their "second class" status.

3. The media revolution permitted the woman at home to know often far more than her husband about public events. It should not be forgotten that women watch twice as many television hours as men, and hear three times as many radio hours.

4. The need for a second income, which became crucial to many families, due to the increased costs of education and a higher expected standard of living, caused millions of women to return to work after the early child rearing years. The increased life-span of a woman (age 72) also now affords a long period of time after the entry of her children into high school, during which it becomes natural, and for many essential, to seek extra-family occupations.

THE NEW SELF-AWARENESS OF WOMEN: WHAT IS IT?

The one fixed highly significant datum Lou Harris and others report, is an inchoate sense among women of all ages and groups that they have thoughts, attitudes and feelings worthy to be heard, and that they no longer accept the dismissal of these thoughts, attitudes and feelings by their husband and other men as frivolities. Harris indicates a clear consciousness of self, of personality and value, emerging among women in every group. Women no longer deem it right or rational to be shunted aside when serious talk is afoot or to be demeaned for their point of view.

Harris reports that the overwhelming majority of women still accept the homemaker role as dominant - but with strong qualifications apparent today:

1. Most women work before marriage and many continue to do so throughout marriage, often on a part-time basis while children are young. Many now fully anticipate returning to work when children reach school age. Accordingly, they are interested in job opportunities, retraining, bread-and-butter questions. They are as directly hit by a recession as are men; in fact, women held on to jobs

this past year while their husbands were unemployed. They are also interested in rewarding jobs, especially if college educated. Many find themselves hampered by years out of professional life and, consequently, seek more education and updating of credentials. They return to college in their forties and face whole new sets of attitudes and ideas.

2. Many young women today want a chance to find themselves before marriage. For the first time since the Great Depression, the average age of first marriage of American women has gone up considerably, as well as the average age at which she gives birth to her first child.

3. Remaining single or married and childless while pursuing a career is no longer looked upon by the majority of women as something freakish. Most women would not choose this life style, but tolerance as to such choice by another woman is now perceived by Harris.

EMERGENCE OF WOMEN'S ISSUES

The new self-awakening has caused many women to sense an identity with other women, as a distinct group

of people, and an interest in certain issues common to them. Chief among these are:

1. Equal access to quality education - entrance on a basis of merit alone.
2. Equal job opportunities and equal pay.
3. Access to top posts in management, universities and government.
4. Establishment of good day care centers for children of working mothers, not just the poor, but middle class as well.
5. Abortion law reforms.
6. Elimination of all vestiges of legal discrimination against women (property restrictions, different age of majority than men, etc.)

Women as a group now expect candidates for all offices, including the Presidency, to pronounce on these issues. In a close race where the candidates' views on major matters may not be too different, attitudes as to these issues may well be the crucial factor for many women. Indeed, it is not frivolous to note that many men, who are sympathetic to the concept of equality for women, particularly younger men, will also be much interested in the candidates' views.

PART II - THE CAMPAIGN

THE CAMPAIGN MUST BE PREDICATED ON A KEEN
SENSITIVITY TO THE NEW SELF-AWARENESS OF WOMEN.

CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

Because women want to be a part of things, valued for their real contributions and not viewed solely as women to be organized and utilized as women, we plan a total integration of women on every level of the campaign, both nationally and in the states. Accordingly, there will be no separate Women's Division or Women for Nixon Group. Women will be placed in positions commensurate with their talents, including the chairmanship of the Nixon Campaign in several states.

The integrated concept will be explained and proposed strongly by Hauser to each Nixon state chairman as a model to follow. We will furnish each state chairman with as vast a list that we can compile from diverse sources of women, particularly younger, fresh to politics types, in that state who want to work in the campaign. Each woman will be identified as to profession, training or interest so that she can be best put to work in the state campaign operation.

In addition, we will identify or select the woman in each state who we desire to play the key role in establishing a Volunteer Power Program in the state.

Volunteer Power will be the vehicle for organizing the multiple campaign activities staffed by volunteers. Volunteer recruitment will encompass both men and women, although it seems clear from the time available to them that the largest portion of volunteers will be women. We will furnish the Volunteer Power operation in each state with suggested programs and guidelines for activities (e.g., registration drives, coffee hours, literature distribution, baby-sitting operations).

