

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>
36	1	9/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten note relating to campaign finances. 3 pgs.
36	1	9/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to the Budget Committee of the CRP RE: notes from that entity's recent meeting. 2 pgs.
36	1	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to "the Staff" RE: the campaign staff between September 6 and November. 1 pg.
36	1	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes of a meeting involving MacGregor, Stans, Barik, Mitchell, Odle, and others on various campaign topics. 4 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>
36	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Post-April 7, 1972 Committee for the Re-Election of the President budget. 1 pg.
36	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Financial Records	Budget for the Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President. 3 pgs.
36	1	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to members of the Budget Committee RE: notes from the committee's recent meeting. 2 pgs.
36	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Financial Records	Post-April 7, 1972 Committee for the Re-Election of the President budget. 1 pg.
36	1	9/9/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Financial Records	Budget for the Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President as of September 9, 1972. 3 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>
36	1	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Notes on various campaign topics, particularly those involving Dent. 2 pgs.
36	1	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to RN RE: the results of state primaries held on September 12, 1972. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 4 pgs.
36	1	8/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Brad E. Hainsworth to Dent RE: Oklahoma's 1972 state and national election outlooks. 2 pgs.
36	1	8/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Hainsworth to Dent RE: Georgia's 1972 political outlook. 2 pgs.
36	1	9/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Hainsworth to Dent RE: the state of Nevada politics in September 1972. 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>
36	1	8/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Hainsworth to Dent RE: Wyoming's political outlook in the 1972 campaign. 1 pg.
36	1	8/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on various campaign matters, including campaign finance challenges. 2 pgs.
36	1	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Hainsworth to Dent RE: the state of North Dakota politics in September 1972. 1 pg.
36	1	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Hainsworth to Dent RE: the political outlook of New Hampshire in the 1972 election. 1 pg.
36	1	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Hainsworth to Dent RE: New Hampshire political outlooks on the state and national level. 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>
36	1	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Agenda for a Budget Committee meeting. 1 pg.
36	1	9/14/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to campaign topics such as financing and relations with "1701." 1 pg.
36	1	9/5/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Handwritten notes relating to Chotiner and key campaign topics. 1 pg.
36	1	9/9/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle to Chotiner RE: mail priority within the CRP. 1 pg.
36	1	9/14/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: criticizing Kennedy, Humphrey, and Muskie for their support of McGovern. 2 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>
36	1	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: halting responses to the McGovern campaign on non-issues. 1 pg.
36	1	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: an announcement on the Roswell Employment Training Center which undermines the 1972 Republican campaign. 1 pg.
36	1	9/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	An "Albuquerque Journal" article titled "Director of Training Center Knocks Closing." 1 pg.
36	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on the success of certain campaign efforts, such as the use of speakers and commercials. 1 pg.
36	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to political meetings and campaign projects. 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>
36	1	8/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Reisner to Malek and Magruder RE: overlap in certain campaign economic activities. 1 pg.
36	1	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on campaign information obtained from Garment. 1 pg.
36	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes laying out Garment's work in the 1972 presidential campaign. 1 pg.
36	1	8/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From "Jeb" to "Gorden" RE: attached material. 1 pg.
36	1	8/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Garment to Magruder RE: attached campaign ideas. 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>
36	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From a member of Harvard University's Department of Government to Garment RE: campaign advice. 5 pgs.
36	1	8/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Paul Weaver to Garment RE: attached information from Lipset. 1 pg.
36	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	"Proposal for a 1972 Survey of American Professoriate" on the political campaign authored by Seymour Lipset and Everett Ladd, Jr. 7 pgs.
36	1	8/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Norman Podhoretz to Garment RE: attached articles relating to the election. 1 pg.
36	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	An article from "Commentary" titled "McGovern and the Jews: A Debate," written by Nathan Glazer and Milton Himmelfarb. 9 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>
36	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	A "Commentary" editorial written by Norman Podhoretz titled "Between Nixon and the New Politics." 3 pgs.
36	1	8/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Peter P. Witonski to Garment RE: a memo on intellectuals. 1 pg.
36	1	8/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Witonski to Garment RE: intellectual support for RN in 1972. 4 pgs.
36	1	9/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Strachan to Chapin RE: attached campaign documents. Handwritten noted added by unknown. 1 pg.
36	1	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to MacGregor RE: a joint advertising program involving Nixon State Chairmen and Nixon State Finance Chairmen. Proposed letters to the two groups attached. 8 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>
36	1	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From RN to C. Langhorne Washburn RE: advertising charges related to the presidential campaign. 2 pgs.
36	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relaying information obtained from "L," "G," and Collins. 1 pg.
36	1	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From MacGregor to Colson RE: the establishment of a committee for mailings to labor groups. 1 pg.
36	1	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Magruder RE: victory plans for various states. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
36	1	8/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Robert Morgan, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: Committee for the Re-election of the President campaign mailings to New Jersey and California. Draft of proposed letters and other mailings attached. 14 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>
36	1	8/28/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Morgan, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: campaign literature for Spanish speakers. Proposed letter and mailing information attached. 13 pgs.
36	1	7/14/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Morgan, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: options for mass campaign mailings. State data base schedule, budgets, and Committee Computer Programming Format Manual attached. 22 pgs.
36	1	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Marik, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: signatures for a New Jersey mailing. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
36	1	9/13/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: mailing strategy recommendations for key election states. 2 pgs.
36	1	9/12/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert Hatch to Robert Morgan RE: sending out a letter from the Committee for the Re-election of the President to members of important California unions. 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>
36	1	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to MacGregor RE: a letter to key county officials in Illinois. Draft of letter attached. 3 pgs.
36	1	8/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik to Morgan RE: letterheads and signatures on key campaign mailings. 6 pgs.
36	1	8/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Thomas G. Dunn to Marik RE: approving the use of his name on a Committee for the Re-election of the President mailing. 1 pg.
36	1	8/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Morgan, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: the use of a "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President" group to persuade Jewish voters to vote for RN. Material from the group attached. 14 pgs.
36	1	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to MacGregor RE: digital information on voters in key election states. 2 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>
36	1	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: obtaining Illinois Senator Percy's signature for a campaign letter, despite Haldeman's reservations. 1 pg.
36	1	9/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Malek RE: providing voter information to various states. 2 pgs.
36	1	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Morgan, through Magruder, to MacGregor RE: campaign mailing material for California, New Jersey, and Illinois. Campaign material attached. 26 pgs.
36	1	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to MacGregor RE: a campaign letter to food industry leaders. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
36	1	9/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Morgan to Magruder RE: a copy of a letter from Jen0 F. Paulucci to key food industry leaders. Handwritten notes added by unknown. Draft of letter and other relevant campaign material attached. 6 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
36	1	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to MacGregor RE: a letter to food industry leaders. Handwritten note added by unknown. Draft of letter and other relevant campaign material attached. 6 pg.

9/11

MF
F
S

A
S

Political matters

(La Rue, Bouché, and
Reisner)

Finances

(MacGregor, Stone, Evans, Maguire, Malek, Odle)

The Budget Committee met

Sep 6 in the first of the regular

meetings to review campaign expenditures.

~~Next weekly meetings will be held on~~
* ~~in the future~~

~~Monday so that advertising commitment
decisions can be made.~~

Gans' analysis was rather pessimistic
noting several of expenditures

exceeding budget allocations. ~~But~~ The

group decided to establish a living

freeze at 1701, with a total of 42?

~~30%~~
30%
punks

of which ^{approximately} 40% are professional and 60% are support.

Stans noted that receipts were not coming in as quickly as expected. He attributed this to the substantial amount of time he has had to spend on the Watergate Capers. He ~~noted~~ said that he could not ~~pleaded~~ ~~asked~~ that every contact all the people who have committed but not delivered. Only Kalmbach could help him out ~~of~~ successfully. Mac Gregor said he would talk with Kalmbach.

~~You indicated Mac Gregor will~~

Mac Gregor will try to increase
the states' contributions by use
of a Glans prepared quota chart.
The ~~only~~ states that ^{are} a real problem
are
~~is~~ Ohio - where Spence Shore, the
St. Repul Finance Chairman, has
incurred Glans' vengeful wrath;
Ind - where nothing has been
raised; and Pa - which ^{had been} after
~~logged down by~~ initial organizational problems.

~~seems~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEE

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

SUBJECT: Budget Committee Meeting, Wednesday, September 6, 1972

1. \$500,000 is to be deducted from direct mail and given to campaign materials.
2. The \$100,000 it will cost to run the women's surrogate program will be charged against the Tour Office's present budget.
3. Stans will not release any funds to November Group until it submits a \$6.2 million budget. (The \$6.2 million represents the total cost to Re-elect Committee -- not just media costs).
4. The convention budget is to be reviewed by Barrick and Timmons, and Timmons is then to attend the next Budget Committee meeting to discuss convention spending. Every convention item which can be charged against the RNC's Arrangement Committee budget will be charged against that budget.
5. Odle is to provide MacGregor and Stans with samples of the various Colson mailings.
6. \$200,000 is to be taken from the Citizens budget making that budget \$2.154 million, and put into campaign materials to finance voter bloc campaign materials, thus creating a \$2.2 million campaign materials budget.
7. The Executive budget should be raised to reflect the increased activity by Ed Tailor's operation. Colson's mailing budget should be reduced by the amount Tailor's budget is raised.
8. A new Administrative budget should be put together, showing the increase in fixed costs.
9. A freeze on additional staff hiring will go into effect COB Wednesday, September 6. (See attached memo).

10. The Budget Meetings will shift to Monday afternoons at 3:00 p.m. beginning Monday, September 25.
11. The next meeting will be Wednesday, September 13, at 3:00 p.m.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STAFF

FROM: CLARK MAC GREGOR *CM*

At a Budget Meeting today, Mr. Stans and I agreed that as of today we will not add any additional personnel to the campaign staff between now and November -- regardless of whether they have been budgeted for or planned. In other words, if a person is not on the payroll today, he will not go on the payroll at all.

While there should not be any exceptions to this rule, any requests for exceptions should be made in writing to Rob Odle who will then bring the request to my attention.

C M, Stans, TWE, Barick, JSM, Odle, Lake

Stans - 45 m - mentioned as possil

10 m - is down to 3.5 mil - ^{Palmer} ^{Nally}

Spent 14 m since Apr. 7

- Rec'd 2.2 but sent to states

- End of mo - payroll probs.

460,000 - payroll

- Next 10 days will have to cover.

- get 5 m fr 19/26 dinner

- Real crisis in Oct.

- St Budgets - are under control.

- Fully funded - by end of Aug 4.6; funded 5.4

- Nat'l Budget in serious trouble:

① Polls have dried up \$ - large contr'is - who we need it.

② Watergate has hurt us to a degree in the field - Stans gets 20 letters a day.

- Desert Mail is 50,000 a day.

③ - Taken all of Stans time 4-5 wks

③ Agencies OK w/TWE, Washburn, he Nunn

* → ④ New Grp Request - bank wire

No, 500,000 on 9/4!

