

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> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 32 | 3 | 4/20/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Sharing Polling Information With New York. 1 pg. |
| 32 | 3 | 4/24/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Robert H. Marik through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Computer Mapping Project. [Maps contain light ink]. 14 pgs. |
| 32 | 3 | 4/25/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Cliff Miller to John N. Mitchell. RE: Campaign Stratgey Group. 5 pgs. |
| 32 | 3 | 4/3/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Jeb S. Magruder to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Cliff Miller and Lloyd Free Memo Regarding President's Prospects. 15 pgs. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 32 | 3 | 4/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Robert C. Odle, Jr. through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. This document discusses and lists items for pre-payment. 2 pgs. |
| 32 | 3 | 4/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. This document discusses and includes an attached report on Democratic campaigns. 4 pgs. |
| 32 | 3 | 3/16/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Patricia Hutar through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Personnel Priorities For Volunteer Operations. 3 pgs. |
| 32 | 3 | 4/10/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Visit to New Jersey. 3 pgs. |
| 32 | 3 | 5/10/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Clayton Yutter through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: "Terrible Terry" Carpenter. 1 pg. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 32 | 3 | 5/9/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Glenn J. Sedam, Jr. through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Govenner Wallace. 1 pg. |
| 32 | 3 | 4/21/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Robert Morgan through Jeb S. Morgan to John N. Mitchell. RE: Farmail List. 4 pgs. |
| 32 | 3 | 5/4/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Robert C. Odle, Jr. through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Weekly Report. 8 pgs. |
| 32 | 3 | 4/21/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Robert C. Odle through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Weekly Report. 7 pgs. |
| 32 | 3 | 4/13/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Jeb S. Magruder to H.R. Haldeman. This document includes an attachment on the Youth Media Campaign, "Proposed Communications Support Program for the Youth Division Committee for the Re-Election of the President." 74 pgs. |

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 312

Folder: [Campaign 19 Part VII March 29-May 17 Folder 2]

| <u>Document</u> | <u>Disposition</u> |
|-----------------|---|
| 41 | Return Private/Political MEMO, MAGRUDER TO MITCHELL, 4/20/72 |
| 42 | Return Private/Political MEMO, MARK TO MITCHELL, 4/24/72 |
| 43 | Return Private/Political MEMO, MILLER TO MITCHELL, 4/25/72 |
| 44 | Retain Open |
| 45 | Return Private/Political MEMO, MAGRUDER TO HRH, 4/3/72 |
| 46 | Retain Open |
| 47 | Return Private/Political MEMO, ODLE TO MITCHELL, 4/5/72 |
| 48 | Return Private/Political MEMO, MAGRUDER TO MITCHELL, 4/6/72 |
| 49 | Return Private/Political MEMO, HUTAR TO MITCHELL, 3/16/72 |
| 50 | Retain Open |
| 51 | Return Private/Political MEMO, MAGRUDER TO MITCHELL, 4/10/72 |
| 52 | Return Private/Political MEMO, YEUTTER TO MITCHELL, 5/10/72 |
| 53 | Return Private/Political MEMO, SEDAM TO MITCHELL, 5/9/72 |
| 54 | Retain Open |
| 55 | Return Private/Political MEMO, MORGAN TO MITCHELL, 4/21/72 |
| 56 | Return Private/Political MEMO, ODLE TO MITCHELL, 5/4/72 |
| 57 | Return Private/Political MEMO, ODLE TO MITCHELL, 4/21/72 |
| 58 | Return Private/Political NOTE/ATTACH., MAGRUDER TO HRH, 4/13/72 |

April 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MACRUDER

SUBJECT: Sharing Polling Information with New York

Steve Blum who is as you know, Dexter Bixby's assistant in New York called to ask for a copy of DMI's poll of New York State. Though we have not shared this kind of information with state committees before I feel that in this case it would be appropriate for us to allow them to have a copy of our poll.

With your approval I will ask Bob Marik to take a copy to them when he meets with Steve Blum in New York within the next several days.

Approved _____ Disapproved _____ Comment _____

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

April 24, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK
SUBJECT: Computer Mapping Project

As you know, we have been developing the capability of displaying demographic and voter behavior data on computer-generated maps. The completed pilot project, using Wisconsin data, has allowed us to determine the most economic method of producing the maps, to solve some technical and operating problems, and to identify a reliable vendor who can produce the maps on schedule.

The advantage of computer maps is that they display a large quantity of data which would otherwise be buried in extensive numerical tables or computer print-outs. Such data could be very helpful in making tactical decisions on the location of telephone centers, target areas for direct mail and precinct canvasses, and locations for appearances of the candidate or key speakers.

For example, in Racine, Wisconsin, it can be seen that the areas of high concentration of Wallace voters (Tab A), correlate with the high concentration of blue collar and middle income families (Tabs B and C) and occurred in areas of either very low Black population or "tipping" areas where Whites feel threatened by an expanding Black community (Tab D).

At the time the project was started, last Fall, our estimate of 1972 target states was:

California
Florida *
Illinois

Indiana *
Iowa *
Kentucky *
Missouri
New Jersey
North Carolina *
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Tennessee *
Texas
Virginia *
Wisconsin

Preparations were made to develop maps for all metropolitan areas in each of those states. However, subsequent political developments and public opinion surveys have indicated that the seven states marked with an asterisk (*), would not be battleground states at this time.

In California, we have acquired the capability to make demographic maps through Compass System, Inc. Therefore, it is now recommended that this computer mapping project cover only the following seven key states:

Illinois
Missouri
New Jersey
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Texas
Wisconsin

If other states become important after the primaries, recommendation will be made for maps of additional metropolitan areas. New York has not been included in this proposal, pending a determination of their requirements beyond the data already available in the state.

The metropolitan areas to be mapped in each state are given in Tab E. For each metropolitan area, an average of eight to ten maps will be produced, displaying the demographic variables of particular interest

for that city. Typical important variables would be:

- Nixon Vote, 1968
- Humphrey Vote, 1968
- Wallace Vote, 1968
- Age--Median or age breaks (Youth, 18-24; Older, 60+)
- Race
- Income--Median or specific breaks (Upper, over \$15,000; Lower, under \$5,000)
- Percent Blue Collar

Not all areas will require the complete set of maps while other areas will necessitate additional specific requirements, and as the analysis becomes more sophisticated, several characteristics, such as Black, Middle-Income, Youth, are possible on a single map.

These maps will be made available, as appropriate, to all directors of functional activities in the Washington Re-election Committee, as well as to the state chairmen. They will be given a thorough orientation on the use of the maps in campaign planning.

We propose to use as the vendor for this project, Survey Research Sciences, Inc. of Dallas, Texas. They are the firm who successfully executed the pilot project for Wisconsin. The Executive Vice President, Dick Stone, was formerly the Director of Research for the Washington State Republican Party. He is not only politically loyal, but he has shown a great deal of technical and managerial competence in his work thus far. Although his bid for the project is on a time and materials basis, we feel that the pilot program has provided enough experience to make it possible to estimate accurately the cost of the total project. The breakdown of the dollar estimate for completion is as follows:

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Acquisition and development of computer programs and software..... | \$ 10,000 |
| Supplies (special paper, magnetic tapes, etc.)..... | \$ 4,000 |
| Computer mapping for ten variables per city for 55 metropolitan areas in seven states..... | \$ 44,000 * |
| Key punching of data, administrative and general expenses and profit at 15%..... | \$ 21,000 |
| | \$ 79,000 |

* See Tab F for detailed cost by state

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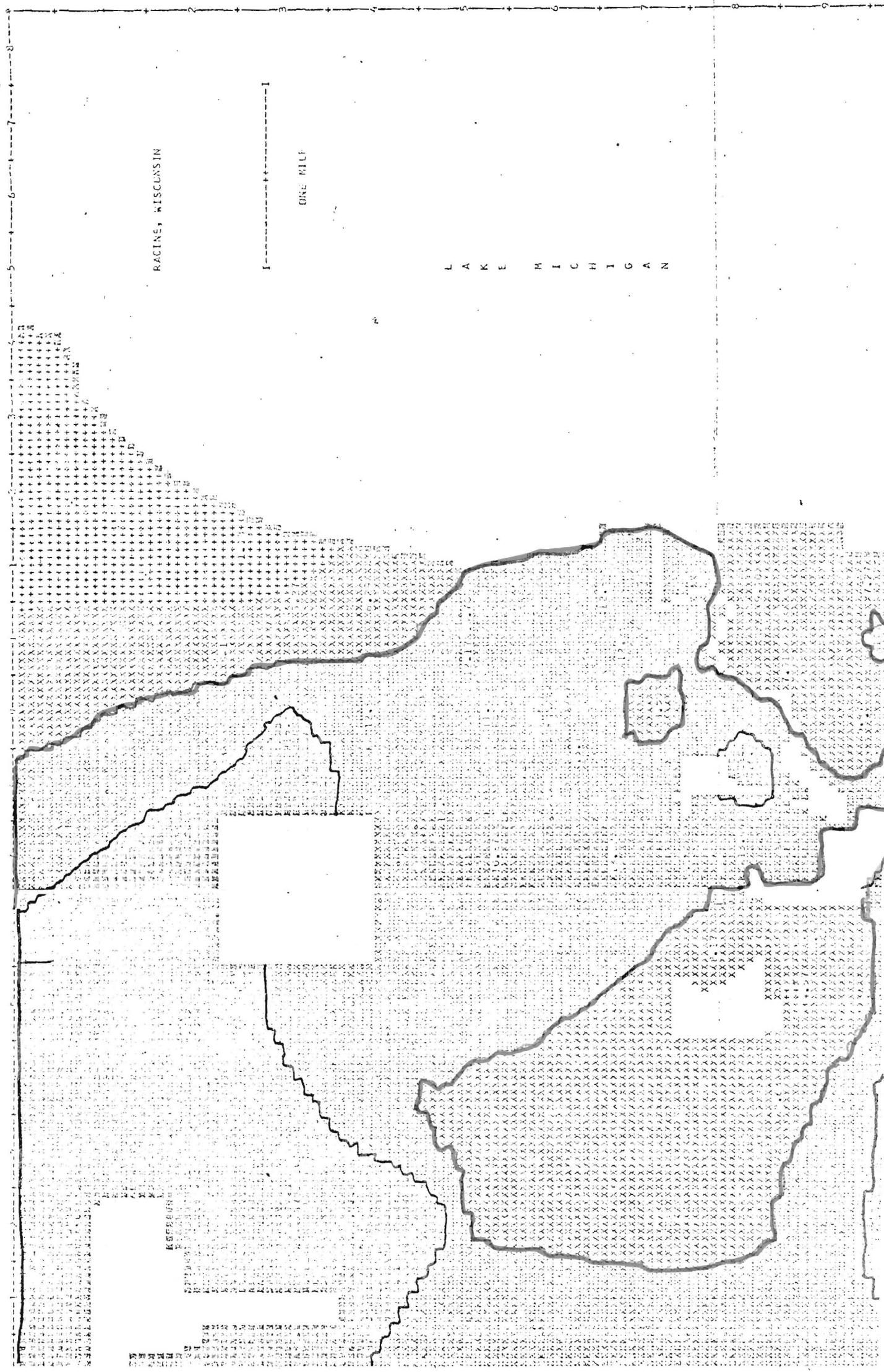
Completion date for all of the maps is July 31, 1972.

Recommendation

That you approve this project for developing computer maps for all metropolitan areas in seven key states, at a cost of \$79,000.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

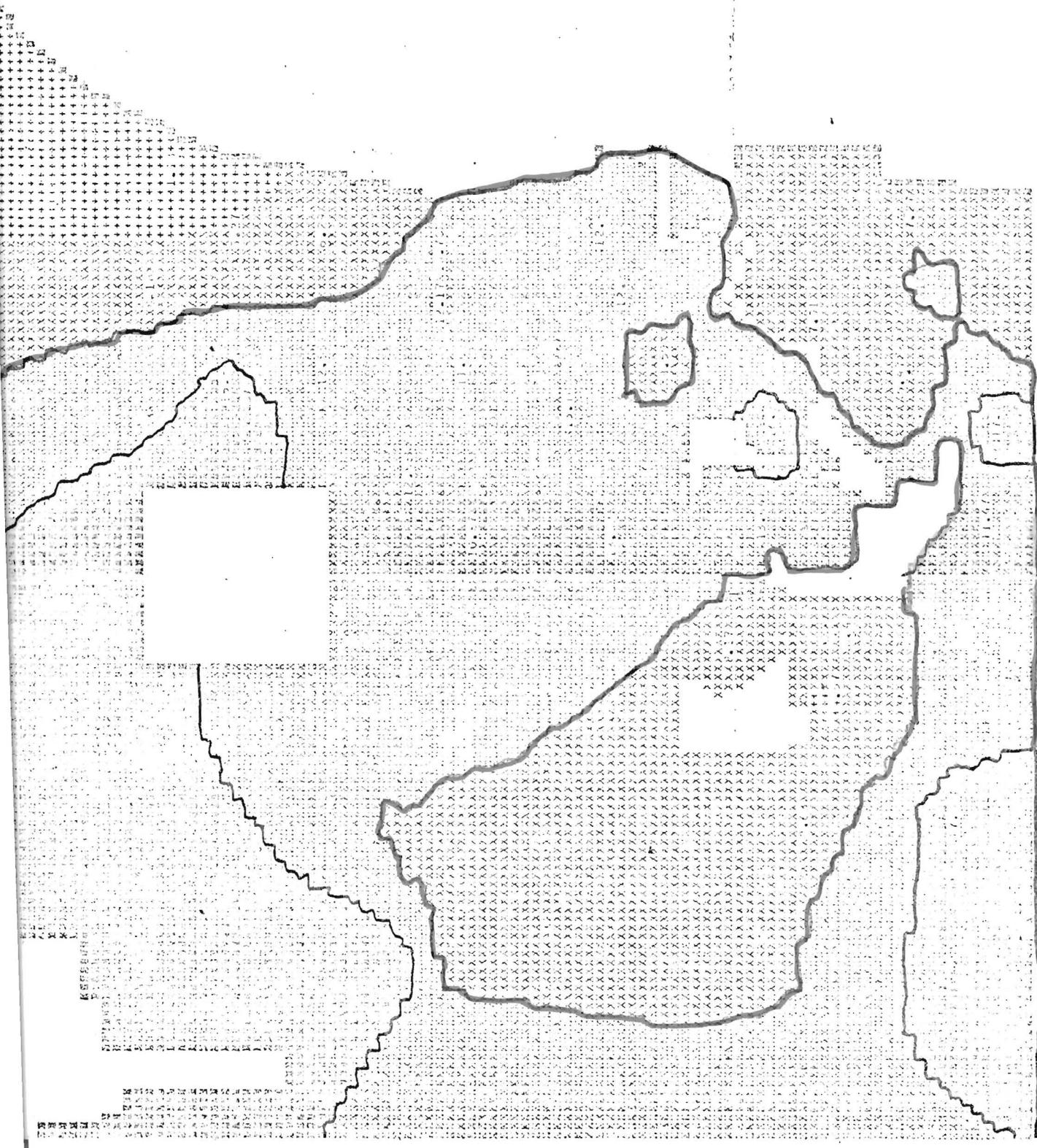
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RACINE, WISCONSIN

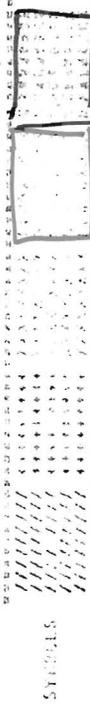
ONE MILE

L A K E M I C H I G A N

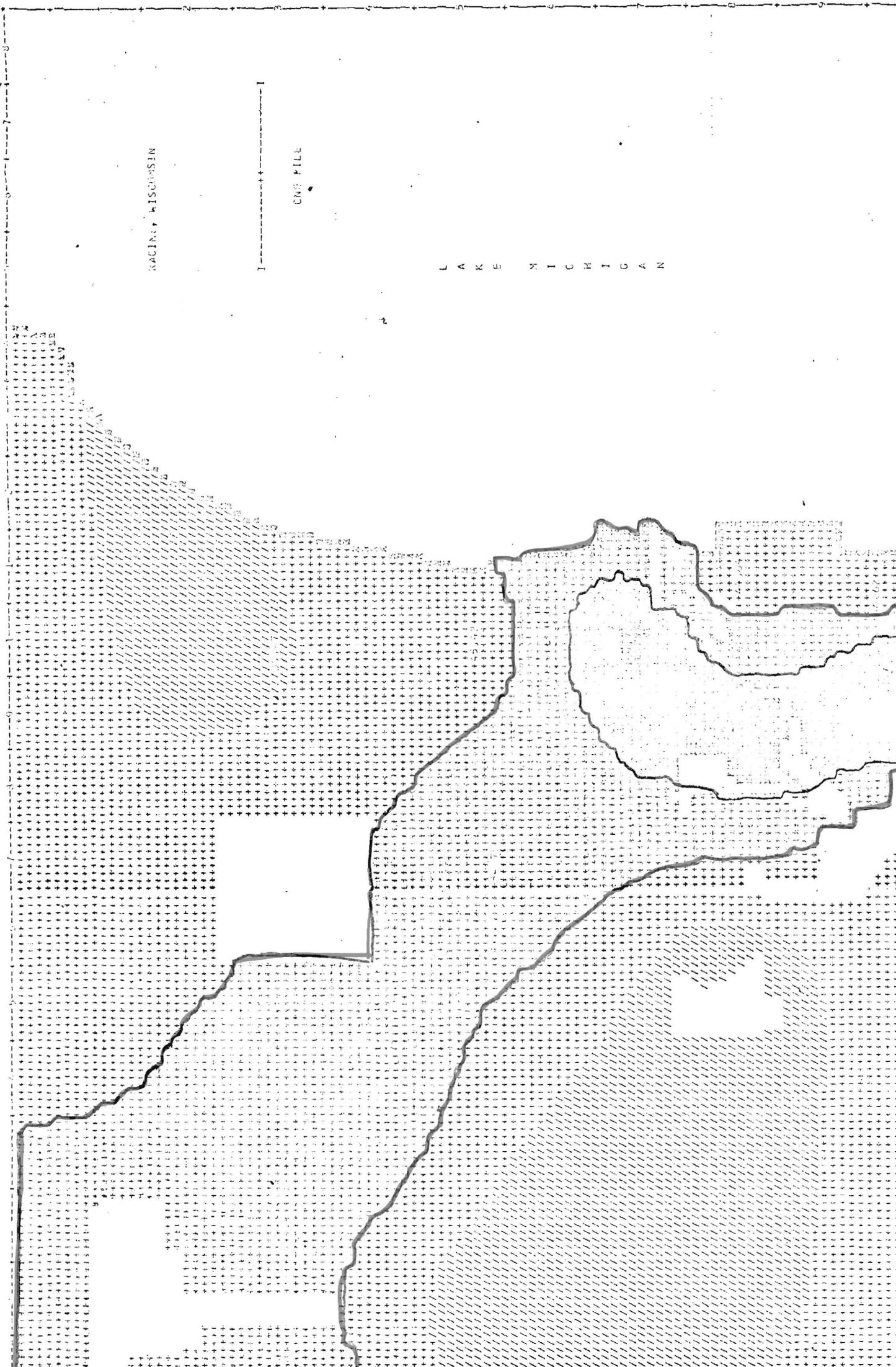


PERCENT OF VOTES CAST FOR WALLACE
 RACINE, WISCONSIN ORGANIZED AREA - PHS 28
 1968 GENERAL ELECTION BY PRECINCTS

MINIMUM 0.0 1.00 2.00 3.00 4.00 5.00 6.00 7.00 8.00 9.00 10.00 15.00 100.00
 PERCENTAGE BOUNDARY OF DATA POINT VALUES IN EACH LEVEL



DATA VALUE EXTREMES ARE 1.14 17.58

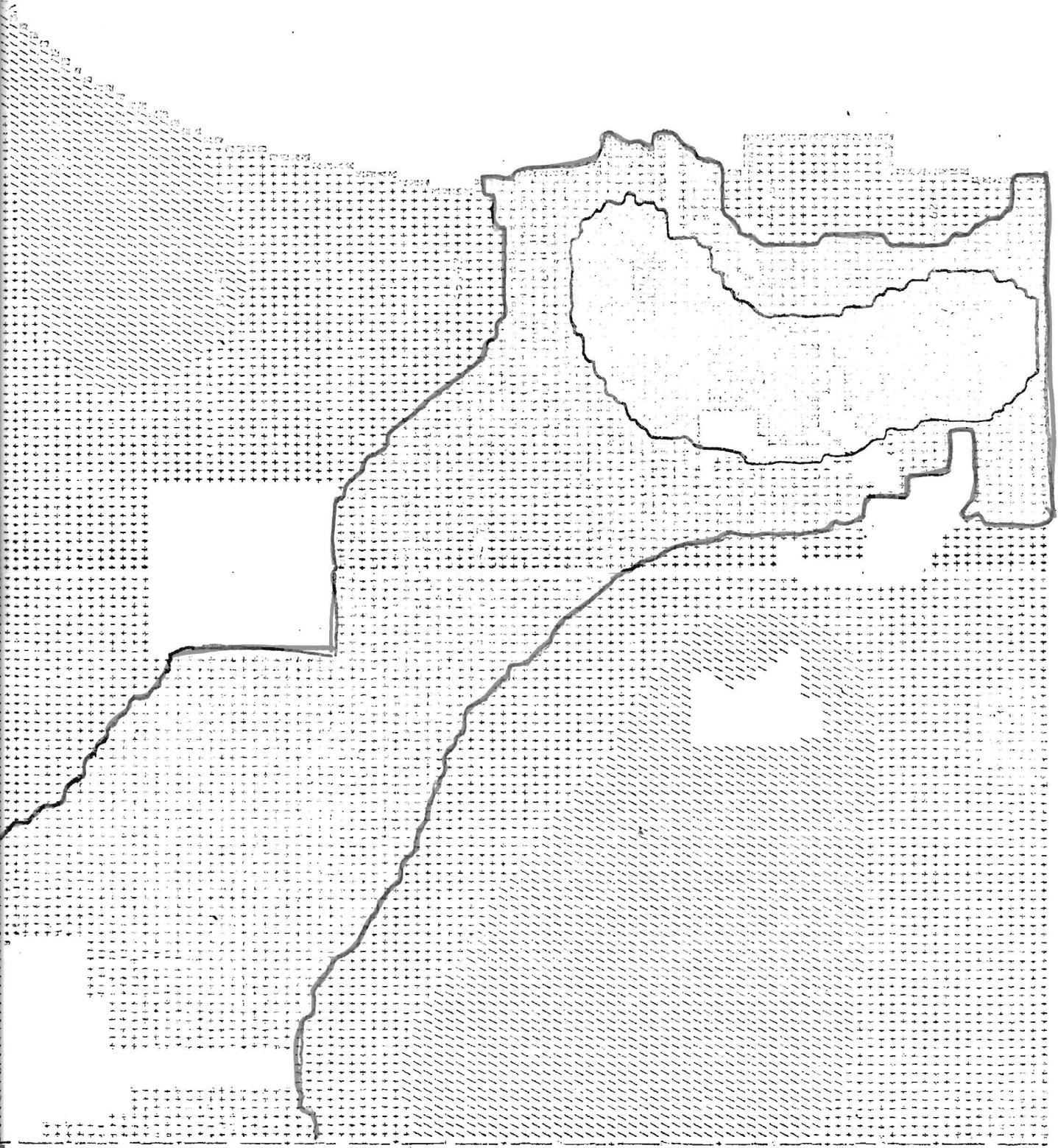


MACHINE WISCONSIN

-----I

ONE FILE

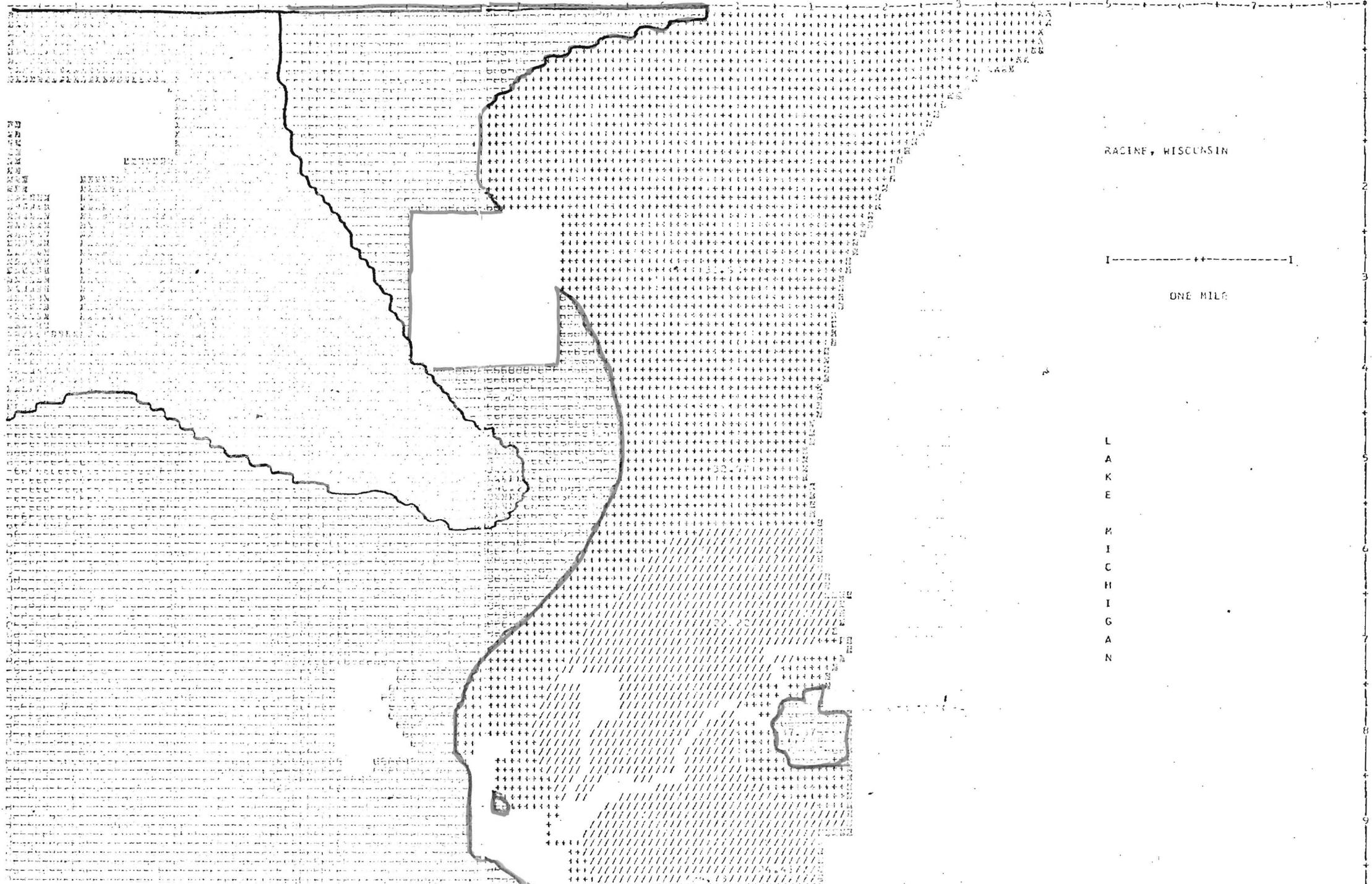
L A K E M I C H I G A N



40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100
 105 110 115 120 125 130 135 140 145 150 155 160 165 170 175 180 185 190 195 200
 205 210 215 220 225 230 235 240 245 250 255 260 265 270 275 280 285 290 295 300
 305 310 315 320 325 330 335 340 345 350 355 360 365 370 375 380 385 390 395 400
 405 410 415 420 425 430 435 440 445 450 455 460 465 470 475 480 485 490 495 500
 505 510 515 520 525 530 535 540 545 550 555 560 565 570 575 580 585 590 595 600
 605 610 615 620 625 630 635 640 645 650 655 660 665 670 675 680 685 690 695 700
 705 710 715 720 725 730 735 740 745 750 755 760 765 770 775 780 785 790 795 800
 805 810 815 820 825 830 835 840 845 850 855 860 865 870 875 880 885 890 895 900
 905 910 915 920 925 930 935 940 945 950 955 960 965 970 975 980 985 990 995 1000