The diverse citizens groups (ethnics, doctors, lawyers, minorities, etc.) can be coordinated with Volunteer Power so that those who wish to contribute services as volunteers can well do so in addition to lending their name to lists, making contributions, or otherwise backing the President.

The Volunteer Power Program will also be coordinated with the Republican Vice-Chairman, National Committee-Woman and Federation Chairman in each state to avoid to the maximum extent any jurisdictional disputes.

PUBLICITY AS TO THE NEW APPROACH TO WOMEN

At an appropriate time in mid-1972, we plan to get newspaper coverage through columns and newsstories which will provide sophisticated analysis of the "quiet revolution" occurring in the campaign as to involvement of women. The fact of many women on many levels of operation will be highlighted, with appropriate coverage of their work activities, diversity of background, relative youth and fresh interest in the re-election of the President. We hope to get picture spreads in the major magazines and Sunday supplements, as well as TV coverage of women at work for Nixon.

PART III - A PROPER APPROACH TO WOMEN'S SELF-AWARENESS AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

Many more women will be delegates or alternates to the 1972 Conventions than ever before. This fact will be stressed by the media, particularly since the Democrats are sure to have credentials and floor fights under their new rules which call for women delegates in proportion to the total population (53%). Republicans have a

great chance to show the extent (about 25%) to which women are included at the Republican Convention and that this inclusion has occurred without bitter public battles. The President, in turn, can benefit greatly by showing awareness of the large presence of women at the Convention.

The following are suggested guidelines:

1. Any time the President or Campaign Manager meets with a group of delegates, an adequate to large percentage among them should be women. All male meetings should be completely out. Nothing today will more outrage a woman delegate, even a Republican delegate of middling years, than to be excluded from the "important stuff" because she is a woman.

2. The Campaign Manager should delegate important Convention tasks to his women deputies and staff assistants as well as to men. It would be a healthy matter (and word would surely get around) for women assistants to meet state chairmen and key delegates on major items. The publicity value of sending a woman staffer to meet with any of the top-name people on behalf of the Campaign Manager or the President would be great.

3. Young women should be used as aides, chauffers, etc. in the same ratio as young men. We firmly believe that putting women in costumes suggesting their use is purely decorative should be avoided.

4. Public briefings of women delegates and alternates in small groups by Administration aides can be arranged as to the major issues of the day. This type of activity is suggested in lieu of teas, fashion shows or other such programs. It must be presumed that women delegates (indeed wives of delegates as well) are as interested in the issues as their male counterparts; to arrange activities for them on any other basis would be derogatory to them.

We will make certain that the media are aware of all these developments. The increased number of women delegates, their involvement in decisions, the greater use of women Nixon campaign aides, will all be news, for there is already every clear indication that proper representation of women will be deemed a major news item at the Conventions. Moreover, it is a matter of keen interest to the millions of women who will observe the Conventions on television. Good media stories can be developed which will greatly benefit the Nixon Campaign.

PART IV - A PROPER APPROACH TO WOMEN'S

SELF-AWARENESS DURING THE CAMPAIGN

The way in which the campaign is conducted in the largest as well as the smallest matters will convey either a sense of empathy with the new self-awareness of women or the very opposite; a lack of sensitivity of the new mood prevailing among so many women. Much good work can be undone by careless language, jokes offensive to many women, indifference to their presence, exclusion of women from substantive matters.

The following guidelines are suggested as imperative:

1. When the President comes to a particular town, the greeting party at the airport should include a substantial number of women dignitaries. Photos should always show men and women greeting him, and he them, equally.

2. When the President sits down to meet with local leaders or politicians to discuss issues or the campaign, the group must include women. All male meetings should be avoided.

3. The President should take every opportunity to meet with leaders of key women's organizations. When meeting with professional groups, unions or civic groups, the

top women should always be included, even if it means making an active search in the membership to produce some good women.

4. The President's campaign speeches should include references to both "men and women". He must not address certain remarks only to men, others to women. He must assume the same level of interest and involvement in issues on the part of women as of men, and he must treat the women in his audiences with the same respect for their intelligence and concern as he accords to men.