Violates agre - New Grp

will not live w/in 6 m budget

1st 100,000 day
9/5

2 days last
wk - 1 mil
expended.

major
gifts
millions
entire.

J&M - Nov Group will be w/in
6.3+ each will present agenda

⑤ Cond support -

⑥ Stens - wants to cut hell out
of CUC mly's on Item 72

- ⑦ CM wants sample of mly's
fr/CUC + will exercise control

⑧ Conventin Sup - Stens - was
(test case) BT respons? - any discipline
cm will meet w/ BT + Stens, etc.

cm - we do many things bec/w/H
ordered + begin stopping that
Stens memo shows no pre-pmts
d fr/cm memo.

Research

2 mil prepaid -

5 mil 5 of unexpended bal

Citizens

FM - No probs w/in 1,281 - FM
to check Youth; FM will try to save.

Materials - Here are probs + cpls FM

Executive - Failure - why over budget,
programs w/ Chotiner, etc.

get
40,000
w/ CUC

Stens - wants budget

Probab wants total 100,000

Ode -
will
cut back +
do update
budget.

Adminis - function of payroll + space
are fixed costs. Slans - start
cutting back on staff.
- salaries

Off Admin - of supplies

Staff - FM + SM - holding on staff,
now trying to transfer.
will cut back

CM - no more paid personnel.
- Total freeze on hiring COB,
9/6

GSA - may purchase our office supplies
Slans - get indep valuations!
20 Wats lines - all used.

Next will new figures per Ode.

New Budget mtg - 2 wks on men's

Slans, TWE, K, Hofgren, Shreiber -
- only ones bringing in big \$

CM to go to K.

- won't come to D.C. permanently,
- uses E + P. as excuse for "other projects"
- has 3 millions of \$ in committ's
that are not in 5^{total}m

- Slans - 10 official + unofficial trips.

CM - Finance People say will make committ's.

7/8 - The mem chart of wh/8s
are mty budget,

FM+
CM-

Plans - only incentive till camp
manager no \$ for camp
unless they raise it.

- doubts McG direct mail
as effective as they claim
- McG "hunting for \$"
- McG has put for \$ on media
- Willy report

Ind, Pa, Ohio, ← only prob st's
"nothing"

Screw Spence Shore post 11/7
1st Rep Fin Chmn

Key - straight noce

CONFIDENTIAL/SENSITIVE

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Budget - Post April 7

R. C. Odle, Jr., July 20, 1972

<u>Division</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>	<u>Budget</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Advertising	Dailey	\$ 6,293,000	Represents total cost of November Group to Re-elect Committee -- media costs, salaries, overhead, etc. Emphasis in advertising on key states. Some dollars which might have gone to this budget now scheduled for direct mail and telephone operations (see below).
Campaign Materials	Dailey	\$ 1,500,000	Lowest possible figure -- emphasis on placing materials in key states. Cost \$2 million in 1968.
Candidate Support	Magruder/Malek	\$ 1,380,000	Represents White House support account: Presidential and First Family travel, White House mailing program, etc. Includes only \$50,000 for Vice Presidential travel. Does not include funds for special Presidential use which may later be required in the amount of \$70,000 - \$100,000.
Convention	Timmons	\$ 476,000	Includes <u>all</u> costs associated with convention and travel to and from convention. Covers entire Nixon campaign participation in convention.
PR/Media	Miller/Shumway	\$ 740,000	All expenses associated with Division: salaries, payroll burden, all publications and programs.
Polling	Teeter	\$ 790,000	Firm estimate based on what has been approved. Increased \$40,000 over last projected total due to special White House polling. Emphasis on key states.
Research and Planning, Direct Mail, Telephone Operations	Marik	\$ 7,785,000	\$5,490,000 for direct mail, \$1,900,000 for telephone operations, \$180,000 for computer maps, Compass Systems, data processing, balance for salaries, travel, payroll burden. Concentrates on key states.
"Citizens" activity: special groups and committees	Malek	\$ 2,354,000	Entire cost of all voter bloc and citizens groups, plus overall Citizens coordination, national volunteers (women) program, Ballot Security, etc. Less than 1968 figure. Does not include voter bloc materials.
Scheduling	Porter	\$ 260,000	Scheduling of all surrogates, celebrities, athletes, American Music; staff salaries, payroll burden, etc.
Tour Office	Foust	\$ 974,000	All advance and tour office costs: most funds for travel of surrogates and advance personnel.
Executive	Failor	\$ 60,000	Primarily salaries and payroll burden for Failor operation and other special assistants.
Administration	Magruder/Odle	\$ 343,000	Basically salaries and payroll burden for campaign director's office; deputy director, security guards, correspondence and personnel units, etc.
Office Administration	Odle	\$ 789,000	Rents, telephones, furniture, office equipment, autos, typewriters, office supplies, leasehold improvements, etc. Running higher than previously expected.
SUB-TOTAL		\$ 23,744,000	
Funds spent prior to April 7		\$ 3,110,000	All funds spent by all division but does not include pre-payments.
SUB-TOTAL		\$ 26,854,000	
Finance Committee Budget	Stans/Barrick	\$ 865,000	Does not include costs of running office covered above.
SUB-TOTAL		\$ 27,719,000	
Political Division	Malek	\$ 781,000	Salaries, payroll burden, travel, etc. Also includes voter registration materials.
State Support	Malek	\$ 11,500,000	
TOTAL		\$ 40,000,000	

EXPENSE CATEGORY	TOTAL BUDGET	ACTUAL EXPENDITURES		OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS	
		THROUGH	UNEXPENDED BALANCE		
<u>Advertising</u>	<u>5,368,000</u>	<u>580,248</u>	<u>4,787,752</u>	30000 PRINT MEDIA <u>22,656</u>	
				Accts. #33000-Billboards <u>2,375</u>	
				35000-Broadcast Product. <u>7241</u>	
				36000-Print Production <u>231</u>	
				38000-Agency Fees <u>449,680</u>	
				Dept.17-Advertising <u>98,065</u>	
				<u>570,247</u>	
<u>Campaign Materials</u>	<u>1,500,000</u>	<u>1,320,796</u>	<u>179,204</u>	Accts. #60000-Campaign Materials <u>1,125,992</u>	
				60010-Printed Matter <u>194,804</u>	
				<u>1,320,796</u>	
<u>Candidate Support</u>	<u>1,380,000</u>	<u>490,998</u>	<u>899,002</u>	Dept.70-Pres.and 1st Family <u>63,963</u>	
				71-White House Staff <u>19,723</u>	
				72-Public Relations <u>206,295</u>	
				73-The Vice President <u>162,048</u>	
				Accts. #66000-Expenditures prior to dept.breakout <u>22,374</u>	
				Total <u>420,998</u>	
<u>Convention</u>	<u>451,000</u>	<u>549,036</u>	<u>< 98,036 ></u>	Acct. #69000-Convention <u>511,475</u>	
				Dept.19-Convention <u>37,561</u>	
				<u>549,036</u>	
<u>P/R - Media</u>	<u>677,000</u>	<u>348,818</u>	<u>328,182</u>	Acct. #60050-P/R Publications <u>153,237</u>	
				Dept.16-Public Relations <u>195,581</u>	
				<u>348,818</u>	
<u>Polling</u>	<u>590,000</u>	<u>230,047</u>	<u>359,953</u>	Acct. #67100-Polling & Research <u>230,047</u>	
				Dept.15-Included in Marik's Research & Planning Chgs. <u>-</u>	
				<u>230,047</u>	
<u>Research, Planning, Direct Mail, Telephone Operations</u>	<u>5,285,000</u>	<u>1,726,031</u>	<u>3,558,969</u>	Acct. #34000-Telephone <u>71,222</u>	
				60070-Pol. Direct Mail <u>1,300,051</u>	
				Dept.15-Planning & Research <u>314,637</u>	
				<u>1,726,031</u>	

<u>EXPENSE CATEGORY</u>	<u>TOTAL BUDGET</u>	<u>ACTUAL EXPENDITURES THROUGH</u>	<u>UNEXPENDED BALANCE</u>	<u>OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS</u>
Citizens Activity	<u>2,354,000</u>	<u>1,072,662</u>	<u>1,281,338</u>	Dept. 30-Agriculture <u>63,213</u> 31-Black <u>45,155</u> 32-Business & Industry <u>103,296</u> 33-Elderly <u>63,339</u> 34-Ethnic <u>27,604</u> 35-Jewish <u>51,179</u> 36-Spanish <u>37,341</u> 37-Women <u>76,622</u> 38-Youth <u>326,875</u> 39-Transient <u>26,108</u> 40-Labor <u>32,575</u> 41-Veterans <u>37,401</u> 42-Lawyers <u>16,674</u> 43-Physicians <u>17,036</u> 44-Citizens <u>137,899</u> 45-Educators <u>7,172</u> <u>1,072,662</u>
Scheduling	<u>260,000</u>			
Tour Office	<u>974,000</u>	<u>1,234,000</u>	<u>229,546</u>	<u>1,004,454</u>
Executive	<u>60,000</u>	<u>63,883</u>	<u>(3,883)</u>	Acct. 66500-Spksmen Res. Support <u>47,050</u> Dept. 13-Spokesmen <u>122,496</u> <u>229,546</u>
Administration	<u>343,000</u>	<u>344,304</u>	<u>(1,304)</u>	Dept. 10-Executive <u>63,883</u> Dept. 12-Administration <u>344,304</u>
Office Administration	<u>731,520</u>	<u>793,305</u>	<u>(61,785)</u>	Accts. #51000-Postage <u>82,987</u> 52000-Office Supplies <u>145,022</u> 52100-Telephone <u>205,209</u> 53000-Insurance Taxes <u>14,504</u> 54000-Rent-Non Fin. Dept. <u>154,906</u> 55000-Leasehold Improve- ments <u>27,226</u> 56000-Furn. Equip. Rented <u>131,273</u> 57000-Furn. Equip. Purchased <u>31,577</u> <u>793,305</u>
Sub Total	<u>19,973,520</u>	<u>7,739,675</u>	<u>12,233,845</u>	
Funds Spent prior to 4/7	<u>3,110,000</u>	<u>3,110,000</u>	<u>—</u>	

<u>EXPENSE CATEGORY</u>	<u>TOTAL BUDGET</u>	<u>ACTUAL EXPENDITURES THROUGH</u>	<u>UNEXPENDED BALANCE</u>	<u>OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS</u>
<u>Sub-Total</u>	<u>23,083,520</u>	<u>10,849,675</u>	<u>12,233,845</u>	
<u>Finance Committee</u>	<u>865,000</u>	<u>381,176</u>	<u>483,824</u>	Accts. #70100-75000 <u>391,176</u>
<u>Sub-Total</u>	<u>23,948,520</u>	<u>11,230,851</u>	<u>12,717,669</u>	
<u>Political</u>	<u>781,000</u>	<u>336,132</u>	<u>444,868</u>	Dept. 14-Political <u>240,103</u> 18-Field Operations <u>62,593</u> 20-Ballot Security <u>33,436</u> <u>336,132</u>
<u>State Support</u>	<u>10,777,500</u>	<u>4,394,956</u>	<u>6,382,544</u>	Transfers of Funds <u>2,175,960</u> Major Gifts <u>1,813,552</u> Over \$100 money retained in states <u>205,444</u> <u>4,394,956</u>
RNC - Unallocated	(180,000)		(180,000)	
TOTAL	<u><u>35,327,020</u></u>	<u><u>15,961,939</u></u>	<u><u>19,365,081</u></u>	