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
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 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300
 310 320 330 340 350 360 370 380 390 400
 410 420 430 440 450 460 470 480 490 500
 510 520 530 540 550 560 570 580 590 600
 610 620 630 640 650 660 670 680 690 700
 710 720 730 740 750 760 770 780 790 800
 810 820 830 840 850 860 870 880 890 900
 910 920 930 940 950 960 970 980 990 1000

PROJECT OF TOWEL LABOR FORCE IN BEUL COLLAR OCCUPATIONS
 FIELD RESEARCH ORGANIZATION AREA - 885 29
 PHOTO COPY FOR CHASSIS TRACKS

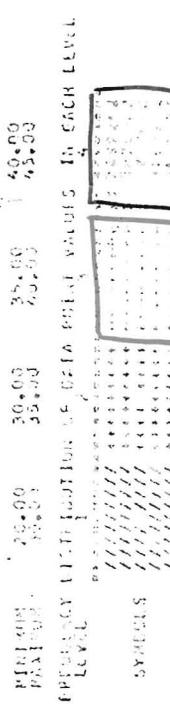
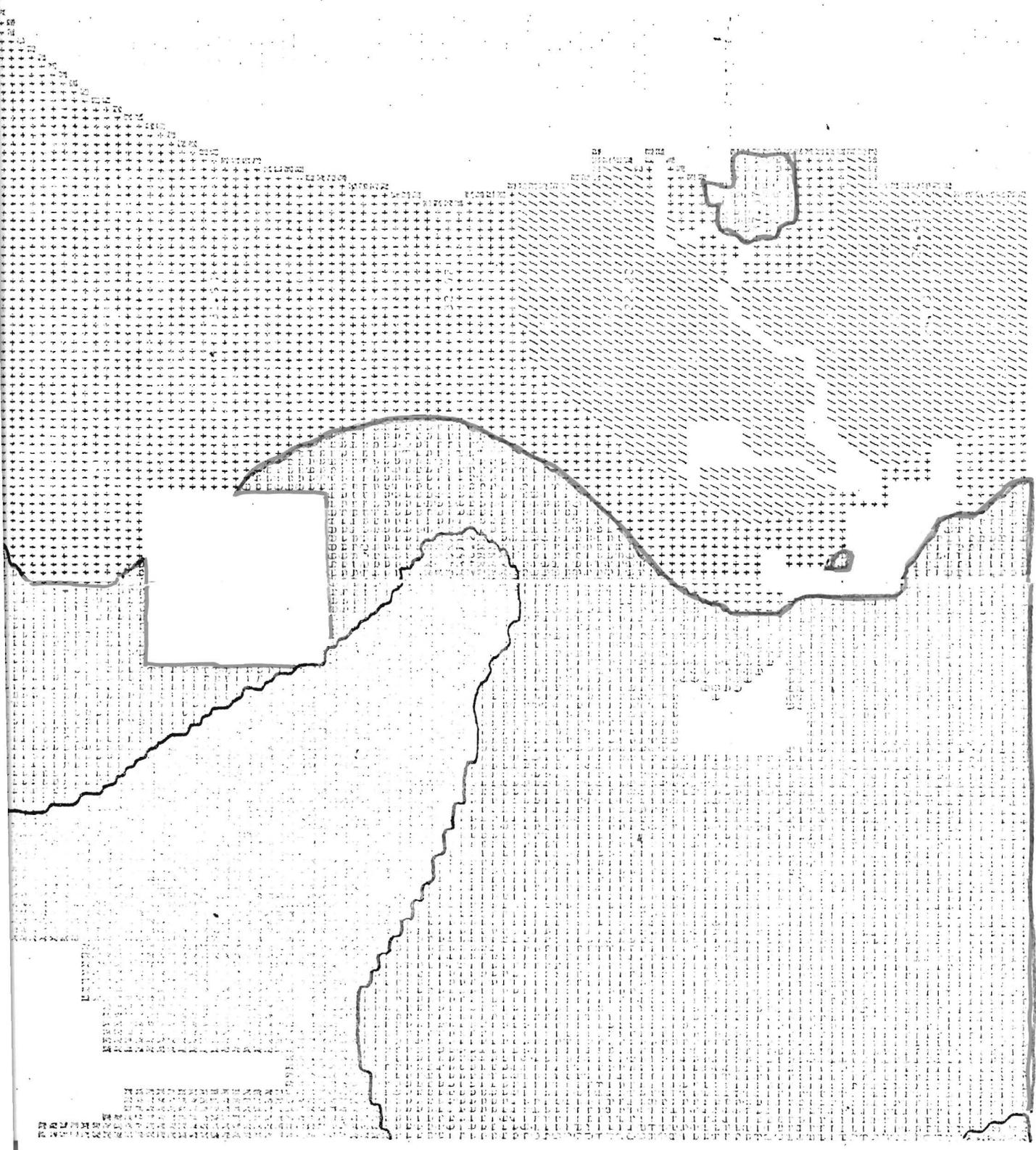


RACINE, WISCONSIN

ONE MILE

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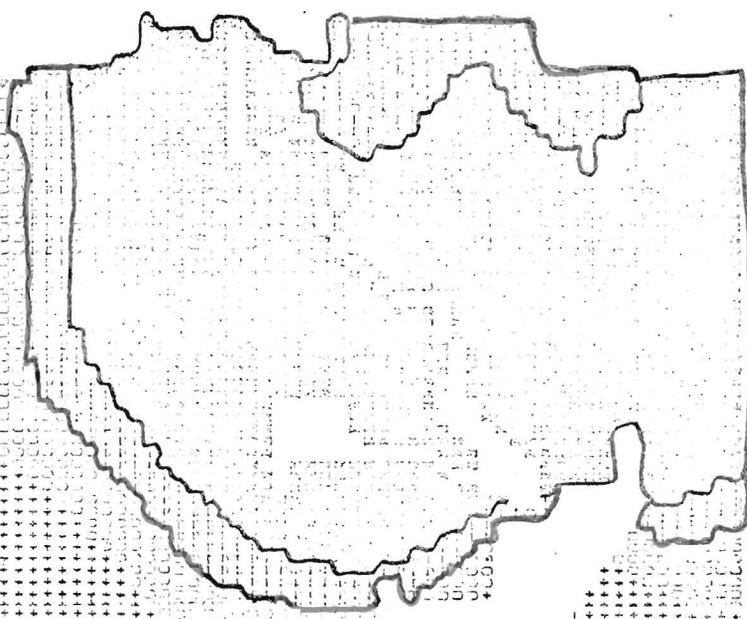
PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH A YEARLY INCOME OF 10,000 TO 14,999 DOLLARS
 RACINE, WISCONSIN, OFFICIAL AREA - 1955-56
 1970 CENSUS DATA BY CENSUS TRACTS

KACINE, WISCONSIN

ONE MILE

L
A
K
E

M
I
C
H
I
G
A
N



1911-1914 0.9 4.15 4.36 1927 14.26
 1928-1930 4.15 4.36 1927 14.26

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE
 GROUPS

1911-1914 1927-1930
 MALES FEMALES
 1911-1914 1927-1930

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
 BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH
 WASHINGTON, D. C.
 1928

URBANIZED AREAS TO BE INCLUDED IN MAPPING PROJECTIllinois

Aurora
 Champaign-Urbana
 Chicago
 East St. Louis
 Joliet
 Peoria
 Rock Island-Moline
 Rockford
 Springfield

Missouri

Kansas City
 St. Louis
 Springfield

New Jersey

Atlantic City
 Camden
 Jersey City
 Newark
 Patterson-Clifton-Passaic
 Trenton

Ohio

Akron
 Canton
 Cincinnati
 Cleveland
 Columbus
 Dayton
 Lorain-Elyria
 Toledo
 Youngstown-Warren

Pennsylvania

Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton
 Erie
 Harrisburg
 Lancaster
 Philadelphia
 Pittsburgh
 Reading
 Scranton
 Wilkes-Barre
 York

Texas

Amarillo
 Austin
 Beaumont
 Corpus Christi
 Dallas
 El Paso
 Fort Worth
 Houston
 Lubbock
 Midland
 Odessa
 Port Arthur
 San Antonio
 Texarkana
 Waco

Wisconsin

Appleton-Oshkosh
 Green Bay
 Madison
 Milwaukee
 Racine

COST OF COMPUTER MAPS BY STATES

(10 maps each of city metropolitan area)

| | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| Illinois | \$ 7,000 |
| Missouri | \$ 4,500 |
| New Jersey | \$ 2,600 |
| Ohio | \$ 7,500 |
| Pennsylvania | \$ 8,100 |
| Texas | \$12,000 |
| Wisconsin | <u>\$ 2,300</u> |
| | \$44,000 |
| | ===== |

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

April 25, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: CLIFF MILLER *CM*
SUBJECT: Campaign Strategy Group

The April 24th, 1972, meeting of the Campaign Strategy Group was attended by the following people:

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| Pat Buchanan | Mike Lesser |
| Peter Dailey | Jeb Magruder |
| Harry Dent | Bob Marik |
| Arthur Finkelstein | Cliff Miller |
| Len Garment | Dick Moore |
| Ted Garrish | Bill Novelli |
| Rita Hauser | Gordon Strachan |
| Phil Joanou | Bill Taylor |
| George Karolikas | |

The subject of discussion was the media strategy for the campaign, following last week's discussion on creative strategy. This strategy is built around a system of priorities assigned to the states. The categories designated are as follows (with tentative state assignments shown):

1. SAFE (Should be Republican victory, except in case of Democratic favorite son)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Electoral Votes</u> |
|--------------|------------------------|
| Nebraska | 5 |
| Idaho | 4 |
| Wyoming | 3 |
| Kansas | 7 |
| Arizona | 6 |
| Utah | 4 |

| <u>State</u> | <u>Electoral Votes</u> |
|---------------|------------------------|
| No. Dakota | 3 |
| Oklahoma | 8 |
| Iowa | 8 |
| New Mexico | 4 |
| So. Dakota | 4 |
| Vermont | 3 |
| Colorado | 7 |
| Montana | 4 |
| New Hampshire | 4 |
| Nevada | 3 |
| Kentucky | 9 |
| Maine | <u>4</u> |
| Total: | 90 |

2. SAFE DEFENSIVE (Should be a Republican victory, but may require extra resources to offset major opposition effort)

| | |
|----------------|-----------|
| Indiana | 13 |
| Virginia | 12 |
| Florida | 17 |
| North Carolina | 13 |
| South Carolina | 8 |
| Tennessee | <u>10</u> |
| Total: | 73 |

3. LARGE KEY SWING STATES (Contest expected to be very close--will require all-out effort on a cost per voter basis)

| | |
|------------|-----------|
| California | 45 |
| Illinois | 26 |
| Ohio | 25 |
| Texas | <u>26</u> |
| Total: | 122 |

4. MEDIUM SWING STATES (Same as Large Key Swing States)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Electoral Votes</u> |
|--------------|------------------------|
| Washington | 9 |
| Wisconsin | 11 |
| Missouri | 12 |
| Maryland | 10 |
| New Jersey | <u>17</u> |
| Total: | 59 |

5. SMALL SWING STATES (Same as Large Key Swing States)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Electoral Votes</u> |
|--------------|------------------------|
| Oregon | 6 |
| Delaware | 3 |
| Alaska | 3 |
| W. Virginia | <u>6</u> |
| Total: | 18 |

6. MAJOR OPPORTUNITY STATES (President lost in 1968, but shows good strength now-- will require all-out effort on a cost per voter basis)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Electoral Votes</u> |
|--------------|------------------------|
| Pennsylvania | 27 |
| Michigan | 21 |
| New York | 41 |
| Connecticut | <u>8</u> |
| Total: | 97 |

7. SOUTHERN OPPORTUNITY STATES (President lost in 1968-- will be close, but winnable if Wallace is in; President should win if Wallace is out)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Electoral Votes</u> |
|--------------|------------------------|
| Arkansas | 6 |
| Louisiana | 10 |
| Mississippi | 7 |
| Alabama | 9 |
| Georgia | <u>12</u> |
| Total: | 44 |

8. PROBABLE LOSS STATES

| <u>State</u> | <u>Electoral Votes</u> |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| Minnesota | 10 |
| Hawaii | 4 |
| Massachusetts | 14 |
| Rhode Island | 4 |
| District of Columbia | <u>3</u> |
| Total: | 35 |

The media strategy in 1972 will necessarily be different from other campaigns because of the new Campaign Spending Law. That Law restricts various forms of communications expenditures to 10¢ per voter, or approximately \$14.2 million. Of that, the broadcast media (radio and TV time) can use up to 60%, or approximately \$8.5 million. By contrast, published figures indicate that approximately \$22 million was used for broadcast time in the 1968 Nixon campaign. When strategy decisions are made this year to intensify the media campaign in a given state, that extra broadcast time allocation will have to be taken out of some other state, regardless of the total funds available to the campaign.

The media strategy contemplates an expenditure on national television networks of approximately 2¢ per voter. This will cover the states in all categories listed above. For the SAFE states and PROBABLE LOSS STATES, this will represent all of the media exposure for the campaign. For the DEFENSIVE SAFE states, an additional expenditure of 4¢ per voter is contemplated on the basis that these may be designated as target states by the opposition. For the SWING and OPPORTUNITY states, an additional expenditure of 8¢ per voter is planned, beyond the 2¢ per voter of national television.

Commitments for television and radio will be made and reviewed week-by-week for the nine weeks of the campaign. The week's media decisions and resulting financial commitments will be made on Fridays. Therefore, it will be critically important to transmit polling data and other political intelligence to the media decision makers on a current basis. Information received on Monday will be too late to rescind the commitments made on the previous Friday.

The initial commitment will be made the 2nd or 3rd week in August. Up to that time, updated polling results and other political information will be reviewed to assure that the final classification of states

and the resultant media plan reflects the overall strategy of the campaign. For example, if George Wallace is not a Third Party candidate, most of the SOUTHERN OPPORTUNITY states may be reclassified. Similarly, if Edward Kennedy or Edmund Muskie is the candidate, some of the New England states may be reclassified.

In addition to targeting media expenditures by state, the analysis must go further to include media markets. For example, commercials broadcast in the New York City market reach over half of the homes in New York State, three-quarters of the homes in New Jersey, and small fractions of the homes in Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Therefore, in fulfilling the strategy for each of those states, the ads in the New York City market will have to be counted proportionately against the plan of each state.

A brief orientation was presented on the cost, impact, strengths and weaknesses of the various media forms: Television, Radio, Newspapers, Magazines, Outdoor Advertising and Telephones. Because of the unique cost structure which the networks have established for political advertising, a five minute spot in prime time will cost less than a 60-second spot. Therefore, economics alone will strongly favor longer messages. On local TV, however, it is likely that economics and availability of 5-minute spots will be less favorable, relative to 60-second spots.

The tentative media plan would start in September on Labor Day, increase in intensity in October, and further increase in November before the election. It would contemplate the use of one-half hour documentaries, five minute and one minute spots on television. It would also utilize radio and printed media on a regular basis.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

April 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER *JM*

Attached for your information is a memorandum to Cliff Miller from Lloyd Free regarding the President's prospects.

- Miller
- Jgm
- JM
- H

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

5703 Warwick Place
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

TO: Clifford Miller

DATE: April 3, 1972

FROM: Lloyd Free

You have asked for my views about the President's prospects; I shall give them to you with complete frankness. Despite the current Harris poll which shows Nixon comfortably ahead of Muskie, I would still estimate the President's chances of reelection in November as being no better than 50-50, as things now look. And Arch Crossley (of Crossley Ratings and Crossley Poll fame) who, although a loyal Republican, is one of the shrewdest, most objective political observers I have ever come across, thinks the odds are even more adverse than that.

As in the case of almost everyone but a fanatic who evaluates any President, there are a number of things the President has said and done that I, personally, do not like. But, on balance, I firmly believe that his substantive record is extraordinarily good; or perhaps I should say that it will be if only Congress can be forced or cajoled into passing some of the really fundamental legislation he has proposed (e.g., the family assistance, or minimum income plan, which is truly revolutionary in getting at some of the basics of the poverty problem; his revenue sharing proposal which digs down to the very roots of a cluster of current misalignments; his programs in the field of education; etc.) And, on the international front, he has, indeed, been a blazer in marking out the trail the United States must follow in the changed world it now must operate in.

Why, then, isn't the President an overwhelming favorite at the present time, enjoying as he does the advantages of incumbency (which can also be an enormous disadvantage if the incumbent has done unpopular things, which isn't the case with

Nixon), and having made repeated, dramatic moves in recent months which would have driven the popularity ratings of almost any other President in history up sky-high (e.g., even Truman's approval figure rose from a low of 35% in January of 1947 to 60% in March, following his announcement of the program of aid to Greece and Turkey).

In part, the reasons, I believe, lie in certain personality characteristics and behavioral patterns of the President, which I shall discuss later on; but also, in certain of the psychological symptoms prevalent in the times we live in.

Ideological Conservatism vs. Operational Liberalism

As a first step toward getting at this psychological dimension, I must refer, somewhat egotistically, to a book of mine called "The Political Beliefs of Americans," [Incidentally, whether rightly or not, Evans and Novak in one of their columns published in February of 1968, on the eve of the President's victorious campaign, reported that "considerable attention at Nixon headquarters has been devoted to (this) obscure new book."]

The central thesis of this book is an idea which had never really been systematically developed before. It is that, when you question Americans about their abstract notions regarding the proper role and sphere of government, and especially about the nature and functioning of our economic system -- when you question them, that is, at the ideological level, the majority prove to be ideological conservatives, opposed in theory to the utilization of governmental power and resources for accomplishing social ends. But, at the same time, when you question these same people at the operational level of government programs (e.g., of the New Deal to Great Society types), it turns out that a large majority are operational liberals, who strongly support, in practice, appropriate governmental actions to promote social objectives.

Thus what every American politician has to cope with is a bunch of mixed-up schizoids who are -- or think they are -- ideologically conservative, but who,

practically speaking, are operationally liberal. It is for this reason that my advice to any candidate or President is this: talk like an ideological conservative; but act like an operational liberal.

In a very real sense, this is exactly what the President has been doing for the most part (e.g., stressing the work incentive angle in connection with his truly liberal family assistance plan.) But there has not been quite enough consistency or persistent follow through on either of these scores to give an impression of deeply held sincerity. (This aspect of the matter will be discussed more in detail below.)

The Deeper Psychological Dimension

At this stage, I feel I must become quite philosophical because I believe an approach at the most basic level is necessary for any real understanding of the psychological predicament, that we, as a people, a society, a nation, find ourselves in at the present time. Please bear with me for a page or two of what may at first seem vaporings; I promise that some practical suggestions will emerge at the end.

Putting our present situation into historical perspective, it has been my belief for a long time that, ever since the end of World War I, this country (and, indeed, much of the rest of the developed world) has been in a period of gradual breakdown of cultural mores in the broadest sense of the term. (Why major wars so often serve as catalysts along these lines, I do not pretend to understand; but the fact of the matter is that they usually do. And we have obviously had a succession of such catalysts: World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and now Vietnam, all in my lifetime.)

By "cultural mores" I am not alluding alone to matters of morals or ethics, although these too are clearly included; but to the whole system of fixed, morally

binding customs and folkways of central importance which are accepted without question in any given society.

I believe and hope that we are in the final stages of this breakdown, which reflects itself as well in a loss of confidence in all, or almost all, of the major institutions of our culture: government, business, labor, the church, even in a very real sense the family as we have known it (hence these experiments with such things as communal living) + Mc G + Wal victory

"Them"

Americans as a whole, in short, are frustrated to the very teeth with things as they are -- with the status quo, in other words. And unfortunately the President of the United States, whoever he may be from time to time, almost inevitably becomes the chief symbol of the politico-economic-social status quo, which is one of Mr. Nixon's main problems at this moment. (Parenthetically, a stance of operational liberalism can help in this connection because it clearly implies that the President is not resting on the status quo, but is trying to change things.)

Populism

Americans generally are so frustrated, in fact, that I feel relatively confident that they will soon prove receptive to some new kind of individual and social philosophy of life, not yet visible on the horizon. Whether this new philosophy will take on a predominately religious cast (e.g., as with Christianity), or a predominately politico-socio-economic cast (as with communism and fascism), I cannot foretell. But what I have been saying for some years is that, either way, I feel reasonably sure that the new philosophy that finally takes hold will involve large elements of populism (a term which, suddenly, is being increasingly bandied about in recent weeks). The fundamentals of this populist movement will almost surely include a lashing out at big government, big business, big unions, big what-have-you -- anything and everything big -- in favor of smallness on al-

most every front, so as to permit at least the illusion of more meaningful involvement and participation by individuals in the workings of the society in which they live and have their beings.

While populism, as a philosophy, has not yet been given a coherent, convincing formulation in our times (as it received in the days of William Jennings Bryan), the latent feelings which will eventually reinforce a populist movement in this country are already with us in the way of growing distrust and disillusionment with bigness. And it is of vital importance, even at this stage that the President and the members of his Administration not touch the public's sensitive nerve ends which a little later are going to generate and reinforce a real populist movement because, whenever they do, they will get incipient, if not pronounced, knee-jerk reactions.

The record of the Administration on the "big government" side is excellent, taking into account its proposals for governmental decentralization, revenue sharing, "returning power to the people", etc. And, when it comes to "big labor", things couldn't possibly be better, thanks in large part to George Meany.