5. Separate asides or remarks to women in any audience should be avoided. Even the flattering comments as to the good looks of any women should be minimized, as many women today find this approach to be patronizing of them. Nor should the President speak of women's special concern for peace or the drug issue or quality education; the assumption must be that men and women both are vitally involved in all these major questions, as citizens alike. Issues have no gender.

6. When speaking to the future of America and to the aspirations of young people and their parents for them, the President must refer to the hopes that so many young

women hold for a chance to participate fully in the life of the Nation. Constant reference to their future role as wives and mothers should be played down, unless in the context of young men's future role as husbands and fathers. Young women should be exhorted to do their best and give their best efforts to the country to the same extent as young men. The President here has an opportunity to reach out to the dreams of many younger American women, dreams often not yet fully crystallized in their own minds and emotions, but nevertheless vaguely felt as a real stirring. To reach them on this inspirational plane will be powerful.

7. The woman as "helpmate" should be avoided in the President's references. Women today more and more see themselves in terms of their own contributions and thus seek recognition of themselves independent of the recognition which may be accorded to their husbands. Moreover, millions of women have no husbands (single, widowed or divorced) and are self-supporting if not the family breadwinners; always to refer to the woman at the side of her man is very disturbing to such women.

8. The President should make a major pronouncement or series of statements during the campaign on the

so-called women's issues. Of greatest importance are the following:

a) Equality of job opportunity, access to top positions, advancement on merit alone, equal pay for equal work. Here the President must take cognizance of the fact that 43% of the labor force is composed of women, and growing even larger. Women as well as their husbands, are thus vitally interested in real bread and butter questions.

b) Access to quality higher education on a merit basis alone.

c) Support for federal aid to day care centers.

This is an issue of great importance to men and women alike, particularly in the blue collar groups and lower-paid white collar groups, where mothers are working and both parents are concerned about proper care of their children during the day. These people cannot afford nurses or baby-sitters on a permanent basis. This issue has real importance to millions of people in the groups the President will be reaching out for.

d) Abortion law reform.

We believe the President must soften the hard position he took last year against liberalization of abortion laws. Our reasons are:

(i) The latest federal survey just published in late October, 1971, showed a marked shift in favor of liberalized abortion during the last five years, with more men than women in favor. Over 90% of Jews, 65% of Protestants and 50% of Catholics believe the matter should be settled solely between the couple and their doctor. Surveys show many Catholic families are now wavering on the very issue.

(ii) Abortion law reform is an issue with a very high emotional quotient for many women. An inflexibly hard stand against abortion reform wins few friends, and is deeply resented by many women who feel that a man, even the President, cannot comprehend the essence of the problem of an unwanted pregnancy.

Moreover, many men of all ages strongly support liberalized abortion rules.

(iii) All the major Democratic aspirants have been queried continually on this question at public appearances. Muskie's staff reported recently that it is the single issue raised consistently in audiences under 35 years of age.

SUMMARY

During the course of the Campaign, the President must relate on both the cerebral and emotional levels to the phenomenon of a new self-awareness and growing self-assurance of American women. His choice of language, his stand on the women's issues, his openness as to the changing attitudes of women who seek self-recognition independent of their husband's achievements, his willingness to view this change of attitude as positive, as a source of enrichment of American life from which all will benefit, will be the significant events in earning the support of many women voters.

The changing attitudes of women as to themselves is profound and durable. By comprehending and empathizing with these new attitudes, the President will do more for his Campaign than any structure or activity for women that we could fashion. Women want to know where Nixon stands vis-a-vis this unfolding social change and, in the final analysis, only he, in his person, statements, and own subjective attitudes, can provide the answer.

R.E.H. 11/11/71

November 2, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached for your information and use during your meeting with Rita Hauser on Thursday, November 4, is our critique on her report on the Campaign Program -- Women Voters for the President.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

CRITIQUE OF CAMPAIGN PROGRAM

WOMEN VOTERS FOR THE PRESIDENT

There are two functions we should be concerned with in the women's activity in 1972. One is the need to mount a full-scale public relations effort to indicate to the women of America that the President and the campaign understand the new self-awareness of women and that we have set-up our campaign structure to relate to this awareness. ①

In that connection, in our earlier planning group meetings with you we agreed that we should integrate the women's division into the main structure of the campaign, and that there would be no separate women's division in 1972.