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEE

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

SUBJECT: Budget Committee Meeting, Wednesday, September 13, 1972

PRESENT: Barrick, Dailey, Evans, Joanou, Jones, LaRue, MacGregor, Magruder, Nunn, Odle, Reisner, Stans, Strachan ✓

- 1) The following advertising commitments are authorized subject to review and possible cancellation at the Budget Committee meeting on Monday, September 25: \$2,271,909 for network television, \$180,700 for voter bloc advertising, and \$335,000 for Democrats for Nixon. It is understood that we will continue to operate within the \$6.2 million dollar advertising budget even though we have made these tentative commitments.
- 2) We will not cut back on direct mail at this point, but we will continue to evaluate the electronic media expenditures versus direct mail expenditures.
- 3) All campaign divisions will give top priority and their maximum support and effort to the Finance Committee's Night for Nixon.
- 4) The proposal by Anne Armstrong for a bus tour is rejected. This will be communicated to her by Odle. (After the budget meeting Odle talked to Anne and told her the money was not available for the program from 1701. Anne said she would explore the possibility with Thomas B. Evans and Lang Washburn of raising \$40,000 through the RNC for this purpose.)
- 5) Peter Dailey is to meet with Bailey Howard regarding Howard's proposal to donate \$20,000 to the Committee which the Committee would match with \$20,000 additional for weekly newspaper advertisements. Dailey is then to bring the proposal in completed form back to the Budget Committee for approval. (Subsequent to the budget meeting Odle called Herb Klein at Lang Washburn's request to inform him of the action of the Budget Committee. Howard is in California already at work on the program but Klein will have Howard call Dailey immediately to discuss it.)

6) The next meeting of the Budget Committee will be Wednesday, September 20, at 3:00 p.m. The meeting after that will be on Monday, September 25, at 3:00 p.m., and every Monday at 3:00 p.m. thereafter.

A copy of the revised budget is attached.

~~CONFIDENTIAL/SENSITIVE~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Budget - Post April 7

R. C. Odle, Jr., September 13, 1972

<u>Division</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>	<u>Budget</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Administration	Odle	\$ 594,000	Basically salaries and payroll burden for campaign director's office, deputy director, administrative personnel, counsel, security, correspondence, and personnel units, etc. Includes payroll burden.
Advertising	Bailey	\$ 6,293,000	Represents total cost of November Group to Re-elect Committee -- media costs, salaries, overhead, etc.
Campaign Materials	Bailey/Malek	\$ 2,200,000	Includes \$200,000 for voter bloc materials.
Candidate Support	Magruder/Malek	\$ 1,347,000	Represents White House Support account: Presidential and First Family travel, White House mailing program, etc. Vice Presidential travel and advances for President and Vice President also to be charged to this account.
Citizens and voter bloc groups	Malek	\$ 2,151,000	Entire cost of all citizens groups and voter blocs. Voter bloc materials included under "campaign materials."
Convention	Timmons	\$ 476,000	Covers 1701 and White House participation in convention. Could run higher, but Timmons/Barrick are determining what costs may be charged to RNC and various voter blocs.
Executive	Fallor	\$ 93,000	Primarily salaries and payroll burden for Fallor operation and other special assistants.
Finance Committee	Stans/Barrick	\$ 865,000	Office costs covered under "Office Administration."
Office Administration	Odle	\$ 1,126,000	Rents, telephones, furniture, office equipment, office supplies, postage, messenger service, autos, typewriters, xerox equipment, leasehold improvements, etc., for all divisions.
Political Division	Malek	\$ 781,000	Salaries, payroll burden, travel, etc. Also includes voter registration materials.
Polling	Teceter	\$ 790,000	Firm estimate based on what has been approved.
Press Office	Abrahams	\$ 740,000	Salaries, payroll burden, publications, programs.
Research and Planning, Direct Mail and Telephone Operations	Marik	\$ 7,285,000	\$4,990,000 for direct mail, \$1,900,000 for telephone operations, \$180,000 for computer maps, Compass Systems, data processing, balance for salaries, travel, payroll burden.
Scheduling	Porter	\$ 260,000	Scheduling of all surrogates, celebrities, athletes, American Music; payroll, etc.
State Support	Malek	\$ 11,500,000	State re-elect committees costs.
Tour Office	Foust	\$ 974,000	All advance and tour office costs: most funds for travel of surrogates and advances. Woman's surrogate program also charged against this account (to cost \$100,000).
SUB-TOTAL		\$ 37,478,000	
Funds spent prior to April 7 by all Divisions		\$ 3,110,000	Does not include pre-payments
TOTAL		\$ 40,588,000	Increase over \$40 million due to fixed costs in Administration and Office Administration.

EXPENSE CATEGORY	TOTAL BUDGET	ACTUAL EXPENDITURES		OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS
		THROUGH 9-11-72	UNEXPENDED BALANCE	
<u>Advertising</u>	<u>5,368,000</u>	<u>574,657</u>	<u>4,793,343</u>	32000-PRINT MEDIA 22,656 Accts.#33000-Billboards 2,395 35000-Broadcast Product. 7,241 36000-Print Production 381 38000-Agency Fees 4,119,100 Dept.17-Advertising 92,425
<u>Campaign Materials</u>	<u>2,200,000</u>	<u>1,617,456</u>	<u>582,544</u>	Accts.#60000-Campaign Materials 1,422,558 60010-Printed Matter 194,898 1,617,456 Dept.70-Pres.and 1st Family 67,571 71-White House Staff 21,106 72-Public Relations 313,500 73-The Vice President 192,446 Accts.#66000-Expenditures prior to dept.breakout 27,331 Total 676,954
<u>Candidate Support</u>	<u>1,347,000</u>	<u>610,330</u>	<u>736,670</u>	Acct. #69000-Convention 470,571 Dept.19-Convention 48,000 516,571
<u>Convention ①</u>	<u>451,000</u>	<u>516,443</u>	<u>< 65,443 ></u>	Acct. #60050-P/R Publications 125,225 Dept.16-Public Relations 199,111 317,336
<u>P/R - Media</u>	<u>677,000</u>	<u>361,846</u>	<u>315,154</u>	Acct. #67100-Polling & Research 250,045 Dept.15-Included in Marik's Research & Planning Chgs. 225,245
<u>Polling</u>	<u>590,000</u>	<u>230,045</u>	<u>359,955</u>	Acct. #34000-Telephone 1,692,025 60070-Pol.Direct Mail 316,711 Dept.15-Polling & Research 2,014,746
<u>Research, Planning, Direct Mail, Telephone Operations</u>	<u>4,785,000</u>	<u>2,014,846</u>	<u>2,770,154</u>	

① ADJUSTED FOR TRANSFERS TO YOUTH DEPT AND CAMPAIGN MATERIALS.

EXPENSE CATEGORY	TOTAL BUDGET	ACTUAL EXPENDITURES THROUGH		UNEXPENDED BALANCE	OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS
		9-11-72			
Citizens Activity	<u>2,154,000</u>	<u>990,581</u>	<u>1,163,419</u>		Dept. 30-Agriculture <u>69,905</u> 31-Black <u>45,581</u> 32-Business & Industry <u>120,182</u> 33-Elderly <u>70,545</u> 34-Ethnic <u>21,991</u> 35-Jewish <u>52,541</u> 36-Spanish <u>40,286</u> 37-Women <u>105,448</u> 38-Youth (REFLECTS CONVENTIONAL RECEIPTS) <u>178,769</u> 39-Transient <u>27,147</u> 40-Labor <u>22,700</u> 41-Veterans <u>40,240</u> 42-Lawyers <u>17,343</u> 43-Physicians <u>17,037</u> 44-Citizens <u>141,110</u> 43-Educators <u>7,124</u> <u>990,581</u>
Scheduling	<u>260,000</u>				
Tour Office	<u>974,000</u>	<u>1,234,000</u>	<u>241,266</u>	<u>992,734</u>	Acct. 66500-Spksmen Res. Support <u>53,254</u> Dept. 13-Spokesmen <u>187,412</u> <u>241,266</u>
Executive	<u>93,000</u>		<u>64,002</u>	<u>28,998</u>	Dept. 10-Executive <u>64,002</u>
Administration	<u>594,000</u>		<u>352,129</u>	<u>241,871</u>	Dept. 12-Administration <u>250,131</u>
Office Administration	<u>1,068,520</u>		<u>870,588</u>	<u>197,932</u>	Accts. #51000-Postage <u>91,982</u> 52000-Office Supplies <u>125,122</u> 52100-Telephone <u>204,652</u> 53000-Insurance Taxes <u>17,124</u> 54000-Rent-Non Fin. Dept. <u>168,471</u> 55000-Leasehold Improvements <u>34,759</u> 56000-Furn. Equip. Rented <u>156,010</u> 57000-Furn. Equip. Purchased <u>31,522</u> <u>870,588</u>
Funds Spent prior to 417	<u>3,110,000</u>	<u>3,110,000</u>	<u>-</u>		

EXPENSE CATEGORY	TOTAL BUDGET	ACTUAL EXPENDITURES		UNEXPENDED BALANCE	OPERATING ACCOUNTS AND DEPARTMENTS	
		THROUGH 9-11-72				
Finance Committee	865,000	405,816		459,184	Accts. #70100-75000	405,816
Political	781,000	364,131		416,869	Dept. 14-Political	260,557
					18-Field Operations	62,592
					20-Ballot Security	39,981
						364,131
State Support	10,777,500	5,251,105		5,526,395	Transfers of Funds	2,220,000
					Major Gifts	340,105
					Over-\$100 money retained in Under- states ^(B)	624,000
						3,251,105
RNC - Unallocated PREPAYMENT	<180,000>	<113,853 ^(A) >		<66,147>		
TOTAL	35,915,020	17,461,388		18,453,632		

(A) \$113,853 charged to White House Support-Page 1 of this report
 (B) AS of September 1, 1972

Budget INCREASE
 Total 9/31/72 \$ 35,927,020
 INCREASES:
 1. Admin. Dept 251,000
 2. Office Admin. Cost 337,000
35,915,020

Dent

9/13

Mc Millan - made deal +
publicized + did him

in
NH - Peterson lost + a
surprise
- better to have beat him
now + new cand w/P.
could win.

Wol - Aspinall - just as soon gone
- knew all along a chance to
take him in genl

9/12

Very well on divd 119

→ briefings gd + morale
info on Tolls + really
killed/bans for R & N

P remarks very gd, not
what suggested but won't
tell people "thank-you" or

- not too ingratiated

- shld have called Dole, Evans
arms up to stroke eyes.