The "Tilt" toward Big Business

But (and forgive me for putting it so bluntly), the record in terms of complacency, if not permissiveness toward the wealthy and coziness with "big business" could hardly be worse: tax breaks for business, viewed as being at the expense of individual taxpayers; tax loopholes which allow men with enormous incomes to get off scot-free of taxes; a wage-price control system which large numbers of people are beginning to say controls the wages of the little man, all right, but not the prices charged by business; regulatory agencies that are suspected of acting not to control business but to give business what it wants; the Smith-Alessio San Diego mess (whatever the facts); and, finally, the really crowning blow, the ITT affair,

involving more especially Kleindienst (who, at best, is undoubtedly looked upon by now, in general, as being too business-oriented to act even-handedly as Attorney General) and Peter Flanigan (who has become far too conspicuous as a symbol of the "wheeling and dealing" that must inevitably go on between government and big business, but which should never be allowed to show on the surface).

The impact of such things is heightened because the Republican Party, in the public's view, has traditionally been looked upon as more business-oriented than people-oriented. Thus many are ready to believe almost any charges having to do with collaboration, collusion, conspiracy, and/or corruption as between Republican officials and businessmen. Against this background, I suspect that by now the Nixon Administration is considered by many to be the most business-oriented since literally the days of Warren G. Harding (of Teapot Dome fame), Cal Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover -- a posture which is basically inconsistent, of course, with the platform of operational liberalism (cloaked in conservative terminology) which I personally feel it is necessary for Mr. Nixon to stand on if he is to be reelected.

Correcting the "Tilt"

In my view, the situation has become so serious in this respect that it may demand that the Administration take some or all of the following drastic actions in the very near future:

- (1) Advocate a new tax bill eliminating some of the tax breaks presently afforded business (meaning, in practice, big business);
- (2) Tighten up on tax loopholes for the wealthy so apparently drastically that it will seem that a "soak the rich" measure is being proposed;

- (3) Institute, immediately and vigorously, several anti-trust actions against some of the huge conglomerates (perhaps ITT included);
- (4) Clamp down - really clamp down - on price increases;
- (5) Straighten up some of the regulatory agencies in their currently obvious "tilt" toward big business.

Such steps as these would, of course, reinforce the image of the President as an operational liberal. And, oddly enough, they would also be entirely consistent with the better elements of American conservative credos and the finest traditions of the Republican Party, both of which historically (before they become somewhat more sophisticated and thus contaminated) put great stress upon individualism, anti-bigness, and anti-trust-ism. (After all, Teddy Roosevelt was a good Republican, too, in one of the most glorious hours of the Party).

Talking Unlike an Ideological Conservative

Earlier in this memorandum I expressed the opinion that the President, in playing the role of an ideological conservative, had not been entirely consistent. Let me illustrate by citing the way he has handled, verbally, certain aspects of the Federal Government's financial plight. Obviously, under present circumstances, he has had no choice but to follow essentially Keynesian policies. But why did he fall into the trap of talking like a Keynesian, defending his deficit spending on such grounds as a "full employment budget?"

Instead, for example, he might have likened the present situation the nation finds itself in to that of the average family. When times get a little bad, and there isn't enough readily available cash to pay the bills, what do they do to maintain a decent standard of living? Why borrow, of course, from a bank or credit company; and then pay back the money when times get better. This is the kind of simple, indeed simplistic metaphor that people, the common people, understand and appreciate, not a bunch of Keynesian-type gibberish which may, it is true, appeal to John Kenneth Galbraith and his ilk; but they're bound to vote against Mr. Nixon anyway.

Sustaining the Role of an Operational Liberal

The President has also, in my opinion, not been sufficiently consistent or convincing in playing the role of an operational liberal, despite the many excellent proposals along these lines he has made to Congress. In almost every case, he has introduced his ideas with great fanfare (indeed, sometimes fanfare too full-blown) and then given the impression of forgetting all about them, leaving them to languish largely undisturbed in the bowels of a Congress too somnolent to pass the President's programs, and too constipated to produce its own.

Instead, as he did recently in his most welcome message to Congress about welfare, etc., he ought to be pushing these things almost daily between now and the election, wheedling, cajoling, threatening, exhorting.

Along these lines, he has a built-in issue of the sort that won Truman the election in 1948, if he will only start playing his cards, not only skillfully, but quickly. It is that, when it comes to acting on the President's programs, this has been a "do-nothing" Congress; and when it comes to what our Democratic legislators have attempted on their own, it has been an irresponsible Congress, talking, talking, talking, about spending, spending, spending billions and billions and billions of the taxpayers' hard-earned dollars. This is a made-to-order issue for the obvious reason that, assuming as I do that neither Lindsay nor Wallace has a chance, every single likely Democratic opponent of the President's is a member of this "do-nothing", irresponsible Congress, and hence vulnerable to this particular charge.

Domestic vs. International Concerns

The President's failure in the past to push hard and consistently for his domestic proposals, while at the same time repeatedly exhibiting his obviously greater interest in, and preoccupation with international affairs, has no doubt

lead to the unfortunate impression in much of the country that he is not really concerned about the domestic front. Yet this front is where the chief worries and fears of the people are clustered. (Public opinion studies conducted originally by my Institute and repeated not long ago by Potomac Associates show, for example, that the proportion of Americans agreeing with the statement that "we shouldn't think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems here at home" rose from 55% in 1964; to 60% in 1968; to 77% in the spring of 1971; and this figure would, in my opinion, be even higher if the question were posed again today.)

"Nixon Dosen't Care!"

Against this background, it is obvious that the President has opened himself up to the charge carried on placards in the recent protest march, here in Washington, against the Administration's welfare plan: "Nixon dosen't care!" (The misspelling itself made the slogan all the more poignant in my view.)

Along these lines, the most damaging side effects that can flow from a business-oriented move is illustrated by the appointment of Earl Butz as Secretary of Agriculture -- Butz the very personification of big agri-business. And now, of course, just because of that background, he is predictably trying to maintain his unsteady, defensive stance vis-a-vis the dirt farmers by supporting recent rises in food prices -- even going so far as to say that "the price of steak is just right." I can well imagine what the reaction to this has been on the part of housewives throughout the country, one of whose primary worries has been over the cost of living, and particularly the cost of food: i.e., the Nixon Administration just doesn't care.

Nixon's Weaknesses

There are such weaknesses as the types described above in the Nixon drive for reelection. And then there are certain vulnerabilities which derive from personal traits or tendencies on the part of the President himself, which by now are probably so ingrained as to be incurable. But, if we are going to have an objective picture of the difficulties as a whole, they had better be mentioned briefly (there is no use dwelling over them) because of the impact they have had on his public image, as I understand it.

He has given the impression through the years of being without constant principles or convictions; of having no basic philosophy to guide himself by; of being the opportunist complete. (Please do not misunderstand me. I am only saying that this is how a large segment of the public views him. My own personal evaluation is that, par excellence, he is a "problem solver", which obviously requires a flexible, pragmatic, non-doctrinaire approach. On this score, I, myself, would give the President high marks, just as I do Nelson Rockefeller.)

To make matters worse, the President has reinforced this image of philosophical instability in recent months by dramatic, sudden, shocking turn-about in areas in regard to which the public thought they had a fix on his positions (e.g., wage and price controls, rapprochement with China, anti-busing). The merits or demerits of these latter-day stands (all of which I personally endorse in varying degrees) are not the issue here; it is rather that these turn-about have made him seem a turn-coat, from whom you don't know what to expect next, since there appear to be no constancies conditioning his behavior.

While I'm on this subject, I might as well add one more dimension. Taking the President's record as a whole, he has said and done things in one problem area which are philosophically inconsistent (or seem philosophically inconsistent) with things he has said and done in other problem areas. No consistent pattern

clearly and visibly permeates the plexus as a whole, and this has left the public doubtful, distressed, and distrustful. (One of the most naive beliefs of Americans is that political actions should somehow spring from a consistent system of sincere beliefs in enduring principles, permeated with some kind of humanitarian schmaltz.)

Then, to further confound this impression of insincerity, the President has repeatedly handled things in such a way as to give the false appearance of being a contriver and conniver, preoccupied largely with his own self-interests. (Why, a good many of the public are asking, did he wait until after the Wallace vote had been counted in Florida before announcing his anti-busing stand? Why did he seem to delay his visits to Peking and Moscow so that they would occur at the most opportunistic time: early in an election year? Etc., etc. The public's naive questions along these lines seem to go on and on.)

My advice in this connection is, of course, obvious: for Mr. Nixon, if he can do so, to play things in a more sincere, consistent, sophisticated, and subtle fashion from now until the election, without any more dramatic spectacles, let alone turn-about. Let's let the impression seep in that this man is what no doubt he actually is: a solid, responsible, even staid citizen leader, who puts the good of the country ahead of his own self-interest any and every day of any and every week.

My Final Message

The fundamental message of this memorandum is that the way (in my view, the only way) that might remedy the present weaknesses the President must overcome if he is to be reelected is for him to get it all together for a change: to talk consistently like an ideological conservative; to act consistently and vigorously, with constant follow through, as an operational liberal.

By opting for operational liberalism (cloaked in conservative terminology) he may gain a distinct advantage over his Democratic opponent, unless that opponent be either Scoop Jackson or George Wallace on the Democratic ticket, both of which alternatives seem unlikely as of now.

The name of the game this time, as I see it, is for Mr. Nixon to force the Democrat as far over to the left as possible, aided and abetted, of course, by the non-too-subtle pressures of the left-wing of the Democratic Party: to push him so far over to the left, in fact, that the bulk of routine Democrats will not and cannot follow him.

This is one election which Richard Nixon, the man and the incumbent, cannot win, all on his own; he's got to see to it that the Democrat loses.

Keeping the Conservatives in Line

But how can the President keep both the right-wing of his own party and as many potential Wallace supporters as possible in line while he is operating liberally? Apart from a few nuts like Bill Buckley, who really stand for little in the overall national picture but their own brilliance, I believe this might be possible through the President taking the following steps:

- (1) By talking consistently and loudly like an ideological conservative, and rationalizing his liberal programs in these terms;
- (2) By continuing to stress such issues as anti-busing, anti-big-government-ism, decentralization, revenue sharing, and more local control and "power to the people";
- (3) Probably by keeping Agnew on the ticket (although before a final decision is made on this matter some serious, in-depth national polling should be conducted, if it has not been done already);
- (4) By allowing the running feud with most of the leaders of the big unions to continue unabated, stirring it up again if necessary;

(5) And, finally, by adopting measures which will ostentatiously correct the present "tilt" toward big business, as suggested above.

This last point may seem an odd way to appeal to right-wingers, as we usually conceive of them; but I believe it is well taken. The true conservatives (the genuine philosophical conservatives, as distinguished from the opportunistic conservatives who run most big businesses) share one credo in common with the "populists" among Wallace's potential followers: opposition to big-ness, whether it be a matter of government, of labor unions, or of business. (For example, the surveys underlying my book, "The Political Beliefs of Americans", showed that conservatives were far more anti-big-business not only than middle-of-the-roaders but even than liberals! Unlike the liberals, solid majorities felt that large corporations should have less, not more influence on governmental and political matters).

These conservatives believe, thoroughly and fervently, in the private enterprise system, of course; but the image they hold of private enterprise is one of small businesses, not big business. Moves especially to crush the monopolies, to smash the cartels, to break up the conglomerates would, I feel sure, have particular appeal to most of them.

Nor do I think we need fear any great backlash from the business side, itself. After all, where is business going to turn? To Wallace, that thoroughgoing populist? To those antithetical, outspoken liberals (who don't talk conservative ideology) McGovern, Muskie, or even Humphrey? Perhaps to Scoop Jackson, but I would give him only about one chance in ten of winning the nomination at this point; and even his overall domestic record is dangerously liberal from the business point of view, or could be made to appear so.

So what have we got to fear but fear itself -- or such an ingrained, entrenched anti-social bias on the part of the President and his cohorts that the people will feel they cannot be trusted to govern this democracy?

If the President will only do what the situation requires, on the other hand, I feel sure he can move on to victory.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 5, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR. 1

With your permission we will pre-pay the following items tomorrow morning. Contracts and agreements reflecting these pre-payments have been drawn up and are ready to go.

| | |
|---|--------------|
| 1. To Motorola, for convention communications equipment | \$ 25,000 |
| 2. To Market Opinion Research, for polling | \$ 120,000 |
| 3. To Decision Making Information, for polling | \$ 40,000 |
| 4. To Opinion Research Corporation, for polling | \$ 40,000 |
| 5. To the International Bank for three months rent on all campaign offices | \$ 57,480 |
| 6. To Fontana Printers, for the "Re-Elector" | \$ 60,000 |
| 7. To Reuben Donnelley, for direct mail | \$ 2,500,000 |
| 8. To Pacific Telephone, for convention Nixon campaign committee activities | \$ 48,807 |
| SUB-TOTAL | \$ 2,891,287 |

In addition, the following has been paid as of this date by the Finance Committee:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| 1. To the RNC for Account 1000 (White House and 1701 Support) through July, and escrow payment to resolve David Green contract | \$ 180,000 |
| 2. To Walter Weintz for fund raising direct mail | \$ 1,000,000 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 3. To the various state organizations | \$ 607,500 |
| TOTAL | \$ 4,678,787 |

Note: Mr. Stans does not feel we have funds sufficient to pay the \$1,123,382 agency fee to The November Group, or the \$1,500,000 fee to The November Group for campaign and promotional materials.

It is recommended that approval be given to pre-pay items one through eight.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

ODLE CHRON.
ODLE BUDGET
MAGRUDER CHRON.
~~MAGRUDER~~ WORK COPY
MAGRUDER SUBJECT

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

April 6, 1972

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

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MACGREGOR

In light of the Wisconsin primary results, I thought you would be interested in the attached report on Democratic campaigns in that state.

The report was prepared by John McIver's Wisconsin staff.

April 1, 1972

REPORT ON THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGNS IN WISCONSIN

This report is being prepared before the votes are in but the shape of the campaign is clear. I will follow up with an effectiveness evaluation based on selected precinct results.

Only two smart campaigns emerge, Wallace and McGovern. There is a duality here that seems to escape the press experts. McGovern has stolen the Wallace technique but with subtle touches and aimed at a wider audience. Both of these candidates have been badly underestimated and are potentially very dangerous to the President.

There is no racist appeal being made in Wisconsin. Wallace has outgrown his origins and in no way can be dismissed for this past. Now we have a class appeal that smacks of bigotry. It is aimed at everyone who has more than another. This is bad for Republicans as the headmen in each area tend to be identifiable Republicans.

The almost universal emotion of envy is providing the emotional fuel, for both candidates. The Wallace appeal is to the admittedly by self-identification lower class and is crude and not too dangerous. The McGovern pitch has as its target the whole middleclass. His villains are the richer, corporations and Republicans in power.

There is a latent put upon feeling all through the middle class. It was directed towards "welfare loafers" and Wallace still uses this. McGovern is redirecting these resentments towards the richer neighbor. Of course nobody identifies with the "rich" as they all know someone richer.

This type of approach may seem oldfashioned but human nature has not changed. Roosevelt and Truman used this pitch very well. We are vulnerable because of their spadework in pinning the adjective rich to Republican. At this time McGovern is not using the word Republican but as soon as he gets out of a cross-over state he will.

Certain code words emerge - tax loopholes, corporate lawyer, and the military industrial complex. The loophole bit must be answered. I note that the Loophole Bill killing capital gains will hurt widows and orphans of homeowners. The property tax bait should be exposed for what it is - a shuffling game. Our Republican reputation of being cheapskates might be an asset as Dems promise no new taxes but bigger programs for everything. Four years ago the pot of gold was growth now we're all going to cut up the tax loophole and reordered priority pie. Pretty phoney isn't it? Will somebody in Washington please say so.

Humphrey and Muskie are catching on to this approach too. Hubert is pitching close to the Wallace manner and Muskie is pitching in McGovern territory. Neither are doing as well as these models; Hubert lacks the brutality and Muskie lacks the depth.

The McGovern organization and media is very good. He has some smart people who will probably wind up working for the nominee. His widespread grassroots organization is mainly staffed by teachers with the Indian work being done by students. We are going to get a heavy youth vote because of this activity. The teachers are using their classrooms and connections in a previously unknown boldness. There are steps we must take on an organization level to protest their indoctrination of students. Certainly, there is something unethical about one-sided teaching. All states have an educational network that can provide manpower. If McGovern is on the ticket, they will be out in the field.

Perhaps this wellfinanced and staffed McGovern campaign will not score in Wisconsin and then we can relax a little. If it does, - watch out for he could easily turn into a clean crusading hero to large segments of the population. In my opinion at this time, he looks like the strongest campaigner in November if he holds his course.

Now as to the others - Muskie is souring and his material, although better than Florida is mediocre. Many women are turned off by his personal appearance. A good showing here would revive him but unless he steals McGovern's staff, he won't be too dangerous for awhile.

Humphrey is at the same old stand and his vote will be the hard line Democrats. Johnson is taboo although he keeps referring to the glorious Democratic past. He is better managed and slicker than 68 but I don't think he'll sell in the territory we need. The neighbor bit is diminished by McGovern's midwestern background. Both these men handle farmers well.

The Republican cross-over vote will go to Jackson by our sensibiles and to Wallace by the playful. Lindsey is pitching for this, but who likes a traitor? Lindsey is laying an egg and clearly running out of money. His last minute TV money is wasted because Wisconsinites are sick of them all and it is Easter.

All the other candidates are invisible here.

Nixon's vote is out of my crystal ball. A good showing will be clearly a repudiation of all Dem candidates. Cutting out our media was very wise. A poor showing will not indicate anything serious.

Agnew might be able to push McGovern back into his left corner but right now he's in the middle road. His past wild statements

should be reissued.

I know I'm taking a risk of being off base by sending this report before the returns are in but I want you to have this opinion before evaluating the returns. I hope I'm wrong because McGovern is not stupid or at least his people are not.

If these predictions come true, I'll follow up with a pinpoint precinct report.

Sue Stearn

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

March 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: PATRICIA HUTAR
SUBJECT: Personnel Priorities for Volunteer Operations

CONCEPT: VOLUNTEERS IN THE 1972 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Today's times are characterized by population mobility and an accelerated rate of change. In the minds of many people all the old values, the codes and rules seem to be turned topsy-turvy. In this milieu of rapid change, many individuals seek an anchor. They seek some kind of group identity. They seek identification with a cause which will give them a feeling of participating in something of lasting value and permanence -- even though their participation in the cause may be transitory. These individuals seek involvement and the opportunity for self expression. There is a strong emotional and psychological need to believe they can take a hand in shaping their own destiny and not be whipsawed by events. These are some of the feelings and emotions that have contributed to the rise of consumerism, Naderism, Common Cause, et al.

With these feelings and motivations in mind, the approach to the recruitment, training and involvement of volunteers in this campaign should emphasize the importance of each individual who joins the team. The volunteer should feel that his personal and individual efforts really count -- really make a difference.

We must keep in mind, we will be fighting for time and attention against a plethora of volunteer opportunities available to people today.

By meeting the emotional and psychological needs, the chances of enlisting vast numbers of volunteers can be increased. Their enthusiasm, dedication and work will translate into VOTES, if we organize them properly.

PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL

To build a powerful force of productive volunteers to work and to win votes for the re-election of the President will require a comprehensive and intensified approach by a staff team whose main and driving ambition during the

coming months is the recruitment, training and deployment of volunteers to maximize votes. This is the only way we can effectively compete in the volunteer "market" in today's times.

Thus, when we talk about public relations counsel in the context of the proposal, it has a special connotation. We have the opportunity to retain Mrs. Adelaide Brady, President, Communications International, Inc. She is uniquely qualified to counsel in the area of volunteers. She has had many years of experience in the techniques of recruiting, motivating, training and organizing volunteers. Of course, her credentials in the public relations/ publicity field are excellent.

However, we plan to use Mrs. Brady for "in-house" type promotion, training and recruitment programs. We will plan on using the Re-election Committee Press Division for publicity purposes and the November Group for production of all advertising materials.

Another plus factor: Mrs. Brady has extensive contacts in a variety of national and state non-partisan organizations which would be very valuable to us in developing the National Advisory Committee and the State Advisory Committees. Also, she is experienced in planning and implementing special events.

Jeb Magruder and Pat Hitt know Mrs. Brady and her work and have recommended her as a capable and talented person. Her political credentials are very good, as are those of her partner, Mrs. Kay Horkan. Mrs. Brady informed me recently that Mrs. Barbara Eisenhower has joined her firm as a vice president and accountant executive. Also, Mrs. Brady and Mrs. Horkan have been active in the Republican Party for a number of years.

We would like to proceed immediately to place Mrs. Brady on retainer as of April 1. In our best judgment, this is a priority item. The retainer will be \$16,000 for eight months.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

SPECIAL ASSISTANT

To operate the volunteer division at top effectiveness, it is essential for the Director to have a chief aide, Special Assistant, who has had good political experience.

The Special Assistant would be of great value in assisting the Director with contact work with state and local¹ Re-election Committee leaders as the campaign progresses. This kind of liaison work requires someone with political know-how to help interpret programs and plans and to impart political information to these local leaders. More importantly perhaps, the Special Assistant must be a "good listener" and interpreter of intelligence received.

Additionally, the Special Assistant would be the chief staff support for the Regional Directors in the field organization. The Special Assistant would supervise the servicing of requests from the field staff for materials, information, et al to keep the field operation running smoothly.

In addition, the Special Assistant would be the key staff person assigned to coordinate special events during the Republican National Convention and the Re-election Relay and Salute to the President luncheons scheduled in the Fall.

The Special Assistant would make assignments to other staff members to help in carrying out the servicing of Regional Directors and the implementation of special events.

We recommend that a politically knowledgeable Special Assistant be hired. The salary would be \$12,000 for eight months.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____
COMMENT _____

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

April 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attached for your information is a memorandum from Dan Todd regarding his visit to New Jersey last Thursday and Friday.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

March 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB MAGRUDER ✓
MR. HARRY FLEMMING

FROM: DAN TODD (MT)

SUBJECT: NEW JERSEY VISIT

I spent last Thursday and Friday in New Jersey and met with the following people:

Governor William T. Cahill
Ira Grayson (Cahill's Administrative Assistant)
State Chairman John Dimon
Senate President Raymond Bateman
P. U. C. Chairman William Ozzard
State Finance Chairman Ted Douglass
Former State Chairman W. B. Todd

In general, the impression one gets of our prospects in New Jersey varies with the speaker, but clearly things are not so hot: A. Sandman's (Rep. Charles W. (R. 2nd) primary campaign against Cliff Case is causing some disruption due to L. Sandman's apparently hopeless candidacy, 2. Cahill's dislike of Sandman, 3. Sandman's attempt to open new (or reopen old) party fractures for his own benefit, 4. the accepted fact that Cliff will be re-elected by a huge margin in November, and 5. the fact that Sandman is being challenged in his own district in the Congressional primary.

B. The Congressional redistricting mess now stands with a Republican Plan through the Senate (8R, 7D) and facing a numerically perfect Democratic Plan in the Assembly (12 D 3R). Undoubtedly it will wind up in the Courts with the probable result of either acceptance of the numerically perfect plan or a ruling to have everybody run at large. Whichever way it goes, the indecision and delay have had a deleterious effect on the Republican organization due to much jockeying for positions among potential candidates.

C. The GOP County organizations in the key Northern Counties (Essex, Bergen, Union, Morris) are suffering serious internal squabbles -- for

example, the Job Brothers (who in Bergen lead the ticket by between 15-35,000 votes in past contests) are running this year as Democrats! The selection of Tom Kean (R, Essex) as Assembly Speaker based on a deal with Friedland (D, Hudson) which involved the public castigation of Imperiale (I., Essex) has reopened all the old wounds between the "organization" and the "reformers". State Senator Maraziti's Congressional desires have torn Morris apart. In short, not a bright picture.

In meeting with Grayson and Cahill, it is clear that no solid plans have been or are being made as to how¹ the Nixon operation will be run or by whom. There was some mention of Secretary of State Sherwin taking a leave of absence to run the Campaign effort but that's only talk.

I briefed Grayson on our operation and left all the OAD materials with him so they would have them on hand. I suggested they try to select an Executive Director in time to be announced at the April 22nd kick off dinner in Westfield and Ira said he'd try and achieve that objective. Outside the Governor's office, there is disquiet as to his selection as Chairman. Cahill, while personally popular with the people, is not highly regarded by the organization professionals and does not enjoy the ability to supply effective third party support (witness Gross 1970 and Legislative Election 1971). There is also public question of his selection in view of his extremely critical N. Y. TIMES article on Nixon and his apparent disagreement with the President's position on bussing.

Consensus of my conversations ran from at best a toss up in November to projection of a 100,000+ loss.