Qualified women would be placed in key campaign positions and an all-out effort will be made to integrate women into all activities of the campaign.

The second function would be a complete and effective campaign organization similar to Pat Hitt's 1968 campaign operation. In 1972, under the main campaign umbrella, it would allow women who want to work for the President in the traditional manner to function effectively in each state in meaningful campaign activities. ②

To be consistent with the new concept regarding women which is the main theme of the Hauser report, the counter-part of the 1968 women's division might be renamed "Volunteers for the Re-Election of the President."

The specific proposal that Rita Hauser submitted concerns itself almost exclusively with the first objective. It lays out a concise program for achieving the desired public relations effect. The plan does not discuss in any form the need for an organization that will harness the women that want to work for the President in the normal, traditional way.

It is our feeling that a complete organizational plan should be developed that would relate to the following areas.

1. Broad Strategy:

- A. What are the key states which will receive the major emphasis?
- B. In which of the Primary States will major activities take place?

2. Specific Categories of Women:

A. How will you reach or approach the various types of women?

- (1) Traditional "at-home" woman
- (2) Young College Woman
- (3) Career-Oriented Woman
- (4) Young, suburban housewife ~~type woman~~
- (5) Older woman

B. How will you reach the women's organizations -- such as:

- (1) Republican Club Women
- (2) Religious Club Women
- (3) Volunteers in Health and Welfare areas
- (4) Other service clubs such as Junior League, AAUW, League of Women Voters, Federation of Jr. and Sr. Women's Clubs
- (5) Professional Women's Clubs -- such as Zonta, Business and Professional Women, etc.

C. How will you recruit volunteers generally?

3. Specific Plans for Functional Activities:

A. This should include an organizational chart and budget for each.

- (1) Promotion
- (2) Speakers Bureau
- (3) Fund Raising -- Minor
- (4) Mailing
- (5) Telephoning
- (6) Politically Oriented Social Functions
- (7) Get-Out-the-Vote Activities

(8) Child Care Function

(9) Registration

4. Relationship of Women's Activities to Overall Campaign:

- A. How does this relate to other functional areas -- nationally and state?
- B. How does the Women's Activities relate to the state, and state to local women's functions?

Rita has indicated that she feels strongly that her efforts mainly concentrate in the public relations area and to assist the other senior people in the campaign in planning their staffs with qualified women. It would be our recommendation that she be assigned this function in the campaign, reporting directly to you. Rita has also indicated that she does not feel that she could accomplish the organizational goals we have outlined above. Therefore, it would seem appropriate that we begin an immediate search for someone to assume Pat Hitt's role in the 1972 campaign. This person could work directly for Rita or, if it was felt appropriate, she could report directly to you also.

Nancy Steorts, who is Rita's assistant, should prepare the campaign plan as stated above and, if you agree, we will begin searching for a woman to direct all organization activities in the campaign.

when?

CAMPAIGN PROGRAM

WOMEN VOTERS FOR THE PRESIDENT

CAMPAIGN PROGRAM

WOMEN VOTERS FOR THE PRESIDENT

INTRODUCTION

All competent social observers are agreed that a change in outlook and self-evaluation of major significance is occurring at present among American women in every age and socio-economic group. Not all are agreed on the nature, content and extent of this change, and, like other matters involving rapid social transformations unfolding before us, hard data is difficult to come by. Many opinions have been put forth without adequate documentation, often making the subject long on emotion and short on reasoned analysis.

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1. From the earliest days of the nation's history, the majority of women in America always worked, although very often without financial compensation. They worked, while married and as mothers, on family farms, and in family businesses as well as in factories, offices and shops. Most worked simply because they had to. Prior to the post World War II prosperity, a husband often did not earn enough to support his family. As we note below, since the increasing inflation of the 1960's, women are again seeking employment in great numbers primarily to help meet family needs. It is essential to realize that 43% of the labor force in 1970 is women. Most work for economic reasons; many, however, seek employment in order to derive personal professional rewards and independent recognition.