Dent thru RNC + gd situation
tight econ control + do
much for 1701. RNC

Will see JM 9/13

is in better shape today than under Norton + Allison

- Barry Mountain - gd fin
- still has ego probs but a gd organic situation

Rent covered w/ P the audio for Gen cards + P said will see in last 3 wks

- still need \$ - no commit for 50g to Gen races.

Rep hrs got more than expected on 9/12 - do not need to be pumped any more before Nov. 7

Cootails not that helpful - will vote for P + Gen Dems don't live - Money races close as hell

Must do something w/ Gen - isn't wife ill -

Cutler
K or
Rollins -
in there

- Jack Anderson
Lee Munn - says we're not getting the \$ we should

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT *WBH for*
SUBJECT: State Primaries Held Sept. 12

Arizona

Governor: No race.

Senate: No race.

House:

- 1st District. Rep. John Rhodes (R) won handily.
- 2nd District. Rep. Morris K. Udall (D) was unopposed; will face Dr. Eugene Savoie (R) in Nov.
- 3rd District. Rep. Sam Steiger (D) was unopposed; will face Dr. Ted Wyckoff (R) in November.
- 4th District (new). As of 6 a.m. computer in the district was broken, count not ready.

Colorado

Governor: No race.

Senate: Senator Gordon Allott was unopposed. Floyd Haskell, who left GOP over Cambodian incursion, won Democrat nomination.

House:

- 1st District. Rep. James D. McKeivitt (R) will face Democrat Patricia Shroeder.
- 2nd District. Rep. Donald Brotzman (R) will take on Francis W. Brush (D).
- 3rd District. Rep. Frank Evans (D) will be challenged by Chuck Brady (R).
- surprise* x 4th District. Rep. Wayne Aspinall (D) was upset by Professor Alan Merson (D), who will face James P. Johnson (R) - *now a chance*.
- 5th District (new). State Senator William L. Armstrong (R) will face Byron L. Johnson (D).

*- will be done
to meet
that day*

Florida

Governor: No race.

Senate: No race.

House:

- 1st District. Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes (D) won renomination. Unopposed in November.
- 2nd District. Rep. Don Fuqua (D) was renominated, also unopposed in November.
- 3rd District. Rep. Charles Bennett (D) will be challenged by John S. Bowen (R).
- 4th District. Rep. William V. Chappell (D) will face P. T. Fleuchaus (R).
- 5th District (new). Count not completed as of 7 a.m.
- 6th District. C. W. Young (R), incumbent in the old 8th, will face Michael O. Plunkett (D).
- 7th District. Old 6th incumbent Sam Gibbons (D) will be challenged by Robert A. Carter (R).
- 8th District. Rep. James A. Haley (D), of the old 7th, will take on Roy Thompson Jr. (R).
- 9th District. Rep. Louis Frey (R) was unopposed and will be in November.
- 10th District (new) L. A. Bafalis (R), and a run-off seems certain between the four Democrats.
- 11th District. It will be old 9th incumbent Paul G. Rogers (D) against Joel Gustafson (R).
- 12th District. Rep. J. Herbert Burke (R), of the old 10th, will be faced by James Stephanis (D).
- 13th District (new). Count not completed as of 7 a.m.
- 14th District. Rep. Claude Pepper (D) will meet Evelio S. Estrella (R).
- 15th District. Rep. Dante Fascell will apparently face Ellis Rubin (R).

could win

Will lose our current 3 seats

could win

Minnesota

Governor: No race

Senate: Senator Walter Mondale (D) had no problem being renominated, and will face Rev. Philip Hansen (R), a Lutheran minister.

House:

*No more
Rep will
have any
power.
- No pickups*

- 1st District. Rep. Al Quie (R) will face Charles Thompson (DFL).
- 2nd District. Rep. Archer Nelsen (R) will face Charlie Turnbull (DFL).
- 3rd District. Rep. William Frenzel (R) will be challenged by Jim Bell (DFL).
- 4th District. Rep. Joseph Karth (DFL) will face Steve Thompson (R).
- 5th District. Rep. Donald Fraser (DFL) will face Al Davisson (R).
- 6th District. Rep. John Zwach will be up against Richard Nolan (DFL).
- 7th District. Rep. Bob Bergland (DFL) will take on Jon Haaven (R).
- 8th District. Rep. John Blatnik (DFL) held off three challengers and will face Edward Johnson (R).

New Hampshire

*- to it of Gov
a surprise but probably
will win*

Governor: Meldrin Thomson has grabbed the GOP nomination from Gov. Walter Peterson. It appears Roger J. Crowley will win the Democrat nod.

*- former
Gov
could
be tough*

Senate: Former Governor Wesley Powell will run for the GOP against Sen. Thomas McIntyre. *will lose*

House:

1st District. Rep. Louis Wyman (R) will face former GOP Congressman Chester E. Merrow, who swept the Democrat field.

*Tough
Race*

*changed
to Dem.*

Vermont

Governor: Luther Hackett (R) will face Thomas Salmon for the office of retiring Governor Deane Davis (D)

*Democrat
Pat of
Willy
- will win, but
tough*

- Binan

*- R
going out
somewhat
unpopular*

South Carolina

A special run-off election was held in the 6th District

a surprise

* between incumbent John McMillan (D) and John Jenrette (D).
Jenrette is the apparent winner, by about 900 votes. A
recount is likely. There is a ghost GOP candidate.

*- a liberal who
can be bought
w/ the G
taint*

*Rep bond will
be beefed up*

Wisconsin

Governor: No race.

Senate: No race.

House:

1st District. Rep. Les Aspin (D) will be faced by Merril
E. Stalbaum (R).

2nd District. Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier (D) will run
against J. Michael Kelly (R).

3rd District. Rep. Vernon Thompson (R) and Walter
Thoresen (D).

4th District. Rep. Clement Zablocki (D) will take on
Phillip D. Mrozinski (R).

5th District. Rep. Henry Reuss (D) will face Frederick
Van Hecke (R).

6th District. Rep. William Steiger (R) will be opposed by
James A. Adams (D).

*must
intense*

* 7th District. Rep. David Obey (D) will face former 10th
Rep. Alvin O'Konski (R) *Redistricted*

8th District. Harold Froelich (R) will oppose Rev. Robert
J. Cornell (D).

9th District. Rep. Glenn Davis (R) will be opposed by
Ralph A. Fine (D).

D.P.R.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 23, 1972

TO: Harry S. Dent

FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth

RE: OKLAHOMA

1

The President: The State GOP Chairman, Clarence Warner, predicts that the President will carry the state by 200,000 votes (1968: 148,039). If this should prove to be the case, the Republicans can win the Senate seat and possibly pick up the Second Congressional District Seat. McGovern has never been popular and the Eagleton affair has further eroded his support.

Governor: No race

Senate: Fred Harris (D) is not seeking re-election. GOP is favored. Congressman Ed Edmondson handily won the Democrat primary. The Republican is Dewey Bartlett. The President should be a big help in this race.

House: Run-off election is September 19, 1972.

1st District: Page Belcher (R) is not seeking re-election. The Republican is favored. A run-off will be necessary between ex-Tulsa Mayor James Hewgley and ex-U.S. Attorney Robert Rizley. The Democrat is James Jones.

2nd District: Ed Edmondson (D) is running for the Senate. Democrat Clem McSpadden is favored. The Republican is Emery Toliver.

August 23, 1972

3rd District: Carl Albert (D) will win. No Republican.

4th District: Tom Steed (D) should win. The Republican is William Crozier.

5th District: John Jarman (D) should win. The Republican is Llewellyn Kerkler.

6th District: John "Happy" Camp (R) should win. The Democrat is William Schmitt.

Issues:

The President's Vietnam posture is favored. Bussing will be a plus in Oklahoma City and Tulsa. The economy will be the main issue. There is some unemployment, but the Space Shuttle will be of help.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 29, 1972

TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth
RE: GEORGIA

The President: The Democrats appear to be turning more and more to President Nixon but not necessarily to other GOP candidates. If voters go to the polls, the President should carry the state.

Governor: No race

Senate: David Gambrell (D) was unseated in a runoff election yesterday by Sam Nunn, a young wealthy state legislator. In a surprise move blacks (LeRoy Johnson and Julian Bond) endorsed Nunn. The effect and meaning of this is not yet clear to state GOP leaders. Lester Maddox also endorsed Nunn. Republican Fletcher Thompson would have had a better chance against Gambrell who appeared more liberal than Nunn and vacillated on bussing. Presidential coattails may help Thompson, and is favored.

House: 1st District: Democrat Elliott Hagen was defeated by his former administrative assistant, Robert (BO) Ginn who should win. The Republican is William Gowan who is unpopular with Republicans.

2nd District: Dawson Mathis (D). No Republican.

3rd District: Jack Brinkley (D). No Republican.

4th District: Ben Blackburn (R) should win. Democrat is Odel Welborn.

August 29, 1972

5th District: No incumbent. Very close. Democrat is Andrew Young (Black). Republican is Rodney Cook.

6th District: John Flynt, Jr. (D). No Republican; Ray Gurley did not qualify.

7th District: John Davis (D). Favored. The Republican is Charles Sherrill.

8th District: William Stuckey (D). Close. Republican Ronnie Thompson has been hospitalized with depression due to an air accident. He also has had some difficulties over a married woman, but this has not been in the press.

9th District: Phil Landrum (D). No Republican.

10th District: Robert Stephens, Jr. (D). No Republican.

Issues:

Bussing is a volatile issue and favors the Administration. Vietnam is emerging as an issue, but the Administration is favored. Economic problems hurt with prices seen as climbing but wages held back by controls.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1972

TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth
RE: NEVADA

The President: State GOP Officials are predicting a 25,000 vote margin for the President if things continue as they are presently. A recent poll in Clark County (Las Vegas) among Democrats only showed the President receiving 43% and McGovern 47%.

Governor: No race.

Senate: No race.

House: Walter Baring (D) lost in the primary to William Bilbray, a young liberal who is favored. The Republican is David Towell. The GOP has an excellent chance, but registration favors the Democrat.

Issues: Bussing is the prevailing issue. The White House has been instrumental in having the Justice Department file an amicus brief in behalf of the state on an urgent bussing appeal. This is going very well for the President.

MEMORANDUM

August 24, 1972

TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth
RE: WYOMING

The President: The President should carry Wyoming. But the feeling persists that the Administration ignores the needs of the people. Ranchers are quick to point at predator controls, and the ruling against pesticides.

Governor: No race

Senate: Clifford Hansen (R) should win. The Democrat is Mike Vinich (ran for State Auditor in 1970).

House: Teno Roncalio (D) is favored. The Republicans have a viable candidate in Bill Kidd. A big Presidential vote could make a difference here.

Issues: The environment, predator control, and control on pesticides are the leading issues.

BEH:j
bcc: MacGregor, Haldeman, Parker

Dent

8/29

Rollins - on hands + wants to
help + raise \$.