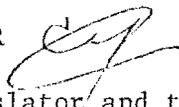
Obviously there is time left to square N. J. away and I would recommend that 1701 become actively involved at the highest level to ensure that an acceptable Executive Director is found immediately to begin the effort. Based on my visit, OAD will not do anything in the State until such a person is in place, as to do anything further at this time would be counter-productive.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 10, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: CLAYTON YEUTTER 

"Terrible Terry" Carpenter, a Nebraska legislator and the man who (before changing his registration from Republican to Democrat) nominated "John Smith" for the Vice-Presidency in the 1956 Republican National Convention, appears to have won the Democratic Senatorial primary in Nebraska. This may well insure a general election victory for Carl Curtis. Curtis was in trouble in Nebraska because of his age, but Carpenter is still older so that issue will be neutralized in November. In addition, Carpenter is so controversial that he probably will not be able to generate broad public support this fall.

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 9, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR. 

SUBJECT: Governor Wallace

The general election filing deadline in West Virginia was yesterday, May 8, 1972.

Governor Wallace, the AIP, nor any other party did not file petitions to be on the ballot in November.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

April 21, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT MORGAN
SUBJECT: Farmail List

The Farmail list is a by-product of the Farm Journal, Inc., which has over 5 million farmers by product category, land size, income range and zip code. In order to be more effective in our key states, we have the opportunity to lease the entire list for \$30,000 from May 1 through November 15. This would also allow us to pass registration lists by the farm list and mail selectively to Republicans only and/or reachable Democrats, where by farm product, we have a positive picture to sell. We would also be in a position to sell this to other Republicans in the country at \$15 per thousand, saving them money and recovering our costs.

The alternative is to pay for the use of the name each time a mailing is made. The cost, on that basis, is 3¢ per name for the first mailing, 1¢ per name for the second mailing, and 3/4 of 1¢ per name for the third mailing. Thus, for the use of only 500,000 names for three mailings, our costs would approach that for unlimited use of the full list:

500,000

| | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1st mailing | \$15,000 |
| 2nd mailing | 5,000 |
| 3rd mailing | <u>3,750</u> |
| | \$23,750 |
| | ===== |

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

Recommendation

That you approve the lease of the national Farmail list for \$30,000 for use from May 1 through November 15. It is understood that it will be offered to other Republican candidates at \$15 per thousand.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

May 6, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable John N. Mitchell
THROUGH: Jeb S. Magruder
FROM: Robert Morgan
SUBJECT: Farmail Addendum

This is an addendum to the memorandum recommending that an agriculture list be purchased for the duration of the campaign for \$30,000, and then sold to other Republicans for \$15 per thousand, hence recovering some of our costs.

Our suggested mailing by key state is attached as TAB A. These numbers were agreed to with Clayton Yeutter.

PROPOSED DIRECT MAILINGS -- AGRICULTURE

| State | <u>1/</u> Beef | <u>2/</u> Dairy | <u>3/</u> Hogs | <u>4/</u> Corn | Cotton | Fruit/ Nuts | Vegetables | <u>5/</u> Wheat | Total |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------|----------------|------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| California | 4,175 | 2,505 | 827 | 720 | 3,015 | 10,871 | 3,366 | | 25,479 |
| Connecticut | 123 | 944 | 55 | 83 | | | 963 | | 2,168 |
| Illinois | 10,386 | 5,109 | 18,170 | 20,765 | | | | 1,560 | 55,990 |
| Maryland | 696 | 1,668 | 664 | 899 | | | 1,019 | | 4,946 |
| Michigan | 4,704 | 8,625 | 3,803 | 7,087 | | 2,805 | 4,843 | | 31,867 |
| Missouri | 14,012 | 5,088 | 15,016 | 5,608 | 1,954 | | | 1,454 | 43,132 |
| New Jersey | 230 | 984 | 164 | 251 | | | 1,766 | | 3,395 |
| New York | 1,421 | 12,123 | 630 | 1,122 | | 3,052 | 4,635 | | 22,983 |
| Ohio | 5,105 | 6,874 | 8,348 | 5,672 | | 1,840 | | | 27,839 |
| Oregon | 3,223 | 1,329 | 629 | | | 2,693 | 1,629 | | 9,503 |
| Pennsylvania | 3,116 | 10,616 | 2,592 | 1,344 | | 2,518 | 5,177 | | 25,363 |
| Texas | 11,339 | 2,248 | 2,879 | 5,108 ^{6/} | 15,190 | 2,261 | 2,308 | 2,898 | 44,231 |
| Washington | 2,769 | 1,797 | 504 | 245 | | 2,793 | 2,624 | 2,051 | 12,783 |
| Wisconsin | 3,794 | 21,986 | 6,459 | 2,925 | | | | | 35,164 |
| Total | 65,093 | 81,896 | 60,740 | 51,829 | 20,159 | 28,833 | 28,330 | 37,955 ^{7/} | 374,835 ^{8/} |

1. 30 animals or more
2. 10 animals or more
3. 50 animals or more
4. 100 acres or more
5. 100 acres or more
6. Grain sorghum
7. Includes 1,708 in Colorado, 1,049 in Idaho, 8,349 in Kansas, 3,398 in Montana, 2,888 in Nebraska, 5,886 in North Dakota, 3,408 in Oklahoma, 1,088 in Oregon, and 2,218 in South Dakota.
8. Includes the additional wheat farms enumerated in footnote 7.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

CONFIDENTIAL

May 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

Attachment

✓ bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

AGRICULTURE

Yeutter appeared on the program of Newspaper Farm Editors of America who were holding a professional meeting here in Washington. Opposite him on the program was Mr. Nelson from the DNC. This provided an excellent opportunity to learn of the issues "they" will be hitting us on, as well as the chance to influence a key media group.

Yeutter, Foltz, and Madson met informally with the legislative committee of the American National Cattlemen's Association. With some of the problems we have had with this group, such PR helps to get us back in the saddle.

Yeutter met with Senator Hruska while Foltz met with Representatives Forsythe and Miller, plus staff members of several additional Congressmen.

Madson made an on-the-farm visit to the Farm Families chairman for Pennsylvania, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Konhaus, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania.

Yeutter and Foltz met with Labor Department representatives on the Occupational Health & Safety Act problem. While we are receiving good cooperation from key Washington level staff at this time, the problem is still with implementation in some states. This "issue" could well be a sore spot for us in small-town America if the PR effort out there is not improved.

Foltz met with Chamber of Commerce staff on their plans for an Agricultural Export Conference. Since it will occur during the middle of the campaign, it provides an excellent forum for an appearance by the President and/or a surrogate.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

We now have 41 state chairman slots filled. Some states are now working on city chairmen.

We visited state chairmen in Mississippi, Florida, Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Utah, North Carolina and Georgia. We also visited our Region IV chairman, and we visited with our Region VIII chairman.

ELDERLY

Mills was in Arizona, California, Utah, and Nevada to make preliminary visits (except California) and see about the appointment of Older American chairmen.

Chris Todd was in North Carolina to meet with the CREP Chairman and the Republican State Chairman. An over-all Older American Campaign strategy was devised with a target date of June 1 for implementation.

Dan Todd completed work on the post-WHCOA Planning Board with Arthur Fleming and Dan Kingsley. Although not resolved, Todd continued work on the Los Angeles problems with the HUD grant.

The Older Americans Advisory Committee list was finalized and sent to Mr. Mitchell for approval. We checked out and confirmed for re-appointment the names on the OEO Older Persons Advisory Committee.

There is an Older American Chairman now in Wyoming and George St. John has been appointed Executive Director of OA's for California.

PHYSICIANS AND DENTISTS

The instructions for the Physicians' Committee fund-raising program are finally completed and will be mailed this week to the State Physicians' Chairmen. Copies are being sent to the Chairmen of the State Committees for the Re-election of the President and to the Chairmen of the State Finance Committees.

The suggestions for State Chairmen of the Dentists' Committee are coming in and Bill Stover will continue calling Chairmen of the State Committees to clear these names and to discuss the Physicians' program.

PR/MEDIA

The Press Department conducted activities in conjunction with the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts primaries. These included statements by Senator Dole on Pennsylvania with comments against Humphrey; Mr. Mitchell on the Massachusetts primary and how it might affect the possible candidacy of Kennedy; Francis Dale on the Massachusetts primary victory and both Dole and Dale on Muskie's quitting the campaign. The statements were released in Washington and sent to Mike Willman to be released in Pennsylvania. Senator Brock used our material to attack Muskie's statements on the economy while he was in Pennsylvania.

After the President's speech on Vietnam, the department contacted ten state chairmen regarding their reactions to the speech. Audio picked up statements by Senators Aiken, Tower, Gurney, Taft, Ford and Dole. (A UPI contact reported hearing Aiken, Ford and Dole in the hourly newscasts on the network stations and Aiken was heard by our Connecticut state operation.) Audio statements by Brock, Dale and Governor Reagan on the Vietnam War and its critics made the national/regional net run as well as

WAVA.

We helped coordinate a press conference by the National Black Committee for the Re-election of the President on Monday. We prepared the release and made four audio cuts from the press conference featuring Paul Jones on Blacks for the President. The first fifteen minutes of the conference were fed to WOOK and WOL in Washington and later to a Black network in New York and stations in Philadelphia, Atlanta, Dayton and to the Committee in California.

We scheduled media activity for Peter Dailey's speech before the Atlanta Advertising Institute. This included a WRNG radio station late show, a news interview with WSB television and an interview by the Atlanta Journal. Working with Zan Thompson's office, we scheduled Ken Rietz for two newspaper interviews, four television interviews (including A.M.) and a live radio interview while he was traveling in California. The department arranged for Senator Dole to appear on Issues and Answers Sunday.

Eight state finance committees and the Alaska CRP were announced. We have begun sending packets of clippings and reports of media coverage to the various surrogates when they appear for us.

SPANISH-SPEAKING

We submitted our campaign plan to Mr. Mitchell and final preparations were made to set up the primary test-plan in California. For California material for the phone centers was prepared as were the letters for Direct Mailing.

The "New Naturalized Citizens' Project" was initiated. A letter from the Committee will be sent to all new Spanish-speaking citizens.

The Spanish-speaking questionnaire for the Research Project and the final copy of the One Dollar Project have been approved. The plan for the Speakers' Bureau was reviewed.

A meeting was arranged with a public relations firm to set up the Spanish-speaking advertising with the November Group.

Alex Armendaris met with Gil Lopez and Ed Romero, Editor and Business Manager respectively, of LaLuz, a Spanish-speaking national publication. A meeting was also held with Monol Reyes, a Cuban T.V.-radio commentator.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

We have met with Lyn Nofziger in California and discussed ideas for several

major events to be held in California prior to the primary.

We commenced a series of meetings with members of the voting-bloc groups and the state coordinators to discuss campaign strategy and to receive recommendations of possible appearances by surrogate candidates prior to the Convention.

We met with Bob Teeter and with members of the Vice President's staff to discuss the effective utilization of the Vice President in speaking appearances prior to the Convention.

Efforts were continued to secure the suggested speakers for the 1972 Candidates Conference.

Preparations commenced for the meeting of surrogate candidates, scheduled for May 16, 1972, at 9:30 a.m. in the third floor conference room at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue. The preliminary agenda has been prepared and we have begun to receive replies from the invitation contained in the surrogate letters. The participating members of the 1701 staff have also been notified of the meeting.

We have continued to place emphasis on scheduling appearances in North Carolina, Maryland, Michigan, Oregon and California.

TRANSIENT

The first draft of our program outline was completed and submitted for review. Preliminary meetings were held with Ed DeBolt to review RNC program plan. Contact with Committee division heads who have active interface in Special Ballot area has begun. Richard McAdoo initiated office start-up activities including secretarial interviews and preliminary contact with candidates for field positions. Preparation of final program implementation schedule has commenced.

VETERANS

Selection of state chairmen prospects is underway in 23 states, and state chairmen have been selected in Connecticut and Utah with a co-chairman added in Indiana. Confirmation of national advisory committee members has commenced.

Arrangements were completed for meetings with American Legion key men at the Spring Meeting, American Legion, Indianapolis, April 30-May 3.

The campaign plan was completed and revised for Presidential and First Family schedules and submitted for review.

YOUTH

The youth speakers bureau under the direction of Ken Smith is increasing its activity and expanding the exposure among young people of accomplishments of the Administration. Smith is training young people in each state (100 in California last week) to present the Administration's point of view. In addition, following is a sample of the kind of speaking activity among youth audiences we are creating:

Sherry Shealy will speak before a Jewish youth group as well as appearing as the President's representative at the March of Dimes walk-a-thon in Charlotte, North Carolina April 29.

Julie Eisenhower is now confirmed for the DECA national convention on May 3. Jo Ann Cullen will formally receive her appointment that evening.

Nate Bayer will also speak to the DECA convention.

Ed Nixon will wind up the Office and Education Association national convention in Columbus, Ohio, on May 2. (Representative Steiger will open the convention on April 30).

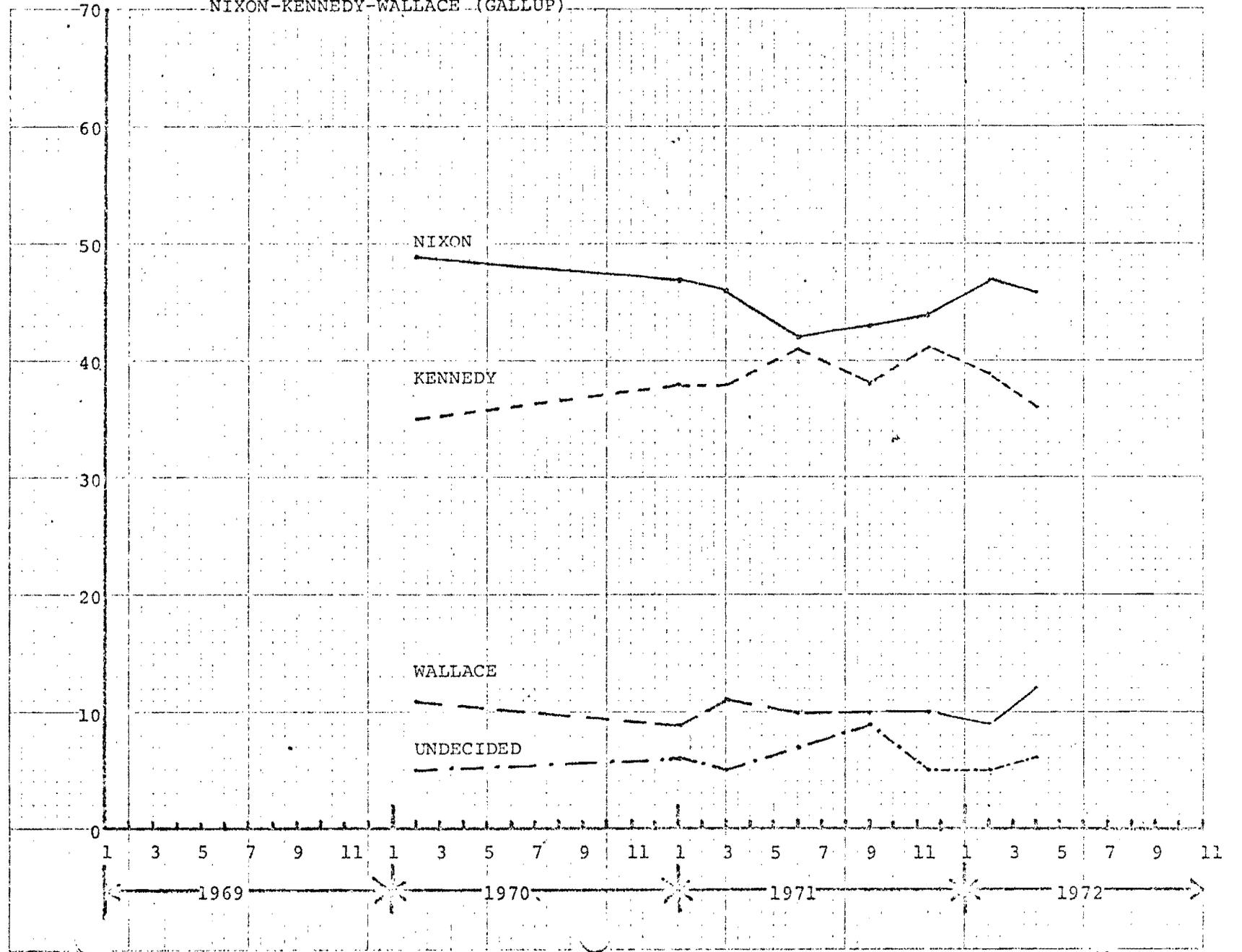
Bill Rhatigan of the White House will address the Rocky Mountain states YR leadership conference on May 6 in Denver, Colorado.

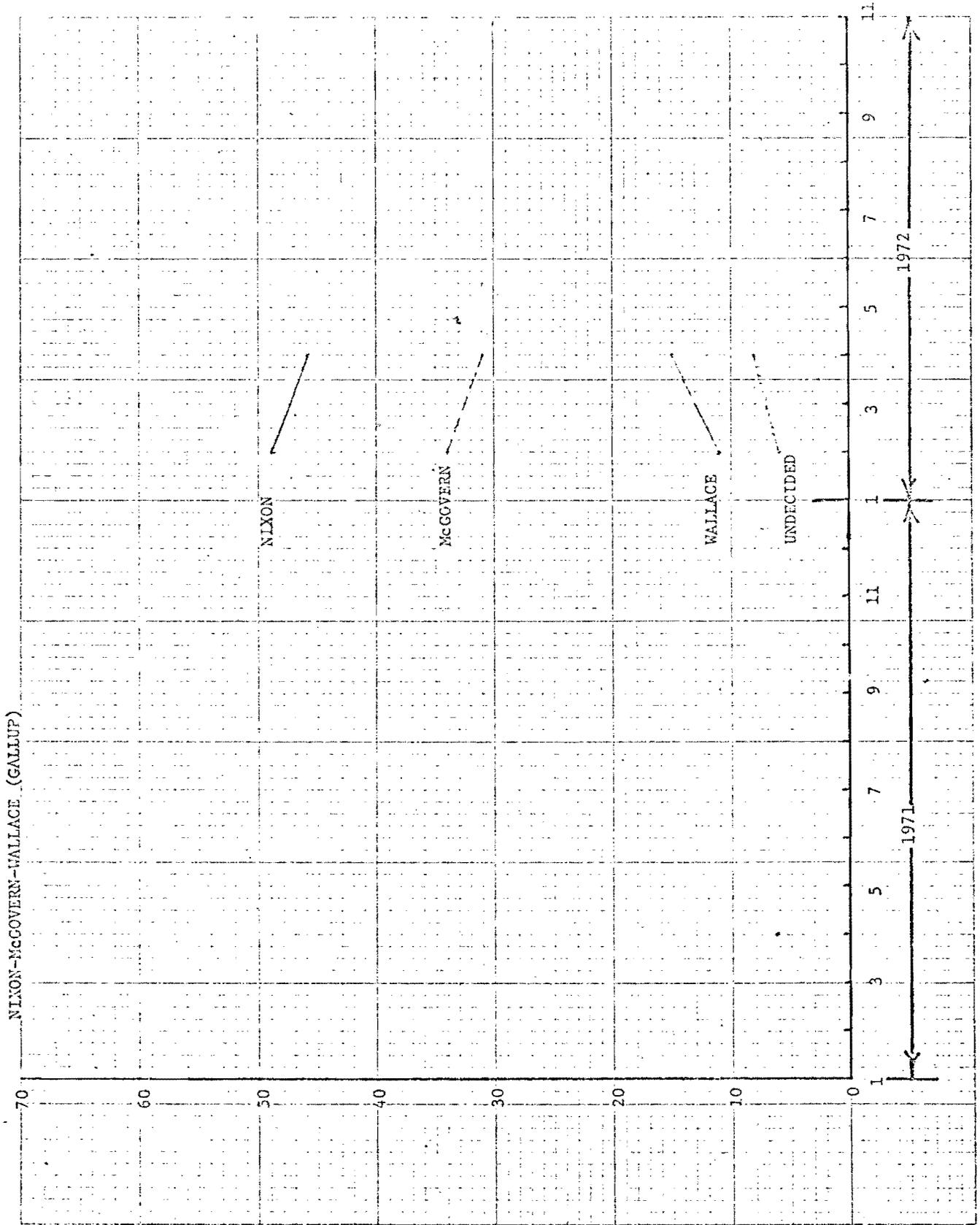
Representative Whitehurst will speak to the University of Virginia on May 4.

RESEARCH, PLANNING AND STRATEGY

Attached are updates of the Gallup surveys showing Nixon-Kennedy-Wallace and Nixon-McGovern-Wallace.

NIXON-KENNEDY-WALLACE (GALLUP)





Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

April 21, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

Attachment

✓ bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

AGRICULTURE

Yeutter met in Atlanta Monday with leaders of the Georgia poultry industry. These contacts should provide the nucleus of the agribusiness campaign in this area, including fund raising potential. While most of these people are Democrats, they expressed quite a show of support for the President. On Tuesday Yeutter met with managers of major Southeast co-ops while in Atlanta and also spoke to a public affairs seminar sponsored by the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives.

Yeutter, Foltz, and Madson had a Thursday morning meeting with eight Republican members of the House Agriculture Committee. Malek also was there representing the campaign committee. The members had many things they wished to have both our Committee and the White House know.

Yeutter, Foltz, and Madson met on Friday with key staff members from the Senate and House, plus a few officials from the USDA. The current agricultural situation was discussed as it relates to the campaign.

Foltz attended a briefing of Senate LA's on the upcoming Rural Development legislation. The Department of Agriculture is working hard to get Title I removed from the bill on the floor. This is Senator Humphrey's "Bank" proposal, which, if it stays in and he becomes the opposition nominee, he will be able to tout as his effort to save rural America.

State "Farm Families" chairmen were selected in Colorado, Maine and Pennsylvania during the past week.

Phone contacts were made in Wisconsin, South Dakota, and Missouri. Madson visited with Bob Spitzer, director of the 1968 farm campaign effort, in Wisconsin April 19 as well as the state-wide campaign director in an attempt to select a "Farm Families" chairman there. He also called on the newly named chairmen in South Dakota and Missouri explaining their duties and the overall farm campaign plan. In addition, he visited the Illinois leadership to help in the preparation of overall media plans for the farm campaign.

BLACKS

Needs and use of volunteers were finalized with representatives from the Cabinet White House wives as were the arrangements for publishing a monthly newsletter for mailing across the Nation.

A final agreement in concert with White House team members was reached on a temporary National Steering Committee. We began formalizing plans for a meeting of the National Black Citizens Steering Committee. The fund raising dinner date was selected and a planning committee was organized.

With representatives of November Group we reviewed again photos and copy for brochures.

Plans for Re-election Committee involvement of Blacks and means of insuring appropriate Black representatives in the convention delegation were discussed with the D.C. State Chairman.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

The past week was spent solidifying our organization in the Mid-West. We visited New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, South Dakota, Montana and North Dakota. Our chairmen in these states are hard at work organizing the cities.

Organization is coming along, though slower than we had hoped. We will, however, have the state and regional organizations put together completely by the 17th of May for the entire country.

The City Chairman's Guidebook has been completed and is in the hands of the printer.

We are presently working on our sales tools to be used by the city chairmen and their Business Advisory groups in dealing with the local campaign problems.

ELDERLY

Mills was in California all week where he integrated our primary campaign plan into Nofziger's and had it distributed. He also worked with the OA State Chairman, Judge Paonessa, and other area and county OA chairmen that have been selected. He set up a series of workshops in cooperation with Mr. Van Rensselaer and worked with Nofziger on several problems not related to OA.

Christy Todd was in New York where she met with Steve Blum, Dorothy McHugh, Mary McAnnis, Joe Boyd and Jim Canon on an informal basis to establish communications and lay out a plan for setting up an OA organization there.

Dan Todd spent the early part of the week on Arthur Flemming's travel schedule and HEW regional briefings on message.

Mr. Todd then went to California to meet with state and area chairmen, to solidify Mills work, and to attend the opening at the State Headquarters. In addition to working on OAD matters (campaign plan, state budget) he also worked out a problem in S.E./L.A. Mexican American Community involving L.A. Model Cities program and HUD officials. A meeting with Under Secretary Van Dusen was held while there to ensure the success of the venture as well as L.A. City Council and Regional HUD officials from SFO.

Further meetings were held with Cashen, Kingsley and Evans re National OA

Committee and a formal proposal should be ready for Mr. Mitchell this week.

JEWISH

Larry Goldberg spent the week basically concentrating on the organization in California and Illinois for the campaign.

In California, Max Fisher met with Goldberg in several meetings with key leadership groups in Southern California. Plans were discussed for two meetings for May 9 and 10 in Los Angeles at the home of Lou Boyer. Boyer has great credibility in the Jewish Community at the national level as well as with the Israeli Bonds organization and on behalf of the Hebrew University. Working with Taft Schreiber and others that have been identified, we are planning two dinner meetings of approximately 30 people each who will receive organizational briefings and then move forward to organize and operate the campaign within the community. Assignments have been given for calls and follow-up is planned.