2. The myth of the "at-home" woman never took account of the millions of women who never married, were divorced or widowed, and therefore without benefit of a husband-breadwinner.

3. The myth was sustained despite the tremendous increase in college educated women since the 1930's, although often at a price of confusion and dejection as highly educated women, exposed to the outer world during their education, were expected to turn inward for the raising of children and the submergence of their knowledge to the routine of family life. Many educated women adjusted; many, we now know, did not, as the incidence of suburban alcoholism and depression has demonstrated. Indeed, the vast numbers of at-home women giving their services to volunteer organizations indicates the extent to which activities other than child-raising are vital to the fulfillment of such women. Many an American community depends upon these volunteer activities.

During the tumultuous sixties, a change in attitude on the part of many younger women, in particular, as to this prevailing social myth, began to be perceived. The reasons are complex and not fully understood by social scientists. But, among other factors, the following can be noted:

1. The development and rapid increase in the use of birth control pills and devices, which rendered younger women free of sexual inhibitions common to prior generations and which placed young men and women on an equal plane in their social contacts. The married woman, as well, for the first time came to feel a mastery over the most important event in her life - the timing and number of children - and permitted her to plan a life independent of, or in addition to child rearing duties.

2. The whole era of a quest for equality on the part of minorities made women conscious of their "second class" status.

3. The media revolution permitted the woman at home to know often far more than her husband about public events. It should not be forgotten that women watch twice as many television hours as men, and hear three times as many radio hours.

4. The return to work after early child rearing years by millions of women as the need for a second income became crucial to many families, due to, the increased costs of education and a higher expected

standard of living. The increased life-span of a woman (age 72) affords a long period of time after the entry of her children into high school during which it becomes natural to seek extra-family occupations.

THE NEW SELF-AWARENESS OF WOMEN: WHAT IS IT?

The one fixed highly significant datum Lou Harris reports is an incoherent sense among women of all ages and groups that they have thoughts, attitudes and feelings worthy to be heard, and that they no longer accept the dismissal of these thoughts, attitudes and feelings by their husband and other men as frivolities. Harris indicates a clear consciousness of self, of personality and value, emerging among women in every group. Women no longer deem it right or rational to be shunted aside when serious talk is afoot or to be demeaned for their point of view.

Harris reports that the overwhelming majority of women still accept the homemaker role as dominant - but with strong qualifications apparent today:

1. Most women work before marriage and many continue to do so throughout marriage, often on a part-time basis while children are young. Many now fully anticipate returning to work when children reach school age. Accordingly, they are interested in job opportunities, retraining, bread-and-butter questions. They are as directly hit by a recession as are men; in fact many women held on to jobs this past year while their husbands were unemployed. They are also interested in rewarding jobs, especially if college educated. Many are hampered by years out of professional life and, consequently seek more education and updating of credentials.

2. Many young women today want a chance to find themselves before marriage. For the first time since the Great Depression, the average age of first marriage of American women has gone up considerably.

3. Remaining single or married and childless while pursuing a career is no longer looked upon by the majority of women as something freakish. Most women would not choose this life style, but tolerance as to such choice by another woman is now perceived by Harris.

EMERGENCE OF WOMEN'S ISSUES

The new self-awakening has caused many women to sense an identity with other women, as a distinct group of people, and an interest in certain issues. Chief among them are:

1. Equal access to quality education - entrance on a basis of merit alone.
2. Equal job opportunities and equal pay.
3. Access to top posts in management, universities and government.
4. Establishment of good day care centers for children of working mothers, not just the poor but middle class as well.
5. Abortion law reforms.
6. Elimination of all vestiges of legal discrimination against women (property restrictions, different age of majority than men, etc.).

Women as a group now expect candidates for all offices, including the Presidency, to pronounce on these issues. In a close race where the candidates' views on major matters may not be too different, attitudes as to these

issues may well be the crucial factor for many women. Indeed, it is not frivolous to note that many men, who are sympathetic to the concept of equality for women, will also be influenced by the candidates' views, particularly younger men.