Menn - only 15 names for \$ + as
- pol input; pissed

Cpls by Gov + Sen re P pies +
two selfish camp

Prob. in Field -

Hullin → Dent 8/29 cover
Field Ops

CM /
reps / \$ probs - stars only contact +
now too busy on Grand jury,
Evans - alternative plan a/
Rollins get + Dent + make
into field - but all st
st wide mty

Need 0 mlrd men but can't
get in FM's way.

Conven - way P shaking hands,
etc - invited to WH on 9/12
CM meetings, etc - helpful.
Now FU - in st to many up things.

NOI - too heartless, only care re P.
Need a little PI, politicking w/ own people.

Fm just walked off on
Margratta - Nassau cnty
by NY

cm wants to do politicking ~~on the~~
but can't do it all.

September 14, 1972

TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth
RE: NORTH DAKOTA

The President: Media polls show the President far ahead, and he should carry the state by a substantial margin. McGovern is weak and there is little evidence of the grass roots organization that looked immergent in the precinct caucuses this spring. GOP leaders expect a 20%-30% stay-home rate among Democrats, and this could have a positive affect on all races.

Governor: William Gu (D) is not seeking re-election. The Democrat is Congressman Art Link who feared defeat at the hands of Mark Andrews in a fight for the At-large House seat. The Republican is Lieutenant Governor Richard Larsen (36) who ran an extremely strong primary race winning approximately 69% of the vote - more than his primary opponent and Link together. Larsen should win.

Senate: No race.

House: At-large Mark Andrews (R) should win. The Democrat is State Chairman Richard Ista who could find no other candidate.

Issues:

1. The Watergate Affair is hurting the President but not fatally.
2. Agriculture is not the hot issue it once was, thanks to the President's grain sales and to Butz's popularity.

BEN:j

bcc: MacGregor, Parker, Haldeman

September 14, 1972

TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth
RE: NEW HAMPSHIRE

The President: The President should carry the state by a substantial margin and GOP officials look for a major coattail effect on all other state offices.

Governor: Governor Walter Peterson, Jr. (R) was defeated in a major primary upset by Republican Mel Thompson. Peterson has been under heavy fire from Loeb for two years. The GOP will unite behind Thompson who should win. The Democrat is Roger Crowley.

Senate: Thomas McIntyre (D) is in for a tough race from Republican Wesley Powell who is favored. Very close.

House: Both seats are considered safe.

1st. District: Louis Wyman (R) should win. Democrat is Chester Harrow.

2nd District: James Cleveland (R) should win. Democrat is Charles Officer who nearly beat Cleveland in 1964.

Issues: Personalities continue to predominate and Loeb never misses a chance at McGovern. The President has support over Vietnam.

BEH:j
bcc: MacGregor, Parker, Haldeman

September 13, 1972

TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Brad E. Hainsworth
RE: VERMONT

The President: The President should carry Vermont. The state GOP and the state CREP are working in a coordinated effort which should pay off. McGovern is not well received throughout the state, but his organization is visible and he has strength in the under 25 vote.

Governor: Dean C. Davis (R) is not seeking re-election. The Republican is Luther Hackett who should win. He has had political experience in the state legislature and is an attractive candidate. The Democrat is Thomas Salmon, a viable candidate, but this is not the year.

Senate: No race.

House: At-large: Dick Mallary (R) should win. The Democrat is ex-Congressman William Meyer.

Issues: Among those not supporting the President, the chief issues is Vietnam; however, there is substantial support for the President's policies throughout the state. The economy is an issue and unemployment remains a problem in some areas.

BEH:j
bcc: MacGregor, Parker, Haldeman

AGENDA

Budget Committee Meeting, Wednesday, September 13, 3:00 p.m.

1. Advertising discussion (Peter Dailey/Jeb Magruder).
2. Discussion of revised budget (Rob Odle).
 - a. Rise in fixed costs of Administrative Division and Office Administration.
 - b. Convention report.
 - c. Adjustments to Campaign Materials, Candidate Support, Citizens, Executive, and Tour Office.
3. Discussion of income and spending (Maurice Stans/Paul Barrick).
4. Discussion of post-freeze hiring (Clark MacGregor).

9/14

MC

Rumbles of Sen Cands - annoyed
that admin no concerned
w/ Elec

- mad at Conn.

- Finances

+ Know in 1970 funds avail
H will say no \$ avail.
sugges - to have a cold blooded
analysis of pickup of Sen
seats

- advise that being done

- any liaison bet 1701 - Sen +
Hse Camp Conn - poor.

Domenici in A.M.

Trouble of getting someone of Sen
- careful; problems.
Via Lesley checkers for MC.

9/5

Outlines

H → FM directly - MC not
busy enough
3 calls

MC said to JSM happy

CM → JSM: MC happy.

1000 on Direct Mail - maybe
revise in light of change.

CM wants Richardson to
take on HH. CM wants
to debate O'Brien
- JSM / Ed / F / have believe
no debates period

me - 1st Report tomorrow night
Lee / Ch Fr left us on 9/2.
- only on McG, trying to
get someone on Shiver

Story re Coxman - if cover w/
JSM not CM directly

Code re Budget Mtgs

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. MURRAY M. CHOTINER
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Despite my instructions to our mail room that your requests for messenger service to the White House are to receive top priority, I understand that you are still not satisfied with the response to your requests.

We have three men in our mail room processing and delivering several thousand pieces of mail each day. One of them (who has a White House pass) spends most of his time going back and forth to the White House. It is possible that when you call for a pick up, he will be at the White House, and, consequently, it will be a few minutes before he arrives in your offices in response to a request.

We will assign a top priority to your requests and do the very best we can to get your envelopes to the White House as quickly as possible.

When you do not feel you are getting the quality of service you feel you need, please let me know immediately (or Andy Lawrence in my absence) and we will take care of the problem. Just let us know.

We're definitely not the White House mail room, but we're trying hard to be Number Two.

cc: Mr. Jeb S. Magruder

bcc: ~~Mr.~~ Mr. Gordon C. Strachan
Mr. G. Andrew Lawrence
Mr. Nick Bungato

September 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

How about the campaign exposing the McGovern triple phony play. I refer to Senators Kennedy, Humphrey, and Muskie travelling with him in segments. 1

In the first place, I have never heard of a presidential candidate taking people along to bolster his campaign. Usually, the nominee carries along candidates for lesser offices in order to bolster them. This is bolstering in reverse.

Phony No. 1

Senator Kennedy pretends to support McGovern but really doesn't want him to win. The reason for this is if McGovern wins, Shriver wins. If Shriver wins, Kennedy can't run for President until Shriver gets through being Vice President for eight years and, possibly, President for eight years. If Kennedy has to wait 16 years, he will be all worn out if his escapade off the coast of Maine means anything.

Kennedy has his wife Joan travelling with him when he campaigns. Why? If she can travel with him for political purposes, why does he take a substitute travelling off the rock-bound coast of Maine.

Phony No. 2

Senator Humphrey now "supports" McGovern. Why not run a full-page ad in every city where Humphrey appears with McGovern. It can be headed: "Never Mind What Senator Humphrey Says Now -- This Is What He Said About McGovern in California on _____, 1972."

(Reproduce California Full-Page Ad)

Humphrey tore McGovern apart. The ad can end with "Which is the real McGovern -- the one Senator Humphrey described in California or the one he is pushing now?"

Mr. H. R. Haldeman
Page - 2 -

September 14, 1972

Phony No. 3

Senator Muskie, the "strong" man of Loeb-New Hampshire fame. Which is the real Muskie? The one who says he now supports McGovern or the one who connived in Miami behind closed doors to stop the McGovern nomination? Full-page ads should be run in every city in which Muskie appears with McGovern.

The fertile minds of the campaign should be able to lay out the ads and the copy that goes with it.

Truman

MMC:a

September 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

Isn't it possible to convince our people to stop playing into the hands of the McGovern crowd. They charge; we answer; they reply, we answer again, etc., etc.

That's what they want -- keep the "issue" alive.

Ignore their reply to our answer by merely stating if asked for a comment -- "that was completely handled on (date) . Let's get on with the real issues."

A specific I have in mind is the Russian wheat deal.



MMC:a

September 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

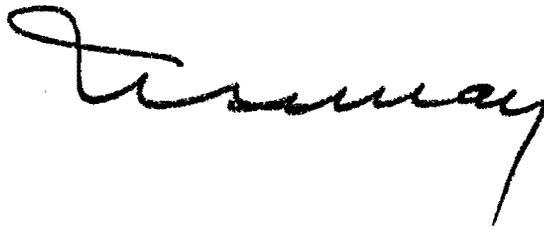
What genius is responsible for the announcement that the Roswell Employment Training Center would be terminated by June 30, 1973. This is only September, 1972. November 7th comes between September and June 30th.

This reminds me of 1954 when the then Vice President was campaigning in Minnesota and another genius announced the cut back on the egg buying program a few weeks before election.

The Vice President set up a conference call from Minneapolis and urged the powers-that-be to continue the egg buying program at least until after November. When he was told that there was a surplus of eggs and the Administration didn't know what to do with them, he calmly replied: "Throw them at the Democrats but buy eggs."

Will someone remind the Interior Department that Indians vote in a number of states. They are citizens.

MMC:a



Director of Job Training Center Knocks Closing

Journal Special

ROSWELL—The director of the Roswell Employment Training Center Saturday criticized the decision of the U. S. Dept. of Interior to close the two "extremely successful training programs" for Indians in Roswell.

Rod Starkey said word of the decision to terminate the programs by June 30, 1973, reached him Friday.

"I EXPECT the Dept. of Interior will hear a loud protest from the collective Indian communities," he said.

Starkey said the program "has served as one of the most effective ways to improve the Indian welfare situation" and "evidently, the decision was made without the benefit of consultation with leaders of the various Indian tribes."

The program, during the last five years, has turned out more than 1000 job-prepared graduates from 15 different tribes in the United States. The department's Bureau of Indian Affairs has provided about \$3.2 million annually to finance the programs operated under contract by the Thiokol Chemical Corp. of Bristol, Pa.

AFFECTED by the decision will be the Roswell Employment Training Center and the U. S. Indian Police Academy which were started September, 1967, at the former Walker Air Force Base.

The police academy, said to be the only one of its kind in the United States, has trained Indian policemen who are now employed by almost every reservation in the country and by many municipal police forces.

The academy will end its five-year existence after the graduation of the present class of 40 students on Sept. 22.

ALBUQUERQUE JOURNAL 9/10/72

654-3222 - Route | Listing Agent
Mr. Berry -
53,000

Milk Woodsea - ~~scheduled in~~
another event on 9/26 or 9/27

TECans very well, positive effect,
FM - particularly gd
Rent - also gd
Commercials well rec'd
P+VP -
Haug & E - Terill

FU reports on Sat 9/16.

Lyn Nof

Spitz - either P move or not.

- RR to see Thur.

- Garge Shiver met

CWC - presently unique position
of being on side of grandmother.