In Chicago, Goldberg met with Tom Houser and gave Houser a briefing on the national campaign plus a prototype plan for Illinois. Houser is studying these plans for recommendations and Goldberg is recruiting the people in the Jewish Community which will be the basis for the campaign in Illinois. Illinois is particularly difficult because of the strength of Mayor Daly and Jake Arvey in the Jewish Community and the business community, but progress is being made. We are placing special emphasis on recruiting Democrats and Independents with special attention to the Orthodox Community.

LEGAL

We met with George Webster and held several telephone conversations with Tom Evans in New York regarding the Lawyers for Nixon Program and other available lawyers as sources of research assistance.

Sedam concluded negotiations with the airlines regarding charters to San Diego and forwarded a memorandum to Bill Timmons with a recommendation for that charter.

The Finance Committee's meeting for the State Finance Committee Chairmen was attended at the Hilton Hotel.

We researched the FCC regulations under the equal time provisions and advised November Group on the method of handling equal time requests. A summary was drafted of the Federal Election Campaign Act for distribution to state chairmen.

We advised various members of the Committee on specific requirements under

The new Federal Election Law, advised Bob Morgan on political endorsement requirements in several states for the direct mail campaign, and answered inquiries to state chairmen in several states regarding the new campaign law.

PHYSICIANS AND DENTISTS

We still need some legal answers before completing detailed instructions on the fund-raising campaign and expect to have the answers within a week. We then plan to notify the state Nixon chairmen and state finance chairmen of the details of our program.

We had the organization meeting of the Dentists' Committee April 18, and now will begin the process of selecting State Dentists' Chairmen who will be recommended by the members of the National Committee and appointed by us after clearance with the State Nixon Chairmen.

PR/MEDIA

The Press Department focused much of its attention on the activities in Pennsylvania last week. Working with the Pennsylvania Committee, we monitored both the opposition press and the press received by our surrogates. Because many of the Democrats' attacks centered around the Vietnam bombing, we programmed responses with speakers not only in Pennsylvania but in other states as well. Senator Dole in particular responded to these attacks in a press release issued with the Speakers Bureau. We arranged for Francis Dale to attend a fund-raising dinner in Philadelphia and planned a full day of media for his visit to that city with an emphasis on Vietnam.

Our audio operation was active this week. We fed an audio clip of Herbert Stein on wage/price controls; two cuts of Jaffee and Leonard on the TASC project; two cuts of Herb Klein from his New Orleans speech; four cuts of Rogers Morton at a North Carolina GOP fund-raising dinner; cuts of Virginia Knauer to the Pennsylvania stations and a recording by Senator Hruska for an audio clip talking about Meany's departure from the Pay Board.

We worked with the California Committee on media surrounding the "Salute to HUD Dinner" and arranged for a full day of television and radio coverage for Samuel Simmons, Assistant Secretary of HUD in Los Angeles.

We issues various press releases including one concerning the President's win over McGovern in a mock election in South Dakota.

SPANISH-SPEAKING

The campaign plan was completed, reviewed and approved with Spanish-speaking Task Force. Approval was received for Banuelos "One Dollar Project."

Fieldman Joe Garcia was hired and we initiated a program to utilize three full time volunteer staff members.

Selection process was started for approved California test plan and we reviewed the Presidential schedule for Spanish-speaking peoples.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

Bart Porter met with Taft Schreiber to discuss increased involvement of celebrities in the campaign.

Porter breakfasted with Sammy Davis, Jr. and discussed Davis' ideas for getting more celebrities in California involved in the campaign, and also met with Jesse Owens to discuss Owen's potential involvement in the campaign.

We have met with Dwight Chapin and reviewed attack plans for the use of surrogate candidates, the First Family, Dr. Kissinger, and Secretary Connally between now and the convention.

We have also met with Bob Teeter and were briefed on polling and demographics in our key states.

VOTERS' RIGHTS (BALLOT SECURITY)

We have two new Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) chairmen since our last report. They are:

| | |
|------------|------------------|
| Maryland | James Langrell |
| New Mexico | Thomas A. Dorman |

Total number of Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) chairmen -- 26.

YOUTH

The youth campaign was involved last Saturday in a statewide mock convention in South Dakota where the President beat Senator George McGovern by 13% (Nixon, 53.9%; McGovern, 41.8%).

Starting three weeks before the convention a phone bank was established to contact the leadership of every Republican youth organization in the state. Each organization that agreed to participate was assigned a quota of delegates and a state to represent in the mock convention in ratio to the size of their organization. Two weeks before the convention our coalition had made commitments to the sponsoring group and credentials committed for 60% of all the possible delegate votes. Phone operations were set up in three locations across the state to follow-up with the organization in each area and to see that their quotas would be met, and our commitments could be filled. At this time we also began making transportation arrangements to guarantee that our people would have no problems getting to the convention site which was at the far end of the state.

The last week was spent doing extensive follow-ups, staging a floor demonstration for the President, and development of a pro-Nixon proposal. The convention got statewide T.V. coverage as well as extensive written press coverage in South Dakota and the surrounding states.

This is the format we will be using in other such mock conventions.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

April 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: JEB S. M. GRUDEN

Attached for your information is our Youth
Media Plan.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROPOSED COMMUNICATIONS SUPPORT PROGRAM
FOR THE YOUTH DIVISION
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

March 31, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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 - E. Speakers Bureau
 - F. College Events
 - G. Nixon Youth Films
 - H. Direct Mail Projects
 - I. Communications Support for Advertising
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 - K. Miscellaneous Projects
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- V. Conclusion
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I. INTRODUCTION

The Youth Division of the Committee for the Re-election of the President has received substantial publicity to date. It is accepted that this division generates the most interest among members of the press and the public. Everyone seems to be speculating on which candidate will receive the support of the youth of America. Thus far, the largest support group of young people for a presidential candidate has been the Young Voters for the President.

In the final week of the New Hampshire primary, the YVP Committee had 1,000 active young people involved in the President's campaign. It is the belief of the Youth Division that we had more active youth volunteers working for the President than had participated in any previous primary effort. This statement includes the Gene McCarthy 1968 campaign in which a maximum of 750 young people were involved in any one week. There are plans to have even more youthful volunteers working in California and other states. It is the job of the public relations department to make this fact known by supporting the youth campaign plan.

The public relations effort for the Youth Division has to be different and kept as separate as possible from the efforts of the general campaign. Angela Harris will serve as project manager and co-ordinate her efforts on behalf of the youth with the general public relations plan to insure against conflicts of time and emphasis. There are many areas in which publicity efforts may be directed.

The communications office will be able to service this program through utilizing the inhouse audio operation, the news bureau (including writers), the photographers, the publications facility, mailing apparatus, and through contact with the state committee's press and public relations directors.

II. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Youth Campaign Plan are:

- Develop a national leadership team with the capacity to:
 - train and lead regional state leaders
 - create a program which will excite and involve a significant portion of the 18,000,000 voters between 18 and 22
 - support and supplement the program of the national campaign
- Involvement through organization and challenge of:
 - youth for Nixon teams in every state
 - youth for Nixon organizations among the working and military youth
 - youth for Nixon organizations in every high school
 - youth for Nixon organizations in every college
 - 450,000 young workers for Nixon in support of the regular campaign

The press and public relations objectives will support the above youth campaign objectives through newspaper releases and features, magazine feature stories, syndicated columns, television, radio and speakers programs.

Through these devices we will:

- publicize what the Nixon Administration has done for the youth of America specifically and communicate the Nixon record with

emphasis on those issues popular with youth, though not necessarily youth oriented.

- establish the fact that young people are working for his re-election, and stress the fact that the President does have the support of young people
- associate the President with young people

III. TIMETABLE

This program is presently and partially in effect. It is a program of communications through the Republican National Convention. A separate proposal for the period from the Convention to election day will be submitted this summer.

IV. THE PROGRAM

A. YOUNG VOTERS FOR THE PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

On January 25 Senator Bill Brock announced the formation of the Young Voters for the President Committee. The initial committee consisted of a Congressional Advisory Committee, actors, actresses, athletes, student leaders, young elected officials, and beauty contest winners. These people are famous in their own right and have a particular type of following. They should have a distinct and active part in the campaign. (Tab A) Their efforts should be directed toward:

CELEBRITIES

• Appearances

These young celebrities will be asked to appear at rallies, voter registration drives, youth events, and special dinners. They, in most part, are able spokesmen and women and should be given an opportunity to expound on their views of why the President should be re-elected. The public relations department should be kept aware of where they are speaking and the project manager will manage the press effort to gain maximum coverage. Proposed appearances:

DATE

EVENT

4/3

Harry (Mac) McNaught will appear as the President's

DATE (Continued)

EVENT (Continued)

representative at "Discovery '72" in Stillwater, Oklahoma.

4/8 Sherry Shealy will speak to the Nebraska YR convention in North Platte, Senator Curtis will introduce.

4/22 Mary Ann Mobley and husband Gary Collins will appear at the Minnesota YR convention wrap-up dinner.

4/8 Chad Everett may appear at a kick-off rally preceding a major literature distribution day in San Diego and Los Angeles counties.

• Feature Articles

These people are naturals for feature articles in their own trade publications, other magazines, and newspapers. The public relations department will be responsible for arranging to have these people interviewed. Suggested magazine coverage:

| <u>PROJECTED DATE</u> | <u>CELEBRITY</u> | <u>MAGAZINE</u> |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| June | Brooks Robinson | Sport Magazine (Circ. 1,100,000) |
| | O.J. Simpson | Sports Afield Magazine (1,400,000) |
| July | Clarke & Carol Graebner | World Tennis (65,000) |

Continued:

| <u>PROJECTED DATE</u> | <u>CELEBRITY</u> | <u>MAGAZINE</u> |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| July | Jeff Kinney & Jo Starbuck | Skating (17,000) |
| August | Bobby Lunn | Golf (375,000) Golf Digest (515,000) Par (100,000) |
| | Bob Griese and/or Lance Alworth | Field & Stream (1,650,000) Sports Illustrated (1,868,600) |
| | Nick Buoniconti | Letterman (508,000) |
| July | Gwen Norman, Lacey O'Neal & Esther Stroy | Essence (250,000) |
| June | Harlan Marbley, Gary Hughes, & Lacey O'Neal | Ebony (1,200,000) |
| | Gary Hughes | American Vocational Journal (50,000) |
| | Mac McNaught | Senior Scholastic (540,000) |
| May | Debbie Shelton | Mothers-To-Be & Infant Care (500,000) Congratulations (825,000) |
| August | Sherry Shealy | McCall's (7,500,000) |
| July | Tom Campbell | TV-Radio Mirror (842,872) |
| August | Clint Eastwood | Photoplay (1,349,800) Playboy |
| July | Chad Everett | Modern Screen (850,000) |
| June | Stanley Livingston | Motion Picture Magazine (500,000) |

• Television

A special effort to place these young "star" types on television talk shows should be made. The better known celebrities will

be offered to national talk shows, while the others can be placed on local programs. It must be stressed, however, that their mission is to publicize the President's candidacy and his popularity among young voters. Suggestions for the project manager to followup on are:

| <u>PROJECTED DATE</u> | <u>CELEBRITY</u> | <u>PROGRAM</u> |
|-----------------------|--|---|
| | Clint Eastwood | Tonight |
| | Harlan Marbley and/ or Lacey O'Neal | Positively Black (WNBC) Black News (WNEW-NY) |
| | Chad Everett | Mike Douglas Show |
| | Stanley Livingston or Mac McNaught | Teen Studio (WCFT-Alabama) Youth Inquiries (KRON-Calif.) Now Xplosion (WFSV-Fla.) Youth I/Teens Talk Up (KCAU-Iowa) Young Scene (KAKE-Kansas) Teen Topics (WOW-Neb.) Reaction (WGHP-NC.) |

• Radio

Every attempt will be made to build in radio news interviews and talk shows as a complimentary part of the program for the celebrities.

• Natural Publicity Opportunities

Many of these celebrities have natural publicity opportunities generated by their own unique careers. These people should be briefed and should be willing to "put a plug in for the President" whenever they are interviewed by members of the media. Examples: Clark Graebner being interviewed for winning a tennis tournament also cites his work for the President's re-election as his major outside interest. Bobby Lunn at a golf tournament, etc.

YOUNG VOTERS FOR THE PRESIDENT CONGRESSIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

This committee includes Senator Bill Brock and Congressmen William Steiger, Bill Archer, Ed Biester, Bill Frenzel, Lou Frey, Jack Kemp, Manuel Lujan, Jerry Pettis, and William Whitehurst. Steiger serves as Brock's co-chairman. Their responsibility is to advise the YVP Committee and to generate publicity for the YVP Committee. They should be kept advised on what the youth division is doing in order that they help us maximize publicity. They can be used in the following manner:

- Speaking

These men are particularly well known for their ideas on youth and for their ability to articulate the issues and appeal to youth. The youth speakers bureau and the project manager should be in close contact on where these men are scheduled to speak in order to get maximum coverage. The press department will assist their staffs in writing press releases in order that they be given the proper twist and emphasize the President and youth.

- To college and youth groups

An effort must be made to schedule these men, especially Brock and Steiger, into college campuses and before youth groups. The project manager will work on media coverage for each speaking engagement we set up.

- To non-college groups

A special effort will be made to have members of the Congressional Advisory Committee appear before non-college groups. Groups

we are planning to work are Vocational Clubs, Key Clubs, Boys State, DeMolay, YMCA, Future Farmers of America, Future Homemakers of America, DECA, Jaycee's, and high schools. Scheduled events are:

| <u>PROJECTED DATE</u> | <u>SPEAKER</u> | <u>LOCATION</u> |
|-----------------------|----------------|---|
| April 8 | Brock | San Diego Voter Registration Party after drive |
| April 17 | Frenzel | MacMurray College (Illinois) Northern Illinois University |
| April | Biester | Delaware State University High School tour in Pennsylvania |
| April | Kemp | University of Maryland |
| April 28 | Brock | FFA-Columbus, Ohio |
| April 29 | Brock | Ohio State Convention of high school student councils |

- News Releases

The press department will stand ready to assist any of these men on writing press releases or speeches dealing with youth involvement and the campaign. We will also feed them material to include in their own press release dissemination. They may be used to announce mock election results, youthful presidential appointments, state YVP committees, etc.

- Senator Brock

Expanded exposure for Senator Brock should be made by:

- Scheduling press activity at each stop on his schedule where he is speaking for the President. (He travels two to three days per week in behalf of the campaign.)

- Initiating national exposure on television talk shows.

The press department would schedule and his subject, of course, would be his connection with the YVP Committee.

Suggestions:

PROJECTED
DATE

PROGRAM

Today
Face the Nation
Issues and Answers
David Frost
David Susskind
Dick Cavett

- Arranging for feature article interviews.

PROJECTED
DATE

MEDIA

UPI
AP-News Flashes
Copley News Service
Los Angeles Times Syndicate
Hearst Headline Service
North American Newspaper Alliance
Slash-Women's News Service
United Features Syndicate
Thompson Features Syndicate
Sunday Supplement

- Scheduling a series of luncheon meetings with Senator Brock and key media people to keep them advised on the progression of the youth campaign. Included in these luncheons could be several quotable members of the YVP Committee who are of interest to the press. These luncheons could be set up both nationally and locally as the Senator travels.

• Congressman Steiger

His expanded media coverage should be concentrated on television. Because of his youthful appearance and ability to articulate the issues, he will be particularly effective. This exposure should be concentrated in the Midwest and can be fitted around his travel schedule.

B. NATIONAL YOUTH STAFF

There will be a concentrated effort to get the youth story told through local, regional, and national media with qualified members of the national youth staff. These people can serve as credible spokesmen and women on the youth effort. The emphasis will be on President Nixon -- not the individual.

• Ken Rietz

A natural spokesman, is in popular demand because of his position as National Youth Director.

- National Interviews

Rietz will continue to talk to the press on the national level. In addition, we will make an effort to place him on national and local television talk shows, be interviewed for feature articles, and by-line stories for national publications.

PROJECTED
DATE

PUBLICATION

New York Magazine

Esquire Magazine

New York Times News Service

Reuters News Service

Bell-McClure Syndicate

King Features Syndicate

- Local Interviews

As Rietz travels the nation setting up his state organizations, the project manager will schedule at least three hours of his time for media interviews. During these interviews, Rietz will stress the seriousness of the youth effort and discuss general plans and accomplishments made so far -- mock elections and voter registration drives.

For example:

| <u>DATE</u> | <u>LOCATION</u> | <u>MEDIA ACTIVITY</u> |
|-------------|-----------------|--|
| 3/24 | Indianapolis | Indianapolis Star Westinghouse-ABC Radio WISH-TV news exclusive News conference with high school journalists |
| 4/17 | Chicago | News conference announcing State Committee Other media activity to be scheduled |

• Angie Miller

Because of her bubbly personality and young age (20), Angie could be a favorite choice among the media. Stressing that the Nixonettes are intelligent, enlightened young women -- not just pom pom tossers -- and they will be used for more than just show and sex appeal. They will work at rallies, voter registration drives, telephone blitzes, literature distribution days, etc. Angie can be scheduled to do the following things:

- Television Talk Shows

The project manager will strive to place Angie on young

women's programs:

| <u>PROJECTED DATE</u> | <u>PROGRAM</u> |
|---------------------------|--|
| | Frankly Female |
| | Betty Groebli Show (WRC) |
| | Woman (WCBS) |
| | What Every Woman Wants to Know (Syndicated) |

- Feature Articles

These would encompass the Nixonette/Nixonaire Program and these articles would emphasize Angie and a couple of selected girls from the program.

| <u>PROJECTED DATE</u> | <u>PUBLICATION</u> | (*Age) |
|---------------------------|------------------------|----------|
| June | Ingenue (750,000) | (13-19)* |
| | Mademoiselle (692,000) | (18-25)* |
| July | Teen (800,000) | (13-19)* |
| August | Seventeen (1,700,000) | (13-19)* |

- Local Interviews

As Angie travels the country recruiting volunteers for the Nixonette/Nixonaire program, the project manager will schedule local interviews on what she is doing.

| <u>PROJECTED DATE</u> | <u>MEDIA ACTIVITY</u> |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| March 31 | Interview with Miami Herald |

● George Gorton

A natural for stressing our position among the college youth, George should be available for interviews both on the local level and national level. He is young and has a great deal of responsi-

bility for his age. He should stress the mock elections that have been won by the President and the fact that they were sponsored and conducted by the student governments. The project manager will be advised of his schedule in order to schedule media activity.

• Angela Harris

Angela can talk to the press regarding the general youth campaign and can be used for feature articles in young women's publications.

PROJECTED
DATE

MEDIA ACTIVITY

Women's News Service
Syndicate

McCall's

Glamour

• Volunteers

The following young men are volunteers but we feel they could be an asset and will only be used in carefully controlled situations.

- Mac McNaught

He is 17 years old and extremely knowledgeable and articulate.

He has already been listed in this plan as appearing in behalf of the President, on talk shows, and for feature articles.

He will be touring the country and will be available for speaking engagements.

- Bob Kasten

Bob is Chairman of the Wisconsin Young Voters for the President Committee and has proved himself to be very articulate and

able to handle the press. As his speaking responsibilities increase, the project manager will coordinate media coverage for him.

- Tom Hayden

Tom is a personable, attractive young man who is Chairman of our California YVP Committee. He is only 31, but has been a candidate for Congress and knows how to handle the media. His speaking program will increase and the project manager will handle any media contacts.

C. STATE YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

This is an excellent opportunity to gain local exposure for the youth division.

• Youth Chairman Announcements

In selected states, there will be an official announcement of the youth chairman. He or she is usually a well-known personality in the area and not a paid staff member. The initial announcement should be made in the form of a press conference in which one of the members of the Congressional Advisory Committee will attend -- preferably Brock or Steiger. This event will be managed by the project manager who will be responsible for setting up the press conference, arranging activities surrounding the event, and putting out press releases, arranging for members of the press to cover entire event or follow principles of the press conference.

PROJECTED
DATE

STATE

April 17

Illinois

Continued:

| <u>PROJECTED DATE</u> | <u>STATE</u> |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| June | Illinois (Celebrity Committee) |
| June | Indiana (Celebrity Committee) |
| April | California |

- Voter Registration Rallies and Drives

Expanded media coverage will be arranged for these events.

- The event will be set up to achieve its purpose and be of more interest to the media. This includes scheduling well-known speakers for the kick-off rally preceding door-to-door drives.
- The project manager will make a concentrated effort to have actual media coverage of these events. It may even be necessary to arrange media cars or buses for those who want to follow for the day. These scenes will be particularly good for television documentaries and specials. The public relations department will work on getting a television commentator interested in this as a special.

| <u>PROJECTED DATE</u> | <u>EVENT</u> | <u>MEDIA ACTIVITY</u> |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| 4/3 | Wisconsin drive & rallies in 3 cities | Will schedule |
| 4/8 | California drive & rallies in 2 counties | ABC-TV may cover/other activity will be scheduled |
| 5/20 | Texas drive | |

D. NIXONETTES/NIXONAIRES

This is a natural for publicity value. As we are projecting the image of the enlightened, intelligent young woman, we of the public

relations department must make certain the right emphasis is put on this program. These young ladies are not just for show; they are lending their ideas, their enthusiasm and their talents to the re-election of the President.

- Special magazine articles will be arranged spotlighting Angie Miller and several selected Nixonettes/Nixonaires.
(See B-1-b)
- Articles should be placed in local papers and specials arranged for television on the formation of the state's (or city's) Nixonette program and the designation of its chairwoman. This would be perfect for a picture story with the girls in their uniforms. This should not be done until the outfits are complete and the groups substantial. The project manager will arrange publicity for these groups when the time is right.
- Julie and/or Tricia can be connected in some way after the Convention. If they are agreeable, they could be named honorary chairwomen and presented the Nixonette and Nixonaire outfits. This would be assured of press coverage.

E. SPEAKERS BUREAU

The youth division has its own speakers bureau and is busily supplying speakers for youth groups. Besides using members of the Young Voters for the President Committee and staff, these people are being used and are capable of getting coverage:

- Friends of Richard Nixon
These are, in the most part, young legislators on the state level. They have had a training classroom and are planning another for

April 20-21 in Washington. The efforts of these people should be publicized. (Tab B)

- Nationally

We can gain national attention by providing press at the classroom. They will have well-known speakers to brief them so this should not be difficult. Among their speakers are Bill Ruckelshaus, Virginia Knauer, Donald Rumsfeld, John Ehrlichman, Curtis Tarr, and Harry Dent.

The project manager will set up a press room at this event and encourage wire services and national media to attend.

- Locally

Local publicity should be arranged as these people serve as surrogates and can serve two purposes:

- 1) Make the "Friends" program better known on a local level and advertise the fact that these young people are available to speak in behalf of the President.
- 2) Make the spokesman better known and instigate media coverage on the person as a member of a national group.

• Training Sessions for Young Speakers

It has been suggested that we conduct training sessions to train young speakers in Wisconsin, Texas and Oregon. The people involved would be naturals for publicity. In addition to publicizing the actual training session, the young speakers can be used in local media coverage. The hometown press love to capitalize on their own people. The project manager would handle the press for the session and for the local angle.

● White House Staff

In an effort to publicize the youthfulness of the White House Staff, it has been suggested that some of the younger members who went on the China trip do several things. In all cases, the project manager will coordinate with the White House Staff for media exposure.

- Ron Ziegler has been asked to conduct a collegiate and/or high school media press conference to discuss his own personal reactions and insights from the China trip.
- Dwight Chapin has been asked to attend an April 7 or 8 Bridgeport Connecticut state convention of high school student councils. He would participate in a speech and question and answer session. 1,200 are expected to attend.
- Dwight Chapin has also been asked to tour some California campuses and high schools at the end of April.
- Larry Higby has been asked to author an article regarding the China trip for Reader's Digest. Chapin will be approached to do the same for Playboy.
- One of the young staffers should appear and be publicized at the following events:
 - 1) The Southern Universities Student Government Association meeting in Miami on April 21-22. Between 600-1,000 will attend and Wallace, Muskie, and Harry Dent will be there.
 - 2) The national convention of High School Student Councils will be held in Washington, D.C. June 24-25. Between 1,500-2,000 are expected.

F. COLLEGE EVENTS

We must make it a well known fact that the President does enjoy the support of college students. To do this, the project manager will coordinate with the college director to arrange media coverage for the following events:

• Mock Elections

The project manager must be kept aware of mock elections that are being held across the country. When one is won, the press department will determine whether the press release should be national or local (or both), but will put out some type of announcement. The results of all mock elections should be kept with easy reach to give to a member of the press at any given time. In some cases, the mock election results will be given out at a press conference, or by a member of the Congressional Advisory Committee. The press department will make this decision. In addition, when spokesmen are talking with members of the press, they should reiterate the successful mock elections.