PART II - CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

PREDICATED ON SENSITIVITY TO THE NEW SELF-AWARENESS OF WOMEN

Because we feel that women want to be part of things, valued for their real contributions and not viewed solely as women to be organized and utilized as women, we have proposed a total integration of women in every level of the campaign, both nationally and in the states. Accordingly, there will be no separate Women's Division or Women for Nixon Group.

Our Campaign Aim: Women will be seen everywhere and on all levels of the Nixon 1972 Campaign.

IMPLEMENTATION OF AIM:

A. Organization in the States

In the Pre-Convention period (October 1971 to August 1972) efforts will be concentrated on finding as many

women in each state as possible who want to work in the Campaign and placing them at the highest levels possible. This operation will proceed as follows:

1. Starting with the primary states in their chronological order, we will prepare lists of women to present to the state Nixon Chairman. Each woman shall be identified by interest and talent. These lists shall be compiled from diverse sources, political, professional, volunteer groups, etc. and each woman will be carefully checked out.

2. Hauser will meet with each prospective Nixon state Chairman to impress upon him or her the integrated campaign philosophy and to assure that women are placed in top posts in the state organization (e.g., finance, administration, speakers bureau).

3. Wherever first-class women are located, they will be proposed as state Nixon Chairmen. The campaign structure in the states should include as many women as possible in the top spot.

4. Hauser will meet with the Republican

National Committee at its December, 1971 meeting, at the invitation of Chairman Dole and Vice-Chairman Armstrong, to elaborate on this new approach and the importance of sensitivity throughout the campaign to the new self-awareness of American women.

5. Hauser will meet individually with National Committeewomen and State Vice-Chairmen (or women Chairmen) to gain their full support and backing for the new approach and assistance in placing top women in such state campaign structure.

6. We do not intend to urge the appointment of a state female co-chairman or vice-chairman. If a given state group wishes to proceed this way, we shall not object as freedom of choice should prevail and reflect local sentiment. We do intend, however, to get women into all phases of the state campaign. This, in itself, is a major campaign aim, for, in our view, its accomplishment and respective publicity will move more women voters for Nixon than any traditional sale of trinkets program. Women want to do something meaningful in the campaign, and the first step is to get women into

meaningful posts, where they will be visible, publicized and proud of the President who carried out a long heard but never fulfilled promise in past campaigns.

STAFF REQUIREMENTS AND BUDGET THROUGH NOVEMBER,
TO IMPLEMENT CAMPAIGN AIM

1. At Headquarters, Hauser will be staffed with:
 - a. Mrs. Nancy Steorts, executive director, age 34, budgeted at \$15,000/\$18,500 - salary; and
 - b. Mrs. Marianne Cox, research assistant-executive secretary, budgeted at \$8,500 - salary; age 26.
2. Commencing January, 1972, a field director will be required to travel to the various states to review the implementation of organization and programs. Candidate is Mrs. Bucky Kaiser, Mid-West Regional Director for Women for Nixon in 1968, age mid-50. She is from Ohio, well known to Republican and volunteer organizations and highly recommended by Frank Dale. She will be budgeted at \$15,000 - salary plus travel expenses, budgeted at approximately \$3,5000.
3. Travel expenses for Hauser and staff:
Budgeted at \$5,000.

TOTAL BUDGET FOR STAFF AND TRAVEL:

Hauser,	\$35,000	(effective January, 1972)
Executive Director	\$15,000	(effective October, 1971)
	\$18,500	(effective January, 1972)
Research Assistant & Secretary	\$ 8,500	(effective October, 1971)
Field Director	\$15,000	(effective January, 1972)

Total: Approximately \$77,000

Travel expenses through November, 1972: Approximately \$10,000

Total: Approximately \$87,000

Approved _____ Disapproved _____ Comment _____

B. Publicity as to Campaign Aim in the States

As our organizational aim is carried out in the various states, we will develop a publicity program to be submitted to each state Nixon publicity director.

1. This publicity program will include suggested themes to be pressed in local newspapers and on local media to demonstrate the fact of women in the top spots.

2. Hauser and/or a staff member will arrive locally to help launch such a program, with appearances on the media.

This aim will be to prove that the Nixon Campaign really means it as to women, that integration of women is reality and not mere campaign talk.