Glans - a wait on line of progress

916-525-7211

Heild - Op

Chotiner - Redball re projects

Malek's Reports

S → L re attack mtg

Dominick - MTP Sun

Betz, Chaves, Weinberger, Conn, Uel Pol
Dole / Mac G - 4:30 - Harmony Mtg

Strochan f/f

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0970

August 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

✓ FRED MALEK
JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

BOB REISNER/R

SUBJECT:

Neil Carothers' Arts and
Sciences Committee

In outlining the formation of an economists committee, it became apparent that there was considerable overlap between the efforts that were already underway under Neil Carothers and the proposed economists activities.

It would seem that continuing under the present arrangement will only lend confusion to both groups. Ultimately, this kind of conflict could be seriously counterproductive.

Gourmet

9/14

Commentary art's
after News -
more useful

- Intel for P.
- surveys + to press
more on way
- Greener - no facilities or \$
for volunteers
- Intel's + aia's of qualities -
40-50
- drafting spe's to be sent
over for review
- No real ambitious plan
for 100s of aia's for P.
but no \$ or
no sure producer to do
- next week is deadline for
names
- ~~report~~

12-20
active

This group would sign
an ad

- mid Oct, 1701 to pay.

Polly Buck + Nancy Hanks -
to set up artists for P.

- under Calder as Calder's art
- so uncertain, devise
own plan + do a/p/1701

Len Garment

He continues to work with Paul
Weaver and Peter U. Jonska from
Harvard on the Intellectual for the
P.

**Committee
for the Re-election
of the President**

FOR: Gorden

Take necessary action	<input type="checkbox"/>
Approval or signature	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prepare reply	<input type="checkbox"/>
Discuss with me	<input type="checkbox"/>
For your information	<input type="checkbox"/>
See remarks below	<input type="checkbox"/>

FROM: Jeb DATE: 8/31

REMARKS:

AUG 29 1972

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 28, 1972

Dear Jeb:

Here are some materials that will give you an idea of where we are in the area you and I discussed this morning.

The first memorandum outlines work underway (and some problems). This will be discussed further at a meeting on Thursday.

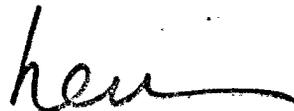
The second describes a research project, now independently funded, that may produce some interesting and useful data, leading to articles, comment, etc.

The third document is an advance on a Commentary debate (Nixon or McGovern?).

The fourth is a memorandum of comments and ideas from Witonski at Harvard.

I'll let you know when I need some specific assistance.

Best,



Leonard Garment

Mr. Jeb Magruder
Committee for the Reelection
of the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue NW.
Washington, D. C.

attachments

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

90 Riverside Drive, Apt. 4A
New York, N.Y. 10024

Mr. Leonard Garment
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Len,

Herewith a brief report on my discoveries and activities to date, together with some suggestions about possible future and ancillary campaign activities. I apologize for being so late in getting this off to you, but as you will see things have been---and still are---somewhat up in the air.

Discoveries. It quickly became clear that our initial plan was unworkable. The leading intellectuals we had in mind do indeed oppose McGovern and do feel some personal desire to do something to help defeat him; and their attitudes toward Nixon are more or less what we thought---in the circumstances they prefer him, but many (though not all) are unwilling to declare in public their direct support of him and of his campaign. Therefore they are not willing to sign a statement which is paid for by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, or which states that it is paid for by CRP. They also have qualms about professors and editors making public political endorsements---something they associate with intellectuals on the left and which they think helps to politicize the university.

Second, they all would do something on a "behind-the-scenes" basis. In particular, they are prepared to write---even about reasons for supporting Nixon this time.

Third, there was considerable confusion being created by almost-identical organizing efforts on the part of at least three different people. One person has been contacted by six different people. The result is confusion and an eventual decision not to do anything---nobody, and especially not these people, can say yes to everybody. So they are forced to say no to everybody. This problem is now essentially solved by a division of labor and of markets, as I understand. But there is another problem which hasn't been solved: the absence of a regular "Professors for the Re-Election of the President," or something along these lines. There ought to be a way to involve Republican professors and others who are prepared to state publicly that they favor Nixon in '72. The number of these should not be insignificant---and the nature of my operation is such that I can't put anything together for them without compromising my relationship with the people I am working with.

Mr. Leonard Garment

Fourth and finally, the leading intellectuals we have discussed remain somewhat skittish or shy---or pusillanimous, to quote a less solicitous observer. They're also in mid-career and middle age; they have habits; they have a sense of their position---and the upshot is that, though they are prepared to move toward a close relationship with the second Nixon administration eventually, they're not prepared to jump aboard now, whole hog.

Program of Activities. It may yet prove possible for me to find altogether independent money for an ad in which "Liberal Professors Against McGovern", or some such group, can make a public statement without publicly associating themselves with CRP. This is something I will pursue independently. But I am also giving it a lower priority because it might conflict with the main activity of the moment. In any event I will not trouble you with this line of activity.

It is clear at this point that the main thing our intellectuals will do---and do well and willingly---is write. I am putting together or assisting a number of different sorts of writing, and this program is already well under way. The general objectives of such writing are two---the same objectives that our proposed ad had. First, to get respected intellectual leaders to give their reasons why they are voting for Nixon (or not voting for McGovern)---the point being persuasion. Second, to get articles written about the attitudes and voting intentions of intellectuals and professors in '72---the point here being to reinforce those who think they will vote Nixon, and to demobilize those who are conflicted (and thus to deny their votes to McGovern).

At this point, two enterprises are under way. First, Marty Lipset and Everett Ladd are conducting a survey of the voting intentions and attitudes of professors; the findings will be compared to similar studies in 1968. The results will be reported in partial form by Lipset at the American Political Science Association in Washington (there should be press coverage of his data), and later in full form in a leading magazine, probably around the end of September. It is nearly certain that the survey will show a big drop for the Democratic candidate and a big increase for Nixon. Second, Pat Moynihan is writing up his interview with the President for Life and will also write a piece for The New York Times Magazine on the probable shape of a second Nixon Administration.

(In parallel but unconnected developments, Commentary will feature a symposium on Jews and Nixon in their September issue, with Nat Glazer making the case, weakly, for McGovern. Glazer has since changed his mind, and will state his preference for Nixon in a letter in the October issue. The Public Interest will feature three major long articles, by Moynihan, Bell, and Lipset, on "quota democracy", myths about social mobility, and the Serrano decision; they add up to a serious attack on a major McGovern theme. Norman Cousins' new magazine may run an article attacking McGovern's "massive retaliation" defense-posture concept. Irving Kristol has a forthcoming piece in the Wall Street Journal on why Jews are moving (and should move) away from the left.)

Mr. Leonard Garment

A third enterprise is an attempt, with the help of Ithiel Pool, to get a magazine, preferably a large and important one, to publish a long symposium of differing views on who to vote for in November. The idea, which is Ithiel's, is to show professors that the academy isn't entirely a one-party environment, and that there are many people in it who have thoughtful and intelligent and persuasive reasons for voting for Nixon or for not voting for McGovern. I don't know if this will come off, but we're working on it.

At this point, that is all I am doing, and all I really have time to do, as I explained to you earlier this month.

Future and Ancillary Activities. If there is to be an independent ad, that will come in the future---ideally around the end of September or beginning of October.

A second future activity requires your assistance. It was suggested spontaneously by James Q. Wilson, and I think it has authentic merit. Jim would like to see a long, serious, persuasive statement from the Administration at some point during the campaign on what he calls traditional Republican principles. The audience of this statement would be, directly or indirectly, intellectual and academic; the point would be to give a persuasive and serious statement that such people could take seriously, would have to take seriously. The principles Wilson has in mind are things like the dangers and incompetence of bureaucracy, the dangers of overpromising and underperforming, the value of decentralization/federalism, etc. He is afraid (and not without reason) that the McGovern campaign is trying to appropriate to itself these principles and to take credit for them---and in the process to corrupt them. He would therefore like to write, together perhaps with Moynihan and Banfield and me, a long and serious address articulating these principles and reasserting Republican ownership of them. His notion is that it might be given before an academic audience by a member of the Administration with the credentials to go with the audience---the name he mentioned was Schultz. It could then be distributed, etc., if that were desired. We will do this if you determine that there is interest in such a speech.

As I stated earlier, I do think it would be valuable to set up a national "professors for the reelection of the President" committee, under the CRP, to provide materials, assistance, and perhaps speakers and literature (deriving in part from our program of writing)---and encouragement too---to people to join or form local chapters, etc. My operation is incompatible with my doing this (and anyway my time won't permit), since our "concerned intellectuals" do want to keep their participation more or less sub rosa. It should include conservative and not-so-conservative people, professors and nonacademic intellectuals, etc. I will write you more on this later.

Mr. Leonard Garment

A Problem and a Possible Solution. Having said all this, I remain somewhat dissatisfied with the program underway for our old-line liberal intellectuals. There are, after all, only so many magazine articles and speeches they can usefully write; one wouldn't have to arrange for many more to completely exhaust the market. This means that there are a lot of academics and intellectuals who aren't being involved in any way ---and that, of course, is undesirable. Most of the people we have discussed, for example, I have not yet contacted for the simple reason that I haven't had anything to ask of them or to propose to them. Now if we finally can get an independently-funded anti-McGovern ad under way, that will solve the problem somewhat, provided of course that people will be willing to sign it. But the prospects of such an ad are at this time problematic, and in any event I'm not persuaded of its value---or rather, I do think it has value, but I don't necessarily think it's the ideal instrument for involving these people for the purposes of an eventual entente and alliance with the Administration and possibly even with the Republican party. (As a campaign instrument, it's OK---but Lipset's study will be at least as good, especially if supplemented with other articles based on interviews, etc.)

So the question is: What to do? One possibility that springs to mind immediately (it was also suggested by Peter Witonski) is to establish some advisory boards to produce position papers, speeches, research, and other such "staff" materials for the campaign. This might work, but it comes a bit late, it has the disadvantage of being a very direct form of involvement in the campaign itself, with all that implies to these somewhat skittish people, and in any event it seems superfluous. The President has a big staff which is already producing speeches and position papers; he doesn't necessarily need outside talent---although a small board of friendly intellectuals couldn't hurt and might help, provided they were really wanted and were to play a serious role. Besides, the President obviously isn't going to be campaigning on the basis of a lot of new ideas for public policy; he is, and should, campaigning largely on the basis of his record and on the theme of continuation. Insofar as he tries to make an implicit distinction between McGovern and himself on the point of "professionalism" and "competence" vs. "change that won't work" and "wild schemes", then he won't want to be coming up with an arsenal of new proposals. (Insofar as he does, moreover, he immediately establishes that there were things in his first term that he should have done but didn't.)