• Youth Truth Squad

It has been suggested that the youth division organize a Youth Truth Squad consisting of a Congressman (Brock or Steiger), a White House young staffer (Chapin or Walker), and a couple of members of the Young Voter for the President Committee (Mac McNaught, Chad Everett) to tour college campuses with the facts of the Nixon Administration. It should be patterned after the well-known Truth Squad of Congressmen who toured during the 1968 campaign. These events could be

carried out in the manner of a "rap" session on campus with a give and take dialogue with the students. The project manager would be responsible for press coverage of these tours.

- Student Leaders for the President

This group is being organized now and will show support for the President among the nation's campus leaders. We should:

- Announce a national group at a press conference in Washington.
- Announce state groups and arrange for local coverage.

G. NIXON YOUTH FILMS

We should coordinate with the White House to produce a film of the President with young people, interspersed with shots of the thousands of young people who are working for him and testimonials. This should be ready for distribution by the time school begins. It should contain scenes of the Convention. The film should be used for colleges and high schools. It can also serve as a substitute for speakers and be offered to youth organizations. Other ideas for films are:

- Mark Goode at the White House is working on a film aimed at youth regarding the China trip.
- There has been a film produced on the change in college campuses since 1968. An idea is to get permission to use the film with our own introduction and show it on college campuses.
- A Copley film is being produced with our guidance. It regards youth attitudes and the President and promises to project a positive image. It should be ready for viewing by mid-April.

H. DIRECT MAIL PROJECTS

The main campaign piece for the youth division will be a multi-purpose newsletter. It will serve as a newsletter, campaign handout, and wall poster. There will be a series of eight pieces -- when fit together, they produce a giant Nixon poster that tells the story of four years of accomplishment. The schedule for these mailings is:

| <u>PIECES</u> | <u>DATE</u> |
|--------------------------------|--------------|
| Initial poster (general theme) | May 1 |
| Preserving our Environment | June 1 |
| A Safe Society | July 1 |
| Dialogue with Youth | August 1 |
| Women in Government | September 1 |
| Minorities in Government | September 15 |
| A Healthy Economy | October 1 |
| International Relations | October 15 |

- It has been suggested that the President send a congratulatory certificate to every first voter. This would be a mammoth project, but would prove to be rewarding.
- It is hoped that with cooperation with Republican Congressmen, they can be encouraged to write a congratulatory letter to all of the new voters in their districts praising the President's initiatives.

I. COMMUNICATIONS SUPPORT FOR ADVERTISING

The communications office will support the advertising projects primarily through suggestions concerning distribution.

- Solicitation Brochure

This piece is already in the process of being completed and will serve as our piece aimed at increasing membership. Its title is "Get Involved" and is designed to do that -- get young people involved in the campaign. This item will be used in door-to-door drives and as a general handout piece.

- Posters

Jack Frost of the November Group has come up with some great ideas for general posters. These can be used as fund-raising projects or as give-aways. They would be extremely effective as handout sheets (8 1/2 x 11).

- Issue Sheets

It is planned to have issue sheets to hand out. They would touch on the war, environment, drugs, the draft, China, and the economy. They would be similar to the ones put out by the California State Central Committee (Tab C).

- College Handout

We are working on a "fact" sheet designed for college campuses. It will appear amateurish, as if it were done by the students on campus. It will be designed so the local group is able to put their own identity into it and reproduce it on campus. It lists all of the facts that should make the Nixon Administration popular with young people.

J. THE NIXON DAUGHTERS

As the President does have two young, attractive daughters, they should be urged to actively participate in the youth division activities.

• Speaking

Julie and Tricia should be encouraged to accept speaking engagements before youth groups. Julie has been agreeable and is planning to address the Future Homemakers of America in North Carolina (7,000 attending) on April 18. She will talk about Richard Nixon's interest and admiration for vocational education.

• Magazine Articles

These girls would have great appeal to many of the young women's publications. Some suggestions are:

| <u>PROJECTED DATE</u> | <u>JULIE OR TRICIA</u> | <u>PUBLICATION</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|---|
| | Julie | McCall's (7,500,000) Redbook (4,700,000) Life |
| | Tricia | Glamour (1,500,000) |

• Television

We would recommend that the girls appear on local and national television talk shows as the White House sees it.

- It has been suggested that Julie hostess a special White House reception and tour for journalists who write for youth publications. This event is capable of receiving maximum coverage.

K. MISCELLANEOUS PROJECTS

- Comparison story on the differences between the Nixon campaign and the McGovern campaign will be offered to Wilson by Shumway. A Nixon person who was enticed with promises of free beer, lodging and a good time will write a letter stating the incident. We will also make it known that the mock elections are handled

somewhat differently within the two campaigns. A copy of the article depicting "McGovern Men Admit College Poll Deception" will be included with this information.

- A fact sheet on the approach the youth staff is taking and what the President has done for youth will be sent to all newspapers (city editors and editorial page editors). A Shumway cover letter will accompany.
- OP-ED packages with a Shumway cover letter will be sent to approximately 50 selected newspapers. This will include action photos with outlines and feature articles that are aimed at a Sunday supplement on the youth effort.
- Announcement of the "Hill" volunteers. These are 100 young people who work for Congressmen and Senators who are devoting their time and talents to our campaign.
- A Young Voters for the President sponsored Ecology Day.
- A multi-state speaking tour for several days with Senator Brock and several members of our YVP Committee and selected members of the press.
- A tour by a top name music group and members of the YVP Committee encouraging voter registration among young people.
- The Young Republicans are having platform hearings in Washington to make input into 1972 RNC convention platform. We should play this up as the senior committee taking advice from and listening to young people.
- We must make an extra effort to generate news on the college campus aimed at inclusion in the school publication. This can

be done by:

- conducting rap sessions on the college campus between members of their press and campus supporters of the President and/or members of the YVP Committee
 - providing articles with by lines from students who are in favor of the President's re-election
 - providing articles with by-lines from national figures for whom the college student has both respect and faith
 - encouraging college press to interview members of the YVP Committee and travelling staff people
 - providing Carl Rove of the RNC with hard news to send to conservatives on the College News Service mailing list
- As with the college press, we must strive to communicate with members of all extremes within the young members of the Republican Party. We will provide by-line articles, feature stories and hard news for publications put out by the Ripon Society, Young Americans for Freedom, Young Republicans, Teenage Republicans, and College Republicans.

L. CONVENTION

This will be a perfect opportunity to give the youth division a great deal of publicity. This will be the focus point for the

youth campaign. We should be able to take advantage of the coverage by the national news media to identify the President with young people. We can show him constantly surrounded by young people and show a convention where thousands of young people are participating in meaningful activities.

- Delegates

Because of the 18-year-old vote, many states are encouraging young people to become delegates. The project manager will be responsible for obtaining a list of these young delegates and coordinating media activity.

- Convention Plans

We will release our convention plans and the extensive part young people will play. This can be done as a feature article for UPI or AP and national magazines. Tom Bell can be featured as the spokesman as he is coordinating this project.

- Events

Events at the Convention and worthy of media attention are:

- Youth Appreciation Dinner - August 19

The dinner will be casual and will feature a vast array of celebrities and top political figures. The theme will be the President's interest in young people and young people's enthusiastic support of the President. The dinner will be staged for maximum media coverage and will be the first indication to the national television audience of the President's tremendous convention youth support. Senator Brock will host the event.

- Seaworld

Our visit to Seaworld will include all YVP convention participants. Numerous high level Administration people, the VEPP, members of the First Family will all attend. We can offer the television cameras and newspaper photographers a good picture story of the young people enjoying a fun event with members of the Administration.

- Youth Nomination Rally

This is designed with the thought of a Presidential drop-in. The rally will be only for pro-Nixon young people and should be a colorful event with bands and entertainers.

- Victory Party

The YVP Committee will sponsor the Victory Party for the entire Convention. It will emphasize the old and young moving together toward a common goal -- the re-election of the President. It will be a colorful event for the media and will include every available person -- celebrity and non-celebrity.

V. CONCLUSION

This proposed program is ambitious, but realistic. It is an overall communications effort utilizing the talents and sources available to us during this campaign.

This proposed program will insure the wisest use of the media in an organized fashion yet on a daily basis we will be able to react with haste in an unforeseen situation.

Handwritten marks at the top right corner, including a curved line and a vertical line.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-9970

YOUNG VOTERS FOR THE PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

| | |
|------------------|--|
| ABATE, JOSEPH | Chairman of the College Republican National Federation, From Margate, New Jersey. Age 26. |
| ALWORTH, LANCE | Flankerback for the Dallas Cowboys Football Team. Resident of Brookville, Miss. Age 32. All- American Tailback for Arkansas- 1962. |
| ASHE, VICTOR | Tennessee state representative who sponored 18 year old vote in state. From Knoxville, Tennessee. Age 27. |
| BOX, BRENDA | Reigning Miss Texas (Universe). First runner up Miss USA. From Amarillo, Texas. Age 20. |
| BUONICONTI, NICK | Linebacker for the Miami Dolphins Football Team. Resident of Miami, Florida. Age 31. |
| CAMPBELL, TOM | Disc Jockey, San Francisco Radio (KLOK) and columnist for San Francisco Examiner. Resident of San Francisco and San Jose. Age 32. |
| CLEMENCE, KENT | President of the Student Body, University of Sothern California. From Simi, Valley, California. Age 21. |
| CULLEN, JO ANN | Vice President Distributive Education Clubs of America, North Atlantic Region. From Bristol, Pennsylvania. Age 18. |
| EASTWOOD, CLINT | Actor, Star of " Dirty Harry " and " The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly ". From Carmel, California. |
| EVERETT, CHAD | Actor, Television personality, (Dr. Joe Gannon of Medical Center). Originally from South Bend, Ind. Presently resides in Northridge, California. |
| FORSYTH, JANENE | Reigning Miss American Teenager. From Arlington, Virginia. Age 17. |
| GARVER, KATHY | Actress, television personality (Family Affair) From Los Angeles, California. Age 23. |

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| GRAEBNER, CAROL | Tennis champion, Captain of victorious Wrightman Cup Team, and is presently residing in New York. |
| GRAEBNER, CLARK | Tennis champion, star of U.S. Davis Cup Team. Resident of New York. |
| GRANT, SHELBY | Actress, wife of Chad Everett. Originally from Wagoner, Oklahoma. Resides in Northridge, California. |
| GRIESE, BOB | Quarterback for the Miami Dolphins Football Team. Originally from Evansville, Indiana. Age 26. |
| HUGHES, GARY | Immediate past National President of Vocational Industrial Clubs of America. From Dover, Delaware. |
| KINNEY, JEFF | Runningback for the University of Nebraska Football Team. All-American, 1971. |
| LIVINGSTON, SANDY | Actress, wife of Stanely Livingston. Resides in Los Angeles, California. |
| LIVINGSTON, STANLEY | Actor, Television personality (My Three Sons). Age 21. |
| LUNN, ROBERT | Professional Golf Star, on the PGA Tour. |
| MCKEEVER, MARLIN | Linebacker for the Los Angeles Rams Football Team. Resides in Corona Del Mar, California. Age 32. |
| MCNAUGHT, HARRY | President of Boys Nation (Senate). From Logansport, Indiana. Age 17. |
| MARBLEY, HARLAND | Silver medal Olympic Boxer. From Washington, D.C. Age 28. |
| MASON, TOMMY | Football player for the Washington Redskins. Resides in Minneapolis, Minnesota. |
| MOBLEY, MARY ANN | Actress, Former Miss America. Originally from Biloxi, Mississippi. |
| NORMAN, GWEN | Gold medal Olympic runner, Gold medal winner 400 Meter-- Pan American Games 1971. Age 22. |
| O'NEAL, LACEY | Olympic track Star. Resident of Washington, D.C. Age 27. |

POSTELS, CHARLES
 Immediate past National Vice President of Future Farmers of America. Resident of Milford, Delaware. Age 22.

SCHOLLANDER, DONALD
 Winner of four gold medals in swimming at 1964 Summer Olympic Games, one gold and one silver at the 1968 Games, and has set 37 American and 22 World Swimming records. Age 25.

SHEALY, SHERRY
 South Carolina State Representative. Resident of Cayce, South Carolina. Age 21.

SHELLEY, KENNETH
 1972 Men's U.S. Figure Skating Champion, U.S. Pairs Figure Skating Champion Team. Worlds Pair Bronze medalist 1971. 1968 and 1972 Olympic Games. From Los Angeles California. Age 20.

SHELTON, DEBBIE
 Immediate past Miss U.S.A. Resides in Miami, Florida. Age 23.

SMITH, JODY
 Youngest mayor in the United States. Resides in Ayreshire, Iowa. Age 19.

SIMPSON, O.J.
 Star running-back for the Buffalo Bills Football Team. Heisman Trophy Winner at University of Southern California, 1968. College Player of the Decade, Maxwell Trophy, and UPI and AP Player of the Year, 1967-68.

STARBUCK, JO JO
 1970-72 U.S. Pairs Figure Skating Champion Team. Member of 1968 and 1972 Olympic Team. Resides in Los Angeles, California, Age 20.

STROY, ESTHER
 Youngest member of 1968 Olympic Team. Gold medal winner - Pan American Games 1971. Resident of Washington, D.C. Age 18.

SUNDQUIST, DONALD
 Young Republican National Federation Chairman. Resides in Burnsville, Minnesota.

TWILLEY, HOWARD
 Star running-back for the Miami Dolphins Football Team. Resident of Miami, Florida.

VITTERT, MARK
 Vice President, National Chamber Foundations. Resides in St. Louis, Missouri. Age 22-

WELLS, BARBIE
 National Director of Teenage Republicans. From Poway, California.

WILCHINSKI, EDWARD

Past National President of Distributive
Education Clubs of America. Resident of
Camden, Delaware. Age 24.

YOUNG VOTERS FOR THE PRESIDENT
CONGRESSIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Senator Bill Brock (Chairman) - Tennessee

Congressman William A. Steiger (Co-Chairman) - Wisconsin

Congressman Bill Archer - Texas

Congressman Edward G. Biester, Jr. - Pennsylvania

Congressman Bill Frenzel - Minnesota

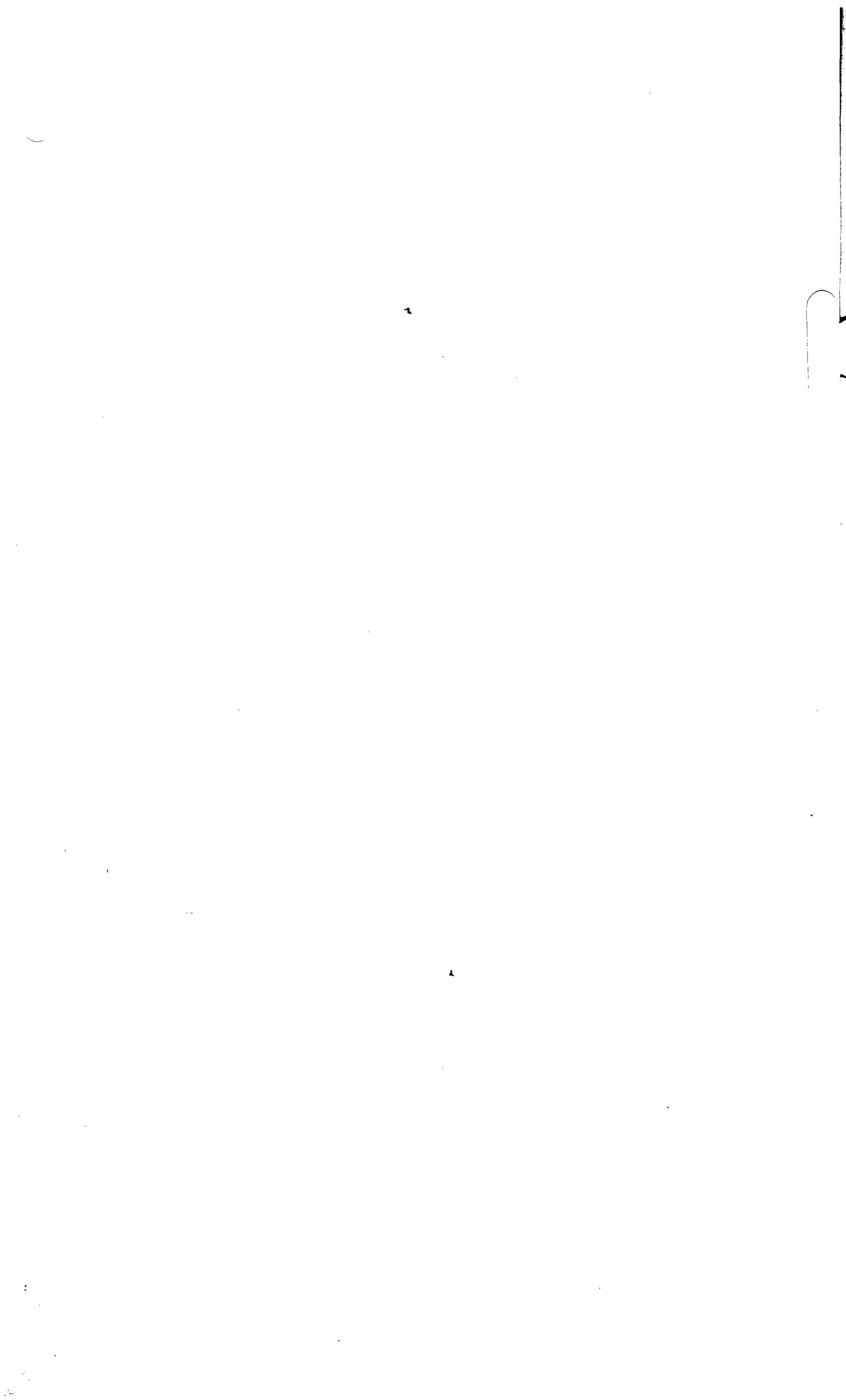
Congressman Louis Frey, Jr. - Florida

Congressman Jack F. Kemp - New York

Congressman Manuel Lujan, Jr. - New Mexico

Congressman Jerry L. Pettis - California

Congressman G. William Whitehurst - Virginia



"FRIENDS OF RICHARD NIXON"Alabama

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Hale, Doublas V. | State Representative, Huntsville |
| Butler, Charles R. | District Attorney, Mobile |
| Holland, Ray | Republican State Executive Committee, University |

Arizona

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| McCune, Bill | State Representative, Phoenix |
| Goodwin, Michael | Tempe |

Arkansas

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Climer, Jerome F. | County Clerk, Pulaski County, N. Little Rock |
|-------------------|--|

California

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Pinkerton, Donald | Director of Housing and Community Development Fairfield |
| Arnett, Dixon | Assemblyman, Redwood City |

Colorado

| | |
|--------------|----------------------------------|
| Blue, Linden | City Councilman-at-Large, Denver |
|--------------|----------------------------------|

Connecticut

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Stevens, Gerald F. | State Representative, Milfore |
| Harlow, Harold G. | State Representative, Litchfield |
| Andrews, Chip | Executive Director, Conn. Rep. State Central Committee, Hartford |

Delaware

Anderson, Thomas

Wilmington

Murphy, Joseph

State Representative, Newark

Castle, Michael

State Senator, Wilmington

Florida

Markham, Bill

Broward Couty Tax Assessor, Ft. Lauderdale

Hawaii

Coray, Carla

Chairman, Rep. Party of Hawaii, Honolulu

Kamalii, Mrs. Kinau B.

National Committeewoman Rep. Party of Hawaii
Honolulu

Rohfling, Fred

State Senator, Honolulu

Illinois

Hirschfeld, John C.

State Representative, Champaign

Nowlan, James D.

State Representative, Toulon

Indiana

Price, John R.

Secretary, Indiana Republican Party,
Carmel

Snyder, John Jr.

Indianapolis

Iowa

Clark, John H.

State Representative, Keokuk

Pelton, Charles H.

State Representative, Clinton

Kansas

Miller, Robert H.

State Representative, Wellington.

Kansas, cont'd

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Hess, Paul | State Representative, Wichita |
| Miner, Bob . | Republican State Central Committee, Topeka |

Kentucky

| | |
|--------------|--|
| Wade, Gordon | Executive Director, Kentucky Republican State Committee, Louisville |
| Host, James | Lexington |

Louisiana

| | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| deGravelles, John | Lafayette |
| Moore, W. Henson | Baton Rouge |

Maine

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Richardson, Jim | Portland |
| Simpson, Larry | State Representative, Sebago Lake |

Maryland

| | |
|----------------|---|
| Ayd, Joseph M. | Baltimore City Central Committee, Baltimore |
|----------------|---|

Massachusetts

| | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| Ames, John S. III | State Representative, Easton |
| Healy, Jonathan L. | State Representative, Charlemont |

Minnesota

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Jensen, Karen | Republican State Central Committee, Minneapolis |
|---------------|--|

Mississippi

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Montgomery, Ray | State Senator, Canton |
|-----------------|-----------------------|

Missouri

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| James, Ray | State Representative, Kansas City |
| Pierce, Robert A. | State Representative, Cape Girardeau |

Nebraska

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|----------------|--|
| Stromer, Jerry | State Senator, Kearney |
| Lockwood, Fred | President, State Association of County Commissioners, Gering |

Nevada

| | |
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| Stanton, Burnell | Las Vegas |
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New Hampshire

| | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| Gosselin, David | North Conway |
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New Jersey

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Iacavazzi, Cosmo | Township Hillsborough Committeeman, Bellemead |
| Lawrence, Robert C. III | Mayor of Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury |

New Mexico

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| Hobson, Maurice | State Representative, Alamogordo |
| Stevens, Dennis | Executive Director, Republican State Central Committee, Albuquerque |

New York

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Forstadt, Joseph L. | New York |
| Dwyer, William F. | Monroe County Republican Chairman, Rochester |

North Carolina

| | |
|---------------|-----------|
| Carson, James | Charlotte |
|---------------|-----------|

North Dakota

Young, Allan C. State Vice Chairman, Devil's Lake
Olson, Allan J. Bismarck

Ohio

Gillmore, Paul E. State Senator, Columbus
Voinovich, Goerge V. State Representative, Columbus

Oklahoma

Inhofe, James State Senator, Tulsa
Thompson, Ralph Oklahoma City

Pennsylvania

Rovner, Robert A. State Senator, Philadelphia
Kelly, James B. State Representative, Ingomar

Puerto Rico

Barcelo, Carlos Romero Mayor of San Juan, San Juan
Padilla, Hernan Majority Leader, San Juan

Rhode Island

Tellier, Leo H. Jr. Member of Exeutive Committee, Lincoln

South Carolina

Cain, Marshall State Representative, Aiken
Campbell, Carroll Jr. State Representative, Greenville

South Dakota

Goldammer, Vance Youth Vote Coordinator, Assistant to
Senator Burns, Pierre

South Dakota, cont'd

Piersol, Mrs. Judy

Administrative Assistant to Senator Burns,
PierreTennessee

Hopper, Joe N.

Administrative Assistant to Gov. Dunn,
Nashville

Jensen, Tom

House Minority Leader, Knoxville

Texas

Craddick, Tom

State Representative, Midland

Bailey, Kay

Houston

Vermont

Lambert, Mrs. Rebecca F.

Point Farms, Grand Isle

Virginia

Meador, Robert W.

President, Virginia Chamber of Commerce
Vinton

Canada, Joseph

State Senator, Virginia Beach

Marlowe, John

Chairman, Board of Supervisors Warren County
Front RoyalWashington

Reams, William

King County Councilman, Seattle

Field, William

State Representative, Charleston

Herndon, Judy

State Representative, Wheeling

Wisconsin

Kasten, Robert Jr.