Budget:

No additional Cost

Approved _____ Disapproved _____

Comment _____

C. National Publicity for Major Magazines, Radio
and T. V.

McGovern and Muskie, in particular, have made many high sounding speeches as to top positions women would hold in their administration, but have been roundly criticized for their failure to date to include any women in top positions in their respective campaign organizations.

We, therefore, should promote national publicity to show that we act rather than talk about the matter.

SUGGESTED ITEMS:

1. Flim clip of women at work at Headquarters in Washington, showing them in all different phases of campaign work. If this is good, it can be used locally as well for national TV advertising. This type of film should be used relatively early in mid-1972, before the Republican Convention, to help deflate the

suggestion that the women's angle is being pushed purely as an election gimmick.

2. Arranging for picture stories of same with Life, McCalls, Good Housekeeping, etc. Stress is on the number, youth, diversity of background and talent of the women at headquarters.

3. Arranging for interviews of top women across the country who are working for Nixon.

Budget: Film to be part of general advertising budget - estimated cost \$10,000.

Approved _____ Disapproved _____

Comment _____

PART III

SENSITIVITY APPROACH AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

Many more women will be delegates or alternates to the 1972 National Convention than ever before. This fact will be highlighted by the media, particularly since the Democrats are sure to have credentials and floor fights under their new rules which will require, among other things, women delegates in proportion to the total population (52%).

The Republicans have a great chance to show we are integrating women at all times with the numerically dominant group of men, without need for bitter public fights.

Our aim can be accomplished as follows:

1. Any time the President or Campaign Manager meets with a group of delegates, an adequate to large percentage among them should be women. All male meetings should be completely out. Nothing today will more outrage a woman delegate, even a Republican delegate of middling years, than to be excluded from the "important stuff", because she is a woman.

2. The Campaign Manager should delegate important Convention tasks to women staff assistants as well as to men. It would be a healthy matter (and word would surely get around) for women assistants to meet state chairmen and key delegates on major items.

The fact of this being done will reach the media. It will make news. It will be heard by American women if it is real. The publicity value of sending a woman staffer to meet with Rockefeller or Reagan or any name person on behalf of the President or the Campaign Manager would be tremendous.

3. Women, especially young women, should be used as aides, chauffers, ushers, etc. in the same ratio as men. We firmly believe women in costumes suggesting their use is purely decorative should be avoided.

4. No special events will be planned by our organization for women delegates or alternates. All are free to meet Hauser and her staff, as well as other top people, and we will be available to them as we are to all delegates.

5. No special events such as fashion shows will be planned for spouses of delegates (which group incidentally includes men). Any such event is purely for the National Committee to arrange and, in our opinion, should be minimized. However, it would be helpful for women who wish to be briefed on the issues to meet with White House or Department aides as to the Administration's record, Cabinet wives might be available to hold meetings with women at the convention.

Budget: Travel and Housing of Hauser and Staff is to be included in overall Convention Budget. Cost: Approximately \$2,000.

Approved _____ Disapproved _____
Comment _____

PART IV

PREPARATION FOR THE CAMPAIGN - PERIOD JANUARY - JULY 1972

A. In addition to the organizational operation outlined above, substantive material must be prepared for use in the Campaign in itself, to be furnished by National headquarters to the states.

The following is suggested:

1. A periodic newsletter for the state organizations.

This will be a chatty newsletter 1) to relate experiences of women in the various states; 2) to stress the issues which appear to be the most basic and to suggest methods of dealing with them; 3) to provide speakers materials, ideas for public events, suggested local programs of interest to women.

The newsletter might be called "In the Know".

It should be directed for the use of men as well as women. Anecdotes as to top women will be included so as to show how women are integrated in the campaign.

It will be reproduced cheaply by Xerox.

We propose that the newsletter be mailed on a monthly basis at first, and stepped up to a bi-weekly basis as the campaign draws nearer.

Budget: \$10,000, including Postage.

Approved _____ Disapproved _____

Comment _____

2. Basic Campaign Flyer

We propose a basic flyer, to be distributed to the states in August, which will provide a campaign activity for housewives and others who have time to spend on the telephone.

This flyer will be called "Poll-at-Home for the President".