But one other possibility that occurs to me seems much more viable---as an implicit campaign device, as a means of involving leading intellectuals on terms they find comfortable, as a means of making the highest and best use of the talents of these people, as a means of establishing the personal relations between intellectuals and the people in the Administration. This is the idea of setting up, over the next two or three weeks, a number of small (for congeniality and effectiveness reasons) but eminent "expert advisory groups" whose function would be to plan for the second Nixon Administration. It seems to me that the Administration would find this useful

Mr. Leonard Garment

in any event---these would be "outside" people, they would bring a different set of experiences and views, they wouldn't be committed to the programs and strategic doctrines, as it were, of the first Administration, and they would, after all, be authentic experts. With luck, the right people, and hard work, a few such groups might come up with some really good ideas, or at least some interesting and helpful avenues of approaching certain public issues. At a minimum, they couldn't hurt. And there would be no possibility that they might become irritated or alienated as a result of their ideas and work being immediately disregarded or rejected---as would be the case almost inevitably if they were used for campaign purposes. This isn't to say that some members, individually, might not have a couple of usable ideas for the campaign, or write a few good speeches. That is always a possibility.

Such expert advisory boards have three other advantages. First, their existence and membership could be publicized at the time of their appointment, in September. This would symbolize the disaffection of leading intellectuals from McGovern, the openness and far-sightedness of the Administration, the seriousness and professionalism of Nixon governance. Second, because the boards would be not-for-the-campaign and because they would be identified as expert boards, it would not be so very difficult to get people to agree to join---they are experts, most of them consult, and this would be a role that they're used to and are comfortable with. If the boards were small and really eminent, being asked to join would be in the nature of an honor. Moreover, these boards would be in operation over a time of perhaps four months---which would largely obviate the problem of time for individual members, since they wouldn't have to feel they were taking on a big job which would have to be done all at once. And third, this idea has the advantage that it would put these leading experts in direct personal contact with people in the Administration, and vice versa. That seems valuable both as a means of really moving some of these people into the Administration's (and possibly the party's) orbit eventually---and also as a means for recruitment for the Administration.

There might be four or five such groups, each with five or six members, with a high Administration member ex officio, and with a part-time or full-time staff member (to do the drafting, etc.) One idea would be to delineate subject-matter areas in the conventional way---foreign, defense, city, economic, etc., policy---and have the group undertake a kind of inventory and survey. Another idea is to delineate areas in terms of general sorts of problems that the next Administration will have to deal with---redistribution, the fate of New Deal/Fair Deal/New Frontier/Great Society programs in the no-fiscal-divided era, new weapons systems, style of Presidential leadership, the future management of the economy, etc.

If you think there is merit in this, as I do, I hope you'll let me know. Meanwhile, I'll get back to the telephone, the magazine, and my book. By the way, I thought the Convention---just over last night---was immensely successful and attractive, especially for wayward Democrats. Or maybe I'm just biased.

Sincerely,

B. J.

August 16, 1972

Dear Len,

Here is Lipset's prospectus for his survey of the political attitudes of the American professoriate in the '72 election. The only problem, as I said, is time: he and his colleague Ladd need at least a preliminary committment on money from a foundation very soon. If they have it soon, the results of the survey will be available for release and publication toward the end of September---a good time, I think, inasmuch as it's about then that we can expect McGovern's standing in the polls to start moving up (as Humphrey's standing did in '68), and this information will contradict any such impression.

The only other thing to be said about this study is that it's absolutely legitimate. Any foundation which takes intellectuals, voting, political opinion, etc., as its bailiwick would be delighted with this proposal, since Lipset and Ladd are the national experts on the politics of the professors. And the results of the survey will be communicated through professional journals as well as through Commentary or some other comparable, more popular journal.

Best regards,



Paul Weaver

Publisher: Warren Demian Manshel

Chairman of the Publication Committee: Stanley Simon

Publication Committee: Deville C. Brim, Jr. • Nathan C. Azar • Harry Kahn • Daniel P. Moynihan • Arthur J. Rosenthal • Leo Rosten • Martin E. Segal
Arthur L. Singer, Jr. • Robert M. Solow • Roger Starr • James O. Wilson

PROPOSAL FOR A 1972 SURVEY OF AMERICAN PROFESSORIATE

from Seymour M. Lipset, Harvard University, and
Everett C. Ladd, Jr., University of Connecticut

This memorandum contains a proposal for a national survey of the American professoriate designed to follow-up on the findings of the 1969 massive (60,000) questionnaire survey conducted under the auspices of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. The principal investigators have been involved in the analysis of the 1969 investigation, and have completed a number of articles, and the first-draft of a book based on these data. They propose to elaborate on hypotheses engendered in the earlier survey through a study linked to the analysis of the way academics react to the 1972 elections.

BACKGROUND

A review of the literature, both empirical and theoretical, as well as the results of our own analysis of the 1969 survey indicate a strong relationship between intellectual creativity and propensity to support what Lionel Trilling has described as the "adversary culture" of the intellectual world. That is, those most involved in creative activities in the sciences, scholarship, and the arts, are most disposed to support unorthodox "anti-Establishment" opinions and movements. The logic underlying this relationship as suggested by various analysts such as Thorstein Veblen, C. P. Snow, Paul Lazarsfeld, and many others, is that the cast of mind most conducive to originality in intellectual activities, which by definition involves innovation, the capacity to break out of accepted molds of thought, will also tend to dissent from accepted formulations in the social and political worlds. There are, of course, many other congruent hypotheses, such as those specifying

sources of tension between intellectuals and the powers, which may account for the substantive findings. (These are discussed in various of our published papers cited in the bibliography, and will not be repeated here.)

With respect to recent political and social events, our analysis indicates that the American academic profession as a whole has been more supportive of liberal to left political causes than any other occupational segment. This generalization holds true with respect to voting behavior, both being more Democratic and more favorable to left third parties, and to attitudes towards various political and social issues, race relations, the Vietnam war, and many others. And congruent with the assumption that intellectual achievement is associated with critical social views, indicators of achievement, whether institutional (calibre of school), or personal (publication and research record) are associated with more liberal or left opinions on political matters.

Significantly, however, the correlations between scholarly eminence and "liberal" political positions are reduced with respect to intramural issues, e.g., attitudes toward student activism, student power, quotas for minority groups, etc. Seemingly a large segment of the more creative and more liberal find changes in the traditional way of life of academe threatening, and take a more conservative position on such matters.

In projecting a new survey for 1972, we would like among other things to focus on some of the sources and consequences of the strain between extramural "liberalism" and intramural "conservatism." This concern may be particularly related to the 1972 election. There is some indication that the divisions within academe concerning ways of reacting to the pressures for intramural change stemming from student activists and reform movements may

affect behavior in the 1972 election. That is, the identification of the McGovern campaign with youth activism, and quota democracy, which attracts many ideologically dedicated liberals, both within and outside of academe, to him, may also undermine the Democratic vote among traditional liberal and Democratic faculty who have been disturbed by some of the consequences of the politicization of academe flowing from ideologically motivated campus activism. Some suggest that the intramural conservatism of some academics who have been extramural liberals or radicals may place a strain on their general social ideology and political commitments.

Speaking of these possibilities, Milton Friedman, one of the few important identified conservatives in the social sciences, has suggested that conservatism as a hetrodox view within American academe may replace liberalism as the anti-Establishment orientation. He hypothesizes (hopes) that a reversal of the creativity-liberalism relationship is beginning to occur. Presumably reactions to the 1972 election issues should enable us to shed light on this line of thinking concerning changes in academe.

A 1972 survey which repeats a number of the 1969 items concerning academic issues as well as dealing with ^{political} issues will permit an estimate as to the reactions of the professoriate to a period of enormous institutional crisis and change. Since 1969, academe has had to openly face the problem of curtailed budgets involving the reduction of opportunity for advancement, of particular concern to junior faculty, lessening research funds, pressure for increased teaching loads, reduced support for graduate students, and the like. The pressures from government agencies and private interest groups to take affirmative action, particularly in the form of quotas, with respect to the employment of certain minority group members, and women, have also taken on major proportions since the earlier survey. We would propose to

explore the ways in which faculty are reacting to these matters, how they affect both their orientation towards the university and larger political matters.

Given the increased importance of the academic stratum in training and credentially almost half the youth of the country, including almost all the future elite, and the sheer impact which the numbers involved (600,000 faculty and 8 million students) can have on the body politic and cultural, it seems important to undertake a repeated survey of the profession, in ^{the} context of a national election campaign in which the two parties have positions which reflect directly on intramural concerns of the academic community. The new survey would also seem warranted as a means of ensuring some continuity in our estimates of the outlook of academe. Only through such a follow-up can local "static" be eliminated --- intrusions upon opinion caused by short-term forces which run counter to the general pattern prevailing over time. In this way changes in opinion among a core group of opinion leaders may be charted. We now have continuity in surveys of the national electorate. ^{The} Michigan Survey Research Center has conducted biennial election studies since 1952. They have paid careful attention to assuring comparability in the information collected over time. One of the most powerful arguments on behalf of funding the 1972 Michigan study is the value of building upon an existing data base.

The 1969 survey had various strengths and some weaknesses. Its sheer size, 50,000 individuals queried, permitted the investigators to analyze a variety of sub-groups, and variables, which normally could not be treated separately in the more common small samples used in survey research. Thus, we looked in detail into the characteristics of particular disciplines, religious groups, and the like. The fact that the survey was based on question-

naire rather than interview data, however, limited the kinds of information which could be gathered. A follow-up survey based on personal interviews with a much smaller sample would allow us to widen the analysis of the profession by probing more deeply into the varying orientations of academics.

PROCEDURES

The 1972 survey should, of course, replicate major components of the 1969 Carnegie survey, together with items bearing on the changing educational and political contexts. There is little need, however, to secure a comparably large sample, since the specification of general relationships permitted by the great numbers is not likely to change. A sample of 1500 is sufficiently large to permit a reliable comparison of opinions of the professoriate as a whole at the two points in time. Detailed interviews will allow us to test out various hypotheses which have arisen in the course of the analysis of the questionnaire data. For example, there is some indication that intellectual concern with abstract theory in various disciplines is associated with support for "purer" forms of politics, leftist or conservative.

We propose to conduct personal interviews with a national sample of 1,500 faculty. The interviews would be conducted by the highly trained field staff of an established survey organization such as the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago or the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. The "per respondent" costs of this type of interviewing are much higher than with mailed questionnaires, but precision in defining the sample and the much higher response rate should permit us to work in a satisfactory manner with a vastly smaller subset: a sample of 1500 should be adequate for all essential analytic purposes.

BUDGET

We estimate a per interview cost of \$40, or \$60,000 for the survey; and expenses of \$15,000 in putting the survey data into machine readable form. An additional sum of \$25,000 should be allocated for analysis of the data. Thus, we are confident, a major national survey of the American professoriate can be completed for not more than \$100,000, building upon the 1969 study, and providing the frame for periodic investigations in the future. Alternative survey strategies can be devised, but the one outlined above seems best---especially when we view the project as part of a long-term data gathering enterprise which should be of value to researchers engaged in longitudinal studies well in the future.

The minimum alternative survey strategy would be based on a telephone survey of a random sample of faculty members (500 to 750 respondents) at selected universities. We estimate a per-interview cost under this minimum alternative strategy of \$10; an additional sum of \$12,000 would suffice for basic coding and data analysis operations. The lowest feasible sum for this minimum strategy would thus be approximately \$15,000. The results of the survey would be less comprehensive and comparable than they would be under the larger budget outlined above, but they would still be reliable enough to constitute a useful and important addition to our understanding of the attitudes and behavior of this increasingly important sector of modern American society.