Thienville

Harff, James

Sheboygan

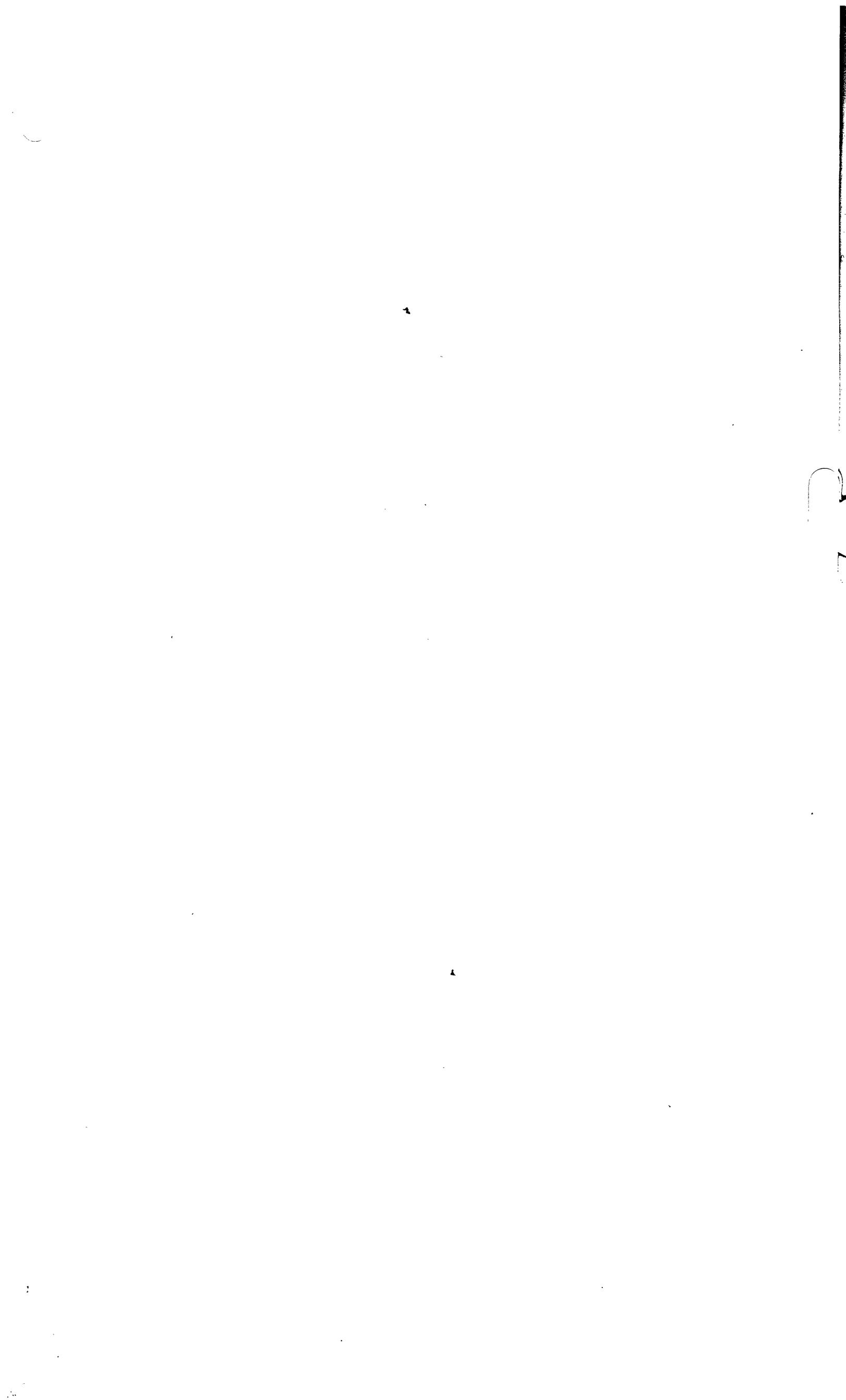
Wyoming

Patton, John

State Senator, Sheridan

Stacy, Mrs. Estelle

National Committeewoman, Douglas



"The War isn't going to be an issue in 1972," top Democrats have been saying—as they go right on chopping up President Nixon for the way he's ending it.

Well, people who say the Vietnam War isn't going to be an issue are wrong. The War will be an issue in 1972. It'll be over, but it will still be an issue, because you don't write off 50,000 dead men, millions of men who gave up a year of their lives, or lost an arm, a leg or picked up shrapnel. You remember the leaders who got you there in the first place, and you make sure they don't have the chance to get Americans hung up in another war in some remote corner of the world, like West Irian, or Zambia, or the Chad, or Chile, or the dozens of little places where a careless foreign policy can get you in very deep, very fast.

A lot of Senators who want to be President in 1973 encouraged the Vietnam War back in the Sixties when they had a chance to stop it. What they said is on the back of this sheet.

When it comes down to the War there's only one person who has actually reduced American involvement in Vietnam. His name is Richard Nixon. He doesn't have to talk about the War much anymore because he's proved himself by what he's done.

Nixon pulled more than 300,000 Americans out of Vietnam in the last 2 years. It'll be 360,000 out by December 1, and you can look for him to continue the troop pull-out after that, maybe even faster.

But the weekly combat death rate for American troops is even more important than the pull-out rate. The death rate is down from 281 in 1968 to as few as 12 now, and still decreasing.

Nixon's goal? "One American dying in combat is one too many," he said in April. "Our goal is no American fighting men dying any place in the world. Every decision I have made in the past and every decision I make in the future will have the purpose of achieving that goal . . . Our goal is a total American withdrawal from Vietnam."

But why not bring every American home quickly, like today?

It's a program to help the South Vietnamese a change from the old term "Vietnamization," and it simply means, let some form of representa-

tive government chosen by the people who live there take hold in the South. And its working.

South Vietnam has had one relatively democratic election, and will have another in November. They're not perfect, but they are better than in the North where they never hold real elections. The South Vietnamese government is doing better at running the country, too. It's elected officials represent and work for about 80% of the population now. They functioned in less than half the country a few years back.

The South Vietnamese Army has grown by 200,000 troops in the last 2½ years. Their Air Force has taken over most of the remaining air war against the Viet Cong, flying over 50% of the air sorties today compared to 14% back in 1967. And their Navy now protects the entire Mekong Delta instead of the situation a few years back when the U.S. Navy did all the work. Our Navy has come home, along with the Marine Corps, and almost all the Army combat troops.

The South Vietnamese government isn't perfect—Nixon realizes that along with everybody else. Neither is the American government.

But the alternative for South Vietnam is Big Brother in Hanoi, and that's not a very healthy prospect for many of the people who live in the South. The Viet Cong took over the city of Hue in 1968, held it 3 weeks, and slaughtered 3,000 people, nearly all civilians. If they win control of the country they will want to collect more blood debts. Estimates of how many South Vietnamese would be killed by a victorious army from the North range from 100,000 to 3,000,000!

You don't want that on your conscience. Neither does Nixon. He wants to give a reasonably humane government in South Vietnam the chance to defend itself and prevent mass murders after our troops come home. That's why Cambodia, and Laos, and a careful program of withdrawal as South Vietnam gets stronger. That's why a fixed deadline won't work. Nobody has a crystal ball to see how things will go next month. But it does look good.

President Nixon has set a goal—to bring every American home and leave something decent behind us. He's been working on it for 3 years now, and he'll finish the job.

Talk is cheap

...when you don't have to back up your words with action.

That's why the jabber about Vietnam from Hubert Humphrey, Edmund Muskie, Edward Kennedy, Birch Bayh, and the other Senators who want to be President in 1973 isn't worth anything. They know the War will be gone and they won't have to do anything about it if they win the Presidency. So what they say about the War **today** doesn't mean a thing. It's free swings at the guy in the White House.

What does mean a heap, though, is what those Senators said a few years back when their party was in power and was building up the war. Then they had a big influence in which way their country went—and they all supported a big U.S. war machine in Vietnam.

Look at the way they talked back in the mid-Sixties.

EDWARD E. KENNEDY . . . November 1965, Lowell Technological Institute "Are we going to say to the 17 million people of South Vietnam that because you have not been able to establish a national identity that you are going to be taken over by a strong aggressive force? . . . Are we concerned at all about people in a far and distant land? Do we want to defend freedom? We do, because this is our commitment, our heritage, our destiny . . ."

March 6, 1966, Meet the Press . . . "I would like to tell you what my position is on Vietnam, Mrs. Dickerson. I support our fundamental commitment in Vietnam. I realize, as all Americans do, that we have some 235,000 American fighting men who are there to see that this commitment is fulfilled. I support our commitment. It was made some time ago, but I believe it is fundamental and it is sound. I believe that we have to utilize every resource in our power whether it is military or diplomatic to see that this commitment is fulfilled."

EDMUND MUSKIE . . . February 28, 1966, before the Philadelphia Allied Jewish Appeal "We believe that containment of expansionist communism regrettably involves direct confrontation from time to time and that to retreat from it is to undermine the prospects for stability and peace. We believe that the credibility of our world and our purpose as a nation is at stake; and that its loss would be an enormous setback for the forces of freedom."

October, 1967, in The Congressional Record . . . "There is no significant body of American opinion which would have us withdraw from Vietnam and abandon Southeast Asia to the dictates of Asian Communism."

HUBERT HUMPHREY . . . August, 1964, in Congress talking about Tonkin Gulf Resolution "It is my view that the minute we back away from commitments we have made in the defense of freedom, where the Communist powers are guilty of outright subversion and aggression, on that day the strength, the freedom and the honor of the United States starts to be eroded."

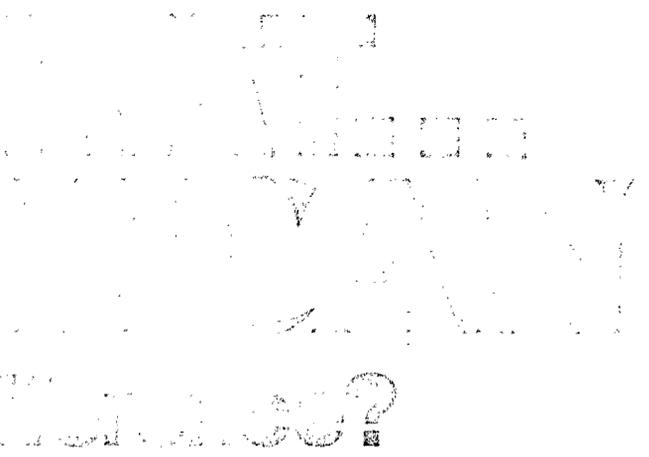
October 15, 1967, speech at Doylestown, Pa. . . . "Our own American security is at stake. That's why we're there."

BIRCH BAYH . . . September 1966, in the Congressional Record. "Responsible Americans realize that giving in to aggressors cannot stop them. That is why we are fighting in Vietnam."

That talk **WASN'T** cheap. It cost this country 50,000 lives in combat because those Senators had a chance to change American policy when their Democratic party was building up a 500,000 man Army in Vietnam.

They didn't change that policy. They supported it. They blew it!

For more detailed information contact
RSCCC Research Center
918 J Street
Sacramento, Ca 95814



Have you stereotyped 2,700,000 Californians?
 You have if you think Republicans are all big businessmen, just interested in making a fast buck, and going to the moon and dropping bigger bombs. That's what a lot of Democrat candidates would like you to think. It isn't true.

Republicans come from every ethnic and racial background, every economic level, every interest group in the state—just like Democrats! Republicans are rich and poor, hawks and doves, land barons and ecology crusaders—just like Democrats! Republicans are people who want to lay up a bigger war machine in Vietnam, and people who want every troop home tomorrow—just like Democrats! In short, Republicans are a pretty broad cross-section of people in this country—just like Democrats!

A political party is nothing more than a group of individuals. They can't do very much by themselves so they group together to get things done. Working together they can change a city, county, state, or nation.

Republican and Democrats are working toward the same goal—a good life for people. It's how they go to it that makes them different.

A Different Approach

The difference between Republicans and Democrats goes back 100 years to Abraham Lincoln—"In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere." His idea is still the guiding concept for the GOP today. It's a policy of trusting people to know what's right for them, and bringing in big government only if people can't handle a problem for themselves.

Republicans think that if there's a problem in Compton or Oakland or El Cajon, the people in Compton or Oakland or El Cajon ought to have the first shot at solving it. If they can't then call Sacramento or Washington for a little help, but not before the people have had a crack at it.

Democrat leaders are much quicker to ask Big Brother for answers. Democrats say that growing problems of our modern society make state and local government obsolete. People often can work out problems for themselves, but most Democrat leaders are quick to give them a chance at it. "Got a problem?" they cry. "Call Washington and get them to figure out what to do."

The difference shows up pretty dramatically in the things Republicans are doing these days.

What Republicans Are Doing

Republicans are trying to keep government from getting too big. Governor Reagan has kept the state payroll at about the same size during his 5 years in office. President Nixon is trying to get Congress to return some tax money to states, counties and cities in his revenue-sharing program. They both think that people working at home can do a better job solving many problems.

Considering that a third of the salary anyone earns is paid to the government in taxes, keeping the size of government down means a lot. Democrats propose many expensive programs for the federal government that sound great, but sooner or later someone who is holding down a job pays higher taxes for them.

Both Republicans and Democrats talk a lot about spending more money on people programs than on the military. But Republicans are the only ones who have actually done anything about it. In 1968 under the Democrats 32% of the federal budget was spent on human needs, 44% on the military.

This year, under President Nixon, 42% is going for human needs and only 34% for the military.

Republicanism means a lot more things, like asking for volunteers rather than telling people where to line up. It's reflected in things like Reagan's new volunteer conservation corps, Nixon's plan for an all-volunteer Army and his new ACTION corps of volunteers for humanity.

Republicanism means giving people a chance to do for themselves, like the welfare reforms both Nixon and Reagan have proposed that would give more to the really needy and help healthy people find decent jobs.

Republicans are tough to lump into one class. They stand for too many things, have too many good ideas. But one thing can be said about them. They know a single person is valuable. They respect him for what he is. In government that means letting a person do his best before bringing in Big Brother.

Isn't that what you want, too?

For more detailed information contact:
 RSDCC Research Center
 918 J Street
 Sacramento, Ca 95814

Year of '74—The Atlantic City is the single biggest...

...of young people... every year in this country...

...of other people... The drug business...

Drug abuse is the biggest killer of people between 15 and 25...

...of people in high school...

...of the money... that cracks down on legal drug dealers...

The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs is confident to crack down on illegal drug...

...of the use of narcotics... when he pushed legislation through Congress...

...that cracks down on legal drug dealers who run an illegal...

Life isn't so good counterports many Republican...

San Francisco, Ca write

Of course not. And neither does anyone else. You could ask every one of the 20 million people in California whether they are for or against air pollution and you probably wouldn't find anyone who favors smog — and the same thing goes for water pollution, oil spills, rape of the countryside and all the other ecological bad trips going on around us today.

But the way some Democrat politicians talk you'd think that they are the only ones interested in a decent environment — at least that's what they'd like you to believe! Some Democrats would like you to think that Governor Reagan, President Nixon and other Republican lawmakers are the only obstacles between us and clean air, clear streams, the end to urban sprawl and maybe even tooth decay!

No way. People who say that are trying to blow a little political smog over the real picture on the environment. The big environmental problems are tough, and the answers come just as hard.

The environment is not a partisan issue. A lot of Democrats and a lot of Republicans are working very hard on environmental problems. But when it comes down to legislation and executive action Republicans have actually accomplished more than the Democrats! The GOP solutions tend to be more practical, and thus more effective. A case in point.

A Democrat Senator last year got a lot of attention when he proposed the ultimate answer to air pollution — a total ban on all cars. A great gimmick, but was it practical? No. It ignored the problem of how people get around if they don't have cars (would you be willing to completely give up the use of a car?). That bill never passed.

What did get into law was a Republican measure that got much less attention but will do a job on air pollution. It sets really tough standards for all new cars — and slaps a \$5,000 fine on car makers for each vehicle that violates those standards! Auto manufacturers are howling about it, but the new Republican law is a major practical step toward ending air pollution.

Here are some other examples of practical work on environmental problems by Republicans:

- More than a dozen Republican bills that get at real air pollution problems were enacted in 1970 by the California Legislature.
- Governor Reagan: blocked the ecologically disastrous Don Rice Dam on the Eel River; made the Middle Fork of the Yuba River a protected wild river and blocked construction of the Lake Red Bluff which would have cut the John Muir Trail in half.

- Governor Reagan stopped all oil drilling in the state-controlled areas of Santa Barbara Channel more than 2 years ago. President Nixon reduced drilling in the federal areas of the channel, trying to solve a problem that the last Democrat President caused when he sold \$302 million worth of oil leases in the channel.
- President Nixon set up the Environmental Protection Agency, the first federal group with overall responsibility for enforcing federal environmental standards. A noise control office and population control commission are also in operation under Nixon.
- Under Governor Reagan, California has acquired 36,000 acres of state park land, 27.8 miles of ocean frontage, 22.8 miles of lake frontage and 10.3 miles of river front. The President and the Governor got together to open up a prime six mile section of beach on Camp Pendleton.
- Governor Reagan clamped a tight lid on the use of DDT.
- President Nixon set up a Council on Environmental Quality that will pave the way, through research, for federal action to improve the environment.
- The California State Republican Chairman, attorney Pat Livermore, has won many cases for conservation causes in the past 10 years, including the Audubon Society, National Wildlife Federation, Sierra Club and others. He's an environmental activist, not a talker.
- President Nixon has given Congress a long string of measures to solve specific problems, such as a \$12 billion clean-water program, heavy taxes on industrial sulfur emissions and lead in gasoline, and more federal park and recreation lands. Democrat leaders in Congress are still sitting on most of the Nixon proposals.

Republicans like Dick Nixon are not inclined to talk about the environment in simple terms. But they work as hard or harder — and usually more effectively — to find workable solutions to environmental problems. And that's just good clean air on the subject!

For more detailed information contact
RSCCC Research Center
918 J Street
Sacramento, Ca 95614



When Richard Nixon was elected three years ago the economy of this country was in bad shape. It was booming all right, but it was a boom based on the false benefits of a war. In addition, inflation was getting out of hand.

When Nixon took office he set two economic goals for the country: change the national economy from war production to peaceful activities, and slow the rate of inflation that was eating away the income of every American.

The prosperity of the late Sixties was based on a war program which sent more than 500,000 employable men to the jungles of Indochina and put many, many more people into jobs which directly supported that war. In the last several years 1,200,000 persons have lost jobs as a direct result of defense spending cutbacks. Many more indirectly are out of work because of it. Obviously the quickest way of putting these people back to work would be another Vietnam. That's not the course Richard Nixon is following.

Actually, unemployment now is much lower than in any previous end-of-war transition. For the last 25 years unemployment in this country has averaged 4.6% and that includes many war boom years. In the previous 25 years it averaged 10.6%. Unemployment got up to 6.2% in the current recession, but is dropping now. It's between 5.5% and 6%, and is still going down. And the most optimistic employment goal of virtually all economists still calls for a 4% permanent unemployment rate.

At the same time the President's strong economic medicine is cutting down the high rate of inflation, another product of our war-time boom. Inflation was up to 5.9% a year in 1970. It now has slowed to 4.2%.

The U. S. inflation rate is now lower than those of almost all of the world's industrial nations. Only Belgium, Canada and Greece of the major nations had a lower increase in consumer prices during the last year than the United States.

There are a lot of other signs telling us that the economic situation is actually better. Third-rank indicators: The gross national product, up 2.5% from the end of 1969; and personal consumption, up 4% . . . non-defense outlay, up 2.7% . . . industrial production, rising this year at an annual rate of 4 1/4%.

So what has Nixon actually done to bring about these changes in our economy?

Well, the two most dramatic moves have been his continuing shift from military programs to people programs and the 90-day wage-price freeze he instituted in August. Both were the actions of a strong man determined to achieve his goals.

Starting in 1969 the federal government under Nixon shifted its emphasis drastically from military spending to spending for human needs. For the first time in 20 years more federal funds now are allocated to solving human problems than to the military. Defense spending has dropped from 44% of the federal budget in 1968 to 34% for 1972. Spending for human needs has jumped from \$57 billion in 1968 to \$96 billion for 1972!

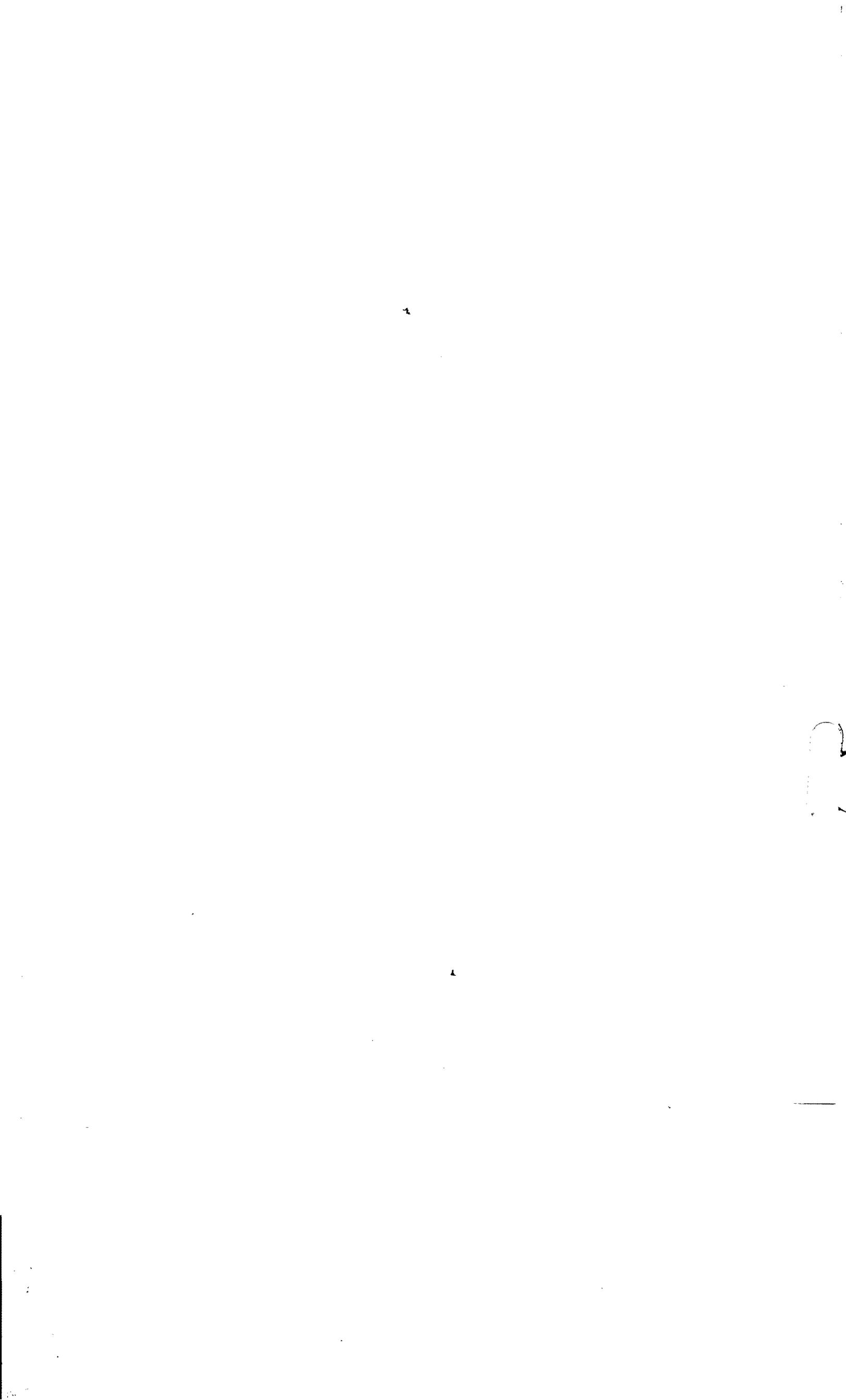
There have been other, less spectacular moves such as issuing periodic "Inflation Alerts" to focus public attention on economic problems. In our media-oriented society they have done a lot to hold down price increases by big business. Nixon set up a Regulations and Purchasing Review Board to control government's impact on the economy. He named a National Commission on Productivity to develop new methods of improving economic growth. And there has been a lot of stern talk in private with major business and labor leaders, because without their cooperation the economic picture cannot improve.

Is the Nixon program working? It appears to be. Certainly he is making a major conversion from a war-oriented to a peace economy. And the unemployment and inflation rates are going down.

Those were his major goals.

President Nixon has shown that he wants to reach those goals. And he's shown that he is strong enough — and willing — to do whatever is necessary to get there. It's a good show all the way around.