In a few words on quotes, the flyer will highlight Nixon's acts or positions on five or six major items. The reader will be asked to choose the one item she deems most important in Campaign '72. She will then be asked to call 25 of her friends and neighbors to ask their views (in effect, to see if they agree with her), and to make a poll tally. The last sheet will be a tally page which she will be asked to send in to Headquarters by October 1, 1972.

In this way, the woman participant is approached on the basis of her mind, rather than her trinket selling abilities. She will have an incentive to call other women to see if they agree with her views as to what is most important in Campaign '72. She will focus on Nixon in the process, as will her friends. Others in her family might join in the game.

For those women who come to local headquarters to do telephone calling, there is the chance to play the polling game on a wide scale, initiating others to join in.

Budget: \$10,000, Cost of printing and mailing and basic supply of one million pieces.

Approved _____ Disapproved _____

Comment _____

3. Buttons

We propose a button for women with appropriate words and design.

Budget: \$14,000

Approved _____ Disapproved _____

Comment _____

B. In the period January - July, 1972, we propose to hold a series of meetings with knowledgeable women to tackle the substantive women's issues.

1. We plan to hold a series of informal meetings with women leaders in the following areas:

- a) Education
- b) Government Employment
- c) Health Services and Professionals
- d) Business and Industry
- e) Domestic Services

2. The aim is to probe the real problem women face in these fields of employment. We will thus manifest the President's concern for and interest in the practical, day-to-day problems women meet.

3. The participants will be chosen with a view to their organizational connections. They will undoubtedly communicate the fact and content of the meeting to their membership through newsletters, and thus give us a direct entree into the vast membership of professional and occupational groups in the best possible way -- through manifestation of our genuine concern for them as people.

4. We also plan to meet informally with leaders of responsible women's groups including NOW and the women's political caucus, to reach out and to elaborate on the President's interest in the advancement and participation of women.

Budget: \$10,000, fund to be used to finance travel of participants where need be, meeting room in a hotel and lunches.

Approved _____ Disapproved _____

Comment _____

PART V

THE CAMPAIGN (SEPTEMBER - ELECTION DAY, 1972)

By Labor Day, 1972, the message of our Campaign Aim should have gotten across on a solid basis. The Campaign period will consist of reinforcement of the above programs, intensification of publicity and application of the following approaches by the President himself to ensure appreciation of the new sensitivity and self-awareness of women:

1. When the President comes to a particular town, the greeting party at the airport should include a sub-

stantial number of women dignitaries. Photos should always show men and women greeting him, and he them equally.

2. When the President sits down to meet with local leaders or politicians, the group must include women. All male meetings should be avoided.

3. His general campaign speeches should include references to "men and women". He should assure the same level of interest and involvement of women as of men -- treat all the women in his audiences with the same respect for intelligence and involvement. Separate remarks addressed to the women should be avoided.

4. He should find a few appropriate mixed audiences and/or select top women's groups during the campaign where he can deal with the women's substantive issues. These speeches will be reproduced and we will distribute them to the states for the special interest of women.

5. The President and Mrs. Nixon should take every opportunity to meet with leaders of key women's organizations.

PART VI - SUMMARY

The Campaign aid of integrating women into all phases of operations in prominent positions is organizational, yet serves the substantive purpose of recognition by Nixon of the new self-awareness of women. As the aim is carried out, it will be publicized and highlighted through films, TV, magazines and newspaper stories. It will be supplemented by meetings with leaders of womens' organizations in order to deal with real women's issues. Above all, it will be implemented by the President's own appeal to women voters predicated on his appreciation of the new self-awareness of women.

BUDGET SUMMARY

Staff:

Through Election Day

Salary Approximately	\$77,000.00
Travel Approximately	10,000.00
	<hr/>
Total	\$87,000.00

Republican National Convention: Travel and Housing of Staff	\$ 2,000.00
Newsletter -- "In the Know"	10,000.00 [#]
Film Clip on Women at Work in Campaign	10,000.00
Flyer -- "Poll-at-Home for the President	10,000.00
Buttons	14,000.00
Meetings of Women Organization Leaders	10,000.00
Contingency	9,500.00

Total Grand Budget \$152,500.00

Approved _____

Disapproved _____

Comment _____