For more detailed information contact
 SACOG Research Center
 2000
 Sacramento, Ca 95814



PRIMARY MEDIA - Newspapers

| <u>GROUP I</u> | <u>Circulation</u> |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| <u>New York</u> | |
| The New York Times | 1,500,000 |
| The New York Post, | 342,651 |
| The New York Daily & Sunday News | 2,035,498 |
| <u>Los Angeles</u> | |
| Times | 1,165,396 |
| Herald-Examiner | 669,943 |
| <u>Chicago</u> | |
| Tribune | 1,178,515 |
| Sun-Times | 693,178 |
| News | 466,392 |
| <u>Philadelphia</u> | |
| The Bulletin | 717,559 |
| Inquirer | 956,206 |
| News | 245,503 |
| <u>San Francisco - Oakland</u> | |
| San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle | 750,000 |
| The Oakland Tribune | 232,450 |
| <u>Detroit</u> | |
| News | 917,360 |
| Free Press | 555,779 |
| <u>Boston</u> | |
| Globe | 532,600 |
| Herald-Traveler | 280,099 |
| Advertiser | 417,738 |

Group I (continued)

| | <u>Circulation</u> |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| <u>Cleveland</u> | |
| Plain Dealer | 522,391 |
| Press | 370,759 |
| <u>Washington</u> | |
| Post | 553,012 |
| Star | 351,015 |
| News | 220,629 |
| <u>Pittsburgh</u> | |
| Press | 741,139 |
| Post-Gazette | 252,291 |
| <u>GROUP 2</u> | |
| <u>St. Louis</u> | |
| Post-Dispatch | 566,562 |
| Globe-Democrat | 343,016 |
| <u>Dallas - Fort Worth</u> | |
| Times Herald | 232,643 |
| News | 262,441 |
| Fort Worth Star-Telegram | 214,409 |
| Fort Worth Press | 60,556 |
| <u>Minneapolis - St. Paul</u> | |
| Minneapolis Tribune | 666,874 |
| St. Paul Pioneer Press | 208,581 |
| <u>Houston</u> | |
| Chronicle | 315,098 |
| Post | 289,009 |
| <u>Baltimore</u> | |
| News American | 310,264 |
| Sun | 345,158 |
| <u>Milwaukee</u> | |
| Journal | 551,969 |
| Sentinel | 165,391 |

| | <u>Circulation</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| <u>Group 2 (continued)</u> | |
| <u>Seattle</u> | |
| Times | 277,090 |
| Post-Intelligencer | 239,198 |
| <u>Miami</u> | |
| Herald | 421,092 |
| News | 115,174 |
| <u>Cincinnati</u> | |
| Enquirer | 289,071 |
| Post & Times-Star | 243,587 |
| <u>Kansas City</u> | |
| Times | 392,378 |
| <u>GROUP 3</u> | |
| <u>Buffalo</u> | |
| Courier-Express | 299,377 |
| News | 279,780 |
| <u>Indianapolis</u> | |
| Star | 352,391 |
| News | 172,085 |
| <u>Atlanta</u> | |
| Journal Constitution | 499,763 |
| <u>Denver</u> | |
| Post | 339,533 |
| Rocky Mountain News | 202,000 |
| <u>San Diego</u> | |
| Union | 219,776 |
| Tribune | 113,647 |
| <u>Portland</u> | |
| Oregonian | 384,694 |
| Oregon Journal | 146,403 |

Group 3 (continued)

| | <u>Circulation</u> |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| <u>Columbus</u> | |
| Dispatch | 303,744 |
| Citizen-Journal | 110,241 |
| <u>Rochester</u> | |
| Democrat & Chronicle | 210,387 |
| <u>Hartford</u> | |
| Courant | 184,964 |
| Times | 135,608 |
| <u>Dayton</u> | |
| News | 203,904 |
| Journal Herald | 102,362 |
| | |
| <u>GROUP 4</u> | |
| <u>New Orleans</u> | |
| Times-Picayune | 306,325 |
| <u>Toledo</u> | |
| Blade | 186,074 |
| <u>Louisville</u> | |
| Courier-Journal | 338,841 |
| <u>Providence</u> | |
| Journal | 200,259 |
| <u>Charlotte</u> | |
| Observer | 196,616 |
| <u>Syracuse</u> | |
| Herald-American-Post-Standard | 246,935 |
| <u>Phoenix</u> | |
| Republic | 215,445 |

Group 4 (continued)

| | <u>Circulation</u> |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| <u>Albany</u> | |
| Times-Union | 122,607 |
| Knickerbocker News | 55,425 |
| <u>Oklahoma City</u> | |
| Oklahoman | 287,506 |
| Oklahoma Journal | 73,829 |
| <u>Grand Rapids</u> | |
| Press | 114,968 |

PRIMARY MEDIA

Magazines with General Circulation

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------|
| Glamour | 1,300,000 |
| Mademoiselle | 600,000 |
| Seventeen | 1,150,000 |
| Ingenué | 650,000 |
| Town & Country | 93,000 |
| McCall's | 8,400,000 |
| Ladies Home Journal | 6,700,000 |
| Cosmopolitan | 900,000 |
| Coronet | 400,000 |
| Red Book | 4,000,000 |
| Family Circle | 7,500,000 |
| Bride's | 201,000 |
| House Beautiful | 975,000 |
| Better Homes & Gardens | 6,500,000 |
| House & Garden | 1,150,000 |
| American Home | 3,350,000 |
| Good Housekeeping | |
| Gourmet | 225,000 |
| Holiday | 1,000,000 |
| Life | 7,000,000 |
| New Yorker | 463,800 |
| Pageant | 471,400 |
| Reader's Digest | 15,213,200 |
| Sunset | 780,700 |
| Cue | 200,000 |
| Atlantic Monthly | 280,000 |
| Catholic Digest | 700,000 |
| Fortune | 400,000 |
| Business Week | 470,000 |
| U. S. News and World Report | 1,400,000 |
| Newsweek | 1,600,000 |
| Time | 2,950,000 |
| Venture | 200,000 |
| Skiing | 100,000 |
| Sports Illustrated | 1,200,000 |
| Esquire | 875,000 |
| Playboy | 3,000,000 |

PRIMARY MEDIA

Magazines with Special Circulation

American Way (American Airlines)
New Horizons (Pan American Airways)
Clipper (Pan American Airways)
Promenade (Hotel Association)
TWA Ambassador (Trans World Airlines)
Travel & Leisure (American Express)
Airlines (Gardner-Denver Co.)
Signature (Diner's Club)
Carte Blanche
Mainliner (United Airlines)

Syndicated Magazine Supplements to Newspapers

This Week Magazine - circulation 14,000,000 (40 newspapers)
Parade - circulation 12,000,000 (32 newspapers)
Metro Group - goes to 100 newspapers but pickup is optional
Tuesday - black-oriented supplement to major daily newspapers
Family Weekly - 8,000,000

PRIMARY MEDIA

Syndicates

AP Newsfeatures

Associated Press News Photos

Bell-McClure

Canada Wide Feature Service Ltd.

Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate

Copley News Service

Fairchild News Service

King Features

Gannett News Service

Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service

Berta Mohr Fashion Syndicate

The New York Times News Service

Newspaper Enterprise Association

North American Newspaper Alliance

United Features Syndicate, Inc.

UPI Feature Service

Women's News Service



SECONDARY MEDIA

| | <u>Circulation</u> |
|---|--------------------|
| Birmingham, Ala. NEWS | 221,421 |
| Birmingham, Ala. POST HERALD | 85,398 |
| Dothan, Ala. EAGLE | 27,190 |
| Huntsville, Ala. TIMES | 49,484 |
| Montgomery, Ala. ADVERTISER | 81,485 |
| Anchorage, Alaska TIMES | 28,988 |
| Tuscon, Ariz. STAR | 65,481 |
| Tuscon, Ariz. CITIZEN | 41,969 |
| Fort Smith, Ark. SOUTHWEST-TIMES RECORD | 34,193 |
| Little Rock, Ark. GAZETTE | 114,716 |
| Little Rock, Ark. DEMOCRAT | 98,812 |
| Texarkana, Ark. GAZETTE | 30,171 |
| Bakersfield, Cal. CALIFORNIAN | 45,187 |
| Fresno, Cal. BEE | 140,338 |
| Hayward, Cal. REVIEW | 32,973 |
| Hollywood, Cal. CITIZEN-NEWS | 27,738 |
| Long Beach, Cal. PRESS-TELEGRAM | 140,210 |
| Modesto, Cal. BEE | 43,616 |
| Monterey, Cal. PENINSULA HERALD | 26,699 |
| Newport Beach, Cal. PILOT | 29,614 |
| No. Hollywood, Cal. VALLEY TIMES | 30,708 |
| Ontario, Cal. REPORT | 26,082 |
| Palo Alto, Cal. TIMES | 40,977 |
| Pasadena, Cal. INDEPENDENT STAR-NEWS | 56,030 |
| Pomona, Cal. PROGRESS-BULLETIN | 39,800 |
| Richmond, Cal. INDEPENDENT | 36,690 |
| Riverside, Cal. PRESS -ENTERPRISE | 69,162 |
| Sacramento, Cal. BEE | 194,251 |
| Sacramento, Cal. UNION | 50,580 |
| San Bernardino, Cal. SUN-TELEGRAM | 73,878 |
| San Jose, Cal. MERCURY-NEWS | 153,213 |
| San Mateo, Cal. TIMES & DAILY NEWS LEADER | 34,247 |
| San Rafael, Cal. INDEPENDENT-JOURNAL | 36,878 |
| Santa Ana, Cal. REGISTER | 102,296 |
| Santa Barbara, Cal. NEWS-PRESS | 37,877 |
| Santa Monica, Cal. OUTLOOK | 31,045 |
| Santa Rosa, Cal. PRESS DEMOCRAT | 43,444 |
| Stockton, Cal. RECORD | 61,511 |
| Torrance, Cal. SOUTH BAY DAILY BREEZE | 39,114 |

| | <u>Circulation</u> |
|--|--------------------|
| Callejo, Cal. TIMES-HERALD | 27,029 |
| Van Nuys, Cal. VALLEY NEWS | 47,338 |
| Ventura, Cal. STAR-FREE PRESS | 28,701 |
| West Covina, Cal. TRIBUNE | 68,985 |
| Colorado Spring, Colo. GAZETTE-TELEGRAPH | 36,696 |
| Pueblo, Colo. STAR JOURNAL & CHIEFTAIN | 44,164 |
| Bridgeport, Conn. POST | 79,235 |
| Bridgeport, Conn. HERALD | 53,598 |
| Danbury, Conn. NEWS-TIMES | 25,394 |
| Meriden, Conn. MORNING RECORD | 29,325 |
| New Britain, Conn. HERALD | 32,048 |
| New Haven, Conn. REGISTER | 115,186 |
| New Haven, Conn. JOURNAL-COURIER | 31,564 |
| New London, Conn. DAY | 33,903 |
| Norwich, Conn. BULLETIN | 27,215 |
| Waterbury, Conn. REPUBLICAN | 52,173 |
| Wilmington, Del. NEWS-JOURNAL | 84,006 |
| Clearwater, Fla. SUN | 27,157 |
| Daytona Beach, Fla. NEWS-JOURNAL | 42,982 |
| Fort Lauderdale, Fla. NEWS | 85,188 |
| Fort Myers, Fla. NEWS-PRESS | 26,620 |
| Hollywood, Fla. SUN-TATLER | 26,295 |
| Jacksonville, Fla. TIMES-UNION | 170,795 |
| Jacksonville, Fla. JOURNAL | 52,511 |
| Orlando, Fla. SENTINEL-STAR | 139,234 |
| Pensacola, Fla. NEWS-JOURNAL | 63,459 |
| Pompano Beach, Fla. SUN-SENTINEL | 27,065 |
| St. Petersburg, Fla. TIMES | 145,245 |
| St. Petersburg, Fla. INDEPENDENT | 27,973 |
| Sarasota, Fla. HERALD-TRIBUNE | 31,781 |
| Tampa, Fla. TRIBUNE | 175,631 |
| Tampa, Fla. TIMES | 41,952 |
| West Palm Beach, Fla. POST-TIMES | 56,027 |
| Albany, Ga. HERALD | 30,463 |
| Augusta, Ga. CHRONICLE-HERALD | 59,824 |
| Columbus, Ga. LEDGER-ENQUIRER | 56,943 |
| Columbus, Ga. ENQUIRER | 33,903 |
| Macon, Ga. TELEGRAPH & NEWS | 65,796 |
| Savannah, Ga. NEWS | 62,472 |

| | <u>Circulation</u> |
|--|--------------------|
| Honolulu, Hawaii STAR BULLETIN | 107,976 |
| Honolulu, Hawaii ADVERTISER | 152,156 |
| Boise, Idaho STATESMAN | 48,405 |
| Alton, Ill. TELEGRAPH | 35,668 |
| Aurora, Ill. BEACON-NEWS | 34,554 |
| Belleville, Ill. NEWS-DEMOCRAT | 27,872 |
| Bloomington, Ill. PANTAGRAPH | 40,847 |
| Carbondale, Ill. SOUTHERN ILLINOISAN | 26,256 |
| Champaign, Ill. NEWS-GAZETTE | 32,663 |
| Champaign, Ill. COURIER | 29,992 |
| Danville, Ill. COMMERCIAL-NEWS | 36,604 |
| Decatur, Ill. HERALD-REVIEW | 55,892 |
| East St. Louis, Ill. METRO-EAST JOURNAL | 35,047 |
| Elgin, Ill. COURIER-NEWS | 28,545 |
| Joliet, Ill. HERALD-NEWS | 39,817 |
| Kankakee, Ill. JOURNAL | 30,321 |
| Peoria, Ill. JOURNAL-STAR | 103,111 |
| Quincy, Ill. HERALD-WHIG | 31,654 |
| Rockford, Ill. STAR | 77,470 |
| Rock Island, Ill. ARGUS | 26,201 |
| Springfield, Ill. STATE JOURNAL & REGISTER | 70,484 |
| Waukegan, Ill. NEWS-SUN | 34,823 |
| Elkhart, Ind. TRUTH | 25,312 |
| Evansville, Ind. COURIER & PRESS | 107,083 |
| Fort Wayne, Ind. JOURNAL-GAZETTE | 101,967 |
| Gary, Ind. POST-TRIBUNE | 67,832 |
| Hammond, Ind. TIMES | 64,913 |
| Kokomo, Ind. TRIBUNE | 26,321 |
| Lafayette, Ind. JOURNAL & COURIER | 44,400 |
| Muncie, Ind. STAR | 34,822 |
| Richmond, Ind. PALLADIUM-ITEM | 29,475 |
| South Bend, Ind. TRIBUNE | 123,970 |
| Cedar Rapids, Iowa GAZETTE | 73,192 |
| Davenport, Iowa TIMES-DEMOCRAT | 73,056 |
| Des Moines, Iowa REGISTER | 507,038 |
| Dubuque, Iowa TELEGRAPH-HERALD | 42,273 |
| Mason City, Iowa GLOBE-GAZETTE | 26,387 |
| Sioux City, Iowa JOURNAL | 55,679 |
| Waterloo, Iowa COURIER | 53,737 |

| | <u>Circulation</u> |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Hutchinson, Kans. NEWS | 53,167 |
| Kansas City, Kans. KANSAN | 33,046 |
| Terre Haute, Ind. TRIBUNE-STAR | 44,072 |
| Topeka, Kans. CAPITAL-JOURNAL | 73,112 |
| Salina, Kans. JOURNAL | 31,678 |
| Wichita, Kans. EAGLE & BEACON | 158,842 |
| Covington, Ky. POST & TIMES STAR | 54,833 |
| Lexington, Ky. HERALD-LEADER | 71,923 |
| Owensboro, Ky. MESSENGER & INQUIRER | 27,435 |
| Paducah, Ky. SUN-DEMOCRAT | 29,725 |
| Alexandria, La. TOWN TALK | 26,393 |
| Baton Rouge, La. ADVOCATE | 75,701 |
| Lake Charles, La. AMERICAN PRESS | 31,399 |
| Monroe, La. WORLD | 44,093 |
| Shreveport, La. TIMES | 114,868 |
| Shreveport, La. JOURNAL | 43,869 |
| Bangor, Me. NEWS | 79,208 |
| Lewiston, Me. SUN | 31,803 |
| Portland, Me. TELEGRAM | 105,712 |
| Cumberland, Md. TIMES | 33,441 |
| Salisbury, Md. TIMES | 25,635 |
| Brockton, Mass. ENTERPRISE & TIMES | 49,594 |
| Fall River, Mass. HERALD-NEWS | 40,258 |
| Holyoke, Mass. TRANSCRIPT-TELEGRAM | 27,020 |
| Lawrence, Mass. EAGLE-TRIBUNE | 43,410 |
| Lowell, Mass. SUN | 44,619 |
| Lynn, Mass. ITEM-TELEGRAM NEWS | 34,355 |
| New Bedford, Mass. STANDARD-TIMES | 59,258 |
| Pittsfield, Mass. BERKSHIRE EAGLE | 29,404 |
| Quincy, Mass. PATRIOT-LEDGER | 51,098 |
| Salem, Mass. NEWS | 27,002 |
| Springfield, Mass. REPUBLICAN | 115,966 |
| Worcester, Mass. TELEGRAM | 104,910 |
| Worcester, Mass. GAZETTE | 94,357 |
| Ann Arbor, Mich. NEWS | 33,162 |
| Battle Creek, Mich. ENQUIRER & NEWS | 40,139 |
| Bay City, Mich. TIMES | 39,345 |
| Benton Harbor, Mich. NEWS-PALLADIUM | 33,776 |

Circulation

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| Flint, Mich. JOURNAL | 108,182 |
| Jackson, Mich. CITIZEN PATRIOT | 39,579 |
| Kalamazoo, Mich. GAZETTE | 56,655 |
| Lansing, Mich. STATE JOURNAL | 75,286 |
| Mount Clemens, Mich. MACOMB DAILY | 38,693 |
| Muskegon, Mich. CHRONICLE | 47,923 |
| Pontiac, Mich. PRESS | 69,627 |
| Port Huron, Mich. TIMES HERALD | 35,010 |
| Royal Oak, Mich. TRIBUNE | 58,052 |
| Saginaw, Mich. NEWS | 57,361 |
| Duluth, Minn. NEWS TRIBUNE | 77,464 |
| Rochester, Minn. POST BULLETIN | 28,675 |
| Gulfport, Miss. HERALD | 31,948 |
| Jackson, Miss. CLARION LEDGER | 99,491 |
| Jackson, Miss. NEWS | 54,927 |
| Joplin, Mo. GLOBE | 34,591 |
| St. Joseph, Mo. NEWS-PRESS | 50,255 |
| Springfield, Mo. NEWS & LEADER | 73,245 |
| Billings, Mont. GAZETTE | 51,055 |
| Great Falls, Mont. TRIBUNE | 44,091 |
| Lincoln, Nebr. JOURNAL-STAR | 57,011 |
| Omaha, Nebr. WORLD-HERALD | 273,599 |
| Las Vegas, Nev. REVIEW-JOURNAL | 48,977 |
| Las Vegas, Nev. SUN | 26,883 |
| Reno, Nev. STATE JOURNAL | 30,347 |
| Manchester, N.H. SUNDAY NEWS | 45,730 |
| Asbury Park, N.J. PRESS | 52,245 |
| Atlantic City, N.J. PRESS | 58,702 |
| Camden, N.J. COURIER-POST | 99,700 |
| Hackensack, N.J. RECORD | 137,868 |
| Jersey City, N.J. JOURNAL | 92,433 |
| Morristown, N.J. DAILY RECORD | 32,528 |
| Newark, N.J. NEWS | 427,240 |
| Newark, N.J. STAR-LEDGER | 390,627 |

Circulation

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|
| Akron, Ohio BEACON JOURNAL | 193,287 |
| Canton, Ohio REPOSITORY | 82,710 |
| Elyria, Ohio CHRONICLE-TELEGRAM | 27,789 |
| Hamilton, Ohio JOURNAL-NEWS | 27,374 |
| Lima, Ohio NEWS | 46,100 |
| Lorain, Ohio JOURNAL | 32,291 |
| Mansfield, Ohio NEWS-JOURNAL | 42,880 |
| Springfield, Ohio NEWS-SUN | 42,118 |
| Steubenville, Ohio HERALD-STAR | 31,190 |
| Youngstown, Ohio VINDICATOR | 147,389 |
| Zanesville, Ohio TIMES RECORDER | 31,316 |
| Tulsa, Okla. WORLD | 169,415 |
| Tulsa, Okla. TRIBUNE | 79,031 |
| Eugene, Ore. REGISTER GUARD | 48,290 |
| Salem, Ore. STATESMAN | 32,348 |
| Allentown, Pa. CALL | 85,606 |
| Allentown, Pa. CHRONICLE | 111,707 |
| Altoona, Pa. MIRROR | 33,864 |
| Beaver, Pa. COUNTY TIMES | 31,202 |
| Bethlehem, Pa. GLOBE-TIMES | 30,785 |
| Butler, Pa. EAGLE | 25,224 |
| Chester, Pa. DELAWARE COUNTY TIMES | 46,876 |
| Easton, Pa. EXPRESS | 49,372 |
| Erie, Pa. TIMES-NEWS | 87,771 |
| Harrisburg, Pa. PATRIOT-NEWS | 161,086 |
| Johnstown, Pa. TRIBUNE-DEMOCRAT | 59,001 |
| Lancaster, Pa. NEWS | 102,008 |
| Lebanon, Pa. NEWS | 25,542 |
| McKeesport, Pa. NEWS | 37,627 |
| Norristown, Pa. TIMES-HERALD | 29,704 |
| Pottsville, Pa. REPUBLICAN | 27,307 |
| Reading, Pa. EAGLE | 79,725 |
| Reading, Pa. TIMES | 40,071 |
| Scranton, Pa. TIMES | 55,872 |
| Wilkes-Barre, Pa. TIMES-LEADER, NEWS | 52,417 |
| Wilkes-Barre, Pa. SUNDAY INDEPENDENT | 49,996 |
| Williamsport, Pa. GRIT | 986,844 |
| Williamsport, Pa. SUN-GAZETTE | 30,416 |
| York, Pa. DISPATCH | 42,056 |
| York, Pa. GAZETTE & DAILY | 38,146 |

Circulation

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|
| Pawtucket, R.I. TIMES | 38,836 |
| Woonsocket, R.I. CALL | 29,084 |
| Anderson, S. C. INDEPENDENT | 52,579 |
| Charleston, S. C. NEWS & COURIER | 82,608 |
| Columbia, S. C. STATE | 108,914 |
| Columbia, S. C. RECORD | 29,738 |
| Greenville, S. C. NEWS | 92,647 |
| Rapid City, S. D. JOURNAL | 30,487 |
| Sioux Falls, S. D. ARGUS-LEADER | 54,724 |
| Chattanooga, Tenn. TIMES | 86,562 |
| Chattanooga, Tenn. NEWS-FREE PRESS | 60,897 |
| Kingsport, Tenn. TIMES-NEWS | 26,133 |
| Knoxville, Tenn. NEWS-SENTINEL | 150,032 |
| Knoxville, Tenn. JOURNAL | 66,422 |
| Memphis, Tenn. COMMERCIAL APPEAL | 268,515 |
| Memphis, Tenn. PRESS-SCIMITAR | 133,258 |
| Nashville, Tenn. TENNESSEAN | 222,693 |
| Nashville, Tenn. BANNER | 99,525 |
| Abilene, Tex. REPORTER-NEWS | 50,024 |
| Amarillo, Tex. NEWS - GLOBE | 79,280 |
| Austin, Tex. AMERICAN-STATESMAN | 65,496 |
| Beaumont, Tex. ENTERPRISE | 75,959 |
| Beaumont, Texas JOURNAL | 24,858 |
| Corpus Christi, Tex. CALLER-TIMES | 78,121 |
| El Paso, Tex. TIMES | 82,650 |
| Lubbock, Tex. AVALANCHE-JOURNAL | 72,969 |
| Odessa, Tex. AMERICAN | 35,431 |
| Port Arthur, Tex. NEWS | 28,115 |
| San Angelo, Tex. STANDARD-TIMES | 40,883 |
| San Antonio, Tex. LIGHT | 135,836 |
| San Antonio, Tex. EXPRESS-NEWS | 102,470 |
| Tyler, Tex. COURIER-TIMES-TELEGRAPH | 29,698 |
| Waco, Tex. TRIBUNE-HERALD | 48,503 |
| Wichita Falls, Tex. TIMES | 45,039 |
| Ogden, Utah STANDARD-EXAMINER | 37,558 |
| Salt Lake City, Utah TRIBUNE | 190,454 |
| Salt Lake City, Utah DESERT NEWS | 89,141 |
| Burlington, Vt. FREE PRESS | 36,468 |
| Bristol, Va. HERALD COURIER | 28,373 |
| Lynchburg, Va. NEWS | 30,286 |
| Newport News, Va. PRESS | 67,654 |
| Norfolk, Va. VIRGINIAN-PILOT | 165,920 |
| Norfolk, Va. LEDGER-STAR | 105,148 |

Circulation

| | |
|---|---------|
| Richmond, Va. TIMES-DISPATCH | 197,387 |
| Richmond, Va. NEWS LEADER | 126,574 |
| Roanoke, Va. TIMES | 98,473 |
| Everett, Wash. HERALD | 33,651 |
| Spokane, Wash. SPOKESMAN-REVIEW | 129,741 |
| Tacoma, Wash. TRIBUNE & LEDGER | 85,785 |
| Vancouver, Wash. COLUMBIAN | 28,491 |
| Yakima, Wash. HERALD | 35,129 |
| Beckley, W.Va. POST-HERALD | 28,506 |
| Bluefield, W. Va., DAILY TELEGRAPH | 35,216 |
| Charleston, W. Va. MAIL | 106,402 |
| Clarksburg, W.Va. EXPONENT ¹ -TELEGRAM | 36,211 |
| Huntington, W.Va. HERALD-ADVERTISER | 59,263 |
| Parkesburg, W.Va. NEWS | 31,346 |
| Wheeling, W.Va. NEWS-REGISTER | 57,065 |
| Appleton, Wisc. POST-CRESCENT | 45,354 |
| Green Bay, Wisc. PRESS GAZETTE | 52,170 |
| Janesville, Wisc. GAZETTE | 26,645 |
| Kenosha, Wisc. NEWS | 27,395 |
| La Crosse, Wisc. TRIBUNE | 33,427 |
| Madison, Wisc. STATE JOURNAL | 101,564 |
| Oshkosh, Wisc. NORTHWESTERN | 27,181 |
| Racine, Wisc. BULLETIN | 36,923 |
| Sheboygan, Wisc. PRESS | 29,275 |