PUBLISHED MATERIALS ON THE POLITICS OF ACADEME BY S.M. LIPSET & EVERETT LADD

S. M. Lipset, Rebellion in the University (Boston, Little Brown, 1972)

S. M. Lipset, "Academia and Politics in America," in T.J. Nossiter, ed., Imagination and Precision in the Social Sciences (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), pp.211-289.

S. M. Lipset, "Faculty and Students: Allied and in Conflict," Quod Novum: Blad voor de Rotterdamse Academische Gemeenschap (Rotterdam, November 27, 1970), pp.8-13.

S. M. Lipset, "The Politics of Academia," in David C. Nichols, ed., Perspectives on Campus Tensions (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1970), pp.85-118.

Everett C. Ladd, Jr., "Professors and Political Petitions," Science, 163(1969), pp.1425-30.

Everett C. Ladd, Jr., "American University Teachers and Opposition to the Vietnam War," Minerva, 8(1970), pp.542-56

S.M. Lipset and Everett C. Ladd, Jr., "The Politics of American Sociologists," American Journal of Sociology, 78(July 1972), pp.67-104

S. M. Lipset and Everett C. Ladd, Jr., "Jewish Academics in the United States: Their Achievements, Culture and Politics," The American Jewish Year Book 1971 Vol.72 (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1971), pp.89-128

S. M. Lipset and Everett C. Ladd, Jr., "What Happens to College Generations Politically?" The Public Interest, 25(Fall 1971), pp.99-113.

S. M. Lipset and Everett C. Ladd, Jr., "The Divided Professoriate," Change 3(May-June, 1971), pp.54-60

S. M. Lipset and Everett C. Ladd, Jr., ". . . And What Professors Think," Psychology Today, (November 1970), pp.49-51

Everett C. Ladd Jr., and S. M. Lipset, "Politics of Academic Natural Scientists and Engineers," Science, 176(June 9, 1972), pp.1091-1100

Everett C. Ladd, Jr., and S. M. Lipset, "American Social Scientists and the Growth of Campus Political Activism in the 1960's," Social Science Information, 10(April, 1971), pp.105-134.

Everett C. Ladd, Jr., and S. M. Lipset, "The Politics of American Political Scientists," PS, 4 (Spring, 1971) pp.135-149

S. M. Lipset and Richard Dobson, "The Intellectual as Critic and Rebel: With Special Reference to the United States and the Soviet Union," Daedalus, 101(Summer 1972), pp.137-198.

Commentary

165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022
PLaza 1-4000



Norman Podhoretz, Editor

August 21, 1972

Mr. Leonard Garment
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Len:

I thought you might be interested in seeing an advance copy of the special feature we're running in our September issue under the title "McGovern, Nixon, and the Jews," consisting of a debate between Nathan Glazer and Milton Himmelfarb, and an analytic piece by me.

Best,



Norman Podhoretz

NP/hbc
Encs.

McGovern and the Jews: A Debate

Nathan Glazer
Milton Himmelfarb

Because of the unusually intense concern evident everywhere with the question of whether and to what extent American Jews will depart from their customary allegiance to the Democratic party in the 1972 Presidential election, COMMENTARY invited two of its regular contributors, one a supporter and the other an opponent of Senator George McGovern, to debate the role that Jewish interests should and will play in the coming election. NATHAN GLAZER, Professor of Education and Social Structure at Harvard, is the author of American Judaism and (with Daniel P. Moynihan) Beyond the Melting Pot, as well as several other books. MILTON HIMMELFARB (who of course speaks here as an individual) is one of our contributing editors; his The Jews of Modernity is scheduled for publication in January 1973 by Basic Books.

Nathan Glazer

THIS will be the first electoral campaign in memory in which the question of specific Jewish interests may play a serious role in voting by American Jews. Of course there has been a "Jewish vote" in previous Presidential elections, but it has not been activated by any sense that one or the other candidate was unsympathetic to the special interests Jews have as Jews; rather it has responded to the degree of liberalism of the two candidates. Jews have for decades favored the candidate they perceived as the more liberal.

The situation in 1972 is quite different. The main reason, it seems clear, is that Senator McGovern in the past has expressed a more "even-handed" attitude toward the Arab-Israeli conflict than most liberal Senators—this is one sign that there are "radical" tendencies in his outlook. More significantly perhaps—since his recent statements in support of Israel go as far as anyone could expect, if not further—his general position in favor of the reduction of American military power and commitments abroad seriously raises the question of whether under a McGovern administration American aid would in a crisis actually be available to Israel.

There is a second reason for Jews to feel somewhat uneasy about a McGovern Presidency. McGovern seems committed, as the Democratic party reforms sponsored by a commission under

his chairmanship demonstrate, to the mechanical "representation" of what are considered "deprived" groups—in the case of the Democratic party, women, youth, and racial or quasi-racial minorities. McGovern supports quotas in party affairs; he probably supports them in employment and elsewhere. Three of his closer advisers, John Kenneth Galbraith, Edwin Kuh, and Lester C. Thurow collaborated on an article in the *New York Times Magazine* last year* that proposed, as a solution to the problem of small numbers of non-whites and women in well-paying jobs, that such jobs be reserved to these groups in proportion to their numbers in the population. As readers of COMMENTARY need no reminding, a policy like this, of replacing equal opportunity with equal representation, must inevitably entail a restriction on the opportunities of Jews.†

It is thus evident that Jewish interests may be affected by the outcome of the 1972 Presidential campaign. But should a Jew allow such considerations to affect his vote? Should not the general interest—the interest of all Americans in peace and in social and racial justice—transcend the particular interests of 3 per cent of the American people? This is not a

*August 22, 1971.

†See Paul Seabury's "HEW and the Universities" and Norman Podhoretz's "Is It Good for the Jews?" both in the February COMMENTARY, as well as the correspondence on these articles in the May, June, and July issues.

question that is ordinarily raised today, either by Jews or by anyone else. Group selfishness has been elevated to a paramount position, and it is almost universally assumed that everyone—business, labor, farmers, blacks, etc.—will vote his own special interests without reference to the general interest, which has in any case become a very murky concept. But I think this is still an important question and should not be ignored. If indeed the interests of Israel were in opposition to general American interests; if indeed the Jewish concern with the opportunities that were opened up to them in the 1940's and 1950's and are now declining—the opportunity to enter good schools, to compete fairly in civil-service and other examinations, to compete for good jobs in government and education and business on the basis of merit—if these interests contradicted a necessary and just policy to repair the unequal treatment of blacks and other minorities, then Jews might well have to consider whether it was not morally incumbent upon them to vote against their own interests.

LET us reflect on these matters for a moment. It may be that American support of Israel is detrimental to American interests more generally conceived. It may be more important for the United States to compete against Russia for alliances with countries representing scores of millions of Arabs and hundreds of millions of Muslims than to support the survival of Israel. On this issue, however, I feel that the weighing of a general national interest must simply be set aside by Jews: the survival of Israel is for Jews an interest that must transcend all other interests. In World War II the survival of Jews was an interest that, as against the United States' capacity to make war in the most efficient and effective way, should have been given priority. Tragically, it was not. Today, it is an interest that, as against the capacity of the United States to compete with Russia for influence in the Arab and Muslim world—and this seems to me the most that can be said for an American interest in favoring the Arab states—must, for Jews, come first.

Admittedly we cannot simply *assert* our overriding interest in the survival of Israel. We must also defend it rationally (though it does not necessarily rest on rational grounds). We must argue for it. We must be capable of arguing that the survival of Israel is morally right, despite the agonizing problem of the Arab refugees. (Their claims can after all be to some extent met within a framework in which Israel survives as a secure state.) Most Jews and many others would also argue that the survival of Israel is fully consistent with American interests: it is a more secure ally than the Arab states would be; it is a stronger state; our only Arab allies would invariably be the more backward despotisms.

We can make one more pragmatic argument for the survival of Israel in terms of general American interests: the destruction of Israel would be such a severe blow to the morale of American Jews that the role of this small but influential minority on American life would undoubtedly become less healthy than it has been. It must be remembered that American Jews have, with their money and energy and influence, supported the protection and expansion of civil rights and civil liberties, they have worked toward a greater equality in income distribution, they have played a large role in financing liberal causes and liberal candidates. One may well wonder what the influence of American Jews in American life would become if Israel were to be conquered by the Arabs and the Jews thrown out or slaughtered. This is something that must be taken into account in considering whether the support of Israel coincides with American interests in general.

For Jews, then, the survival of Israel is a transcendent interest. If the survival of Israel coincides with the larger American public interest, well and good. If it does not—well, the United States is a big and rich country, and the reduction of its influence in the Middle East, or the loss of a point to Russia, should not outweigh this transcendent Jewish interest.

The Jewish commitment to equality of opportunity—and the benefits this principle brings to Jews—are another matter. First of all, the battle is already in large measure, I believe, lost. Whenever ethnic and racial groups conflict, in a setting in which dominance by one is excluded, quotas seem to come in—this is, I am afraid, the logic of the glacial movement in all societies toward greater equality. Even under Nixon—though spokesmen for the minority groups seem unaware of the fact—the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission and the civil-rights arms of HEW and other government agencies have been imposing the requirement for equality of representation with steadily greater harshness on institutions of higher education and on other large employers. The guidelines which require record-keeping for what is in effect the imposition of quotas have been steadily expanded from blacks to "Spanish-surnamed Americans" (a category which apparently embraces the descendants of Spanish immigrants, Cubans, perhaps even the occasional Irishman with a Spanish name), American Indians, and Orientals; no doubt they will soon include Eastern and Southern-European immigrants and their descendants. And the similar requirement for much larger proportions of women in better jobs is already law, or at any rate is incorporated in federal guidelines which have the power of law.

Obviously in this area, Jewish interests are still at stake and require attention. But in a world in which such considerations steadily decline in

response to the demands of equality, we cannot assign as much importance to the right of Jewish males to achieve good jobs on the basis of merit as we do to the Jewish interest in the survival of Israel.

UNDER these circumstances, can Jews—should Jews—support McGovern? I believe they can; and on the basis of other, more general considerations, I also believe they should. Of course, individual Jews will balance general interests against Jewish interests in different ways. For myself, I believe Jewish political influence in this country is such that any American President must give some support to Israel; and I believe the American experience in Vietnam is such that no American President—unless he is someone we should distrust as adventurist or unbalanced—will risk war with Russia to save Israel.

Admittedly between these two extremes of some support to Israel and no risk of war with Russia, there is a wide range of possible policies. That Nixon has leaned more to the end of accepting risk than McGovern would, I do not doubt; and yet how far toward that end can he really lean? One recalls a poll in which only 8 per cent of the American people were willing to go to war to protect Israel, an even smaller proportion than was willing to go to war to protect India! (To be sure, that was before our improved relations with China.) It would not be a popular—or even a possible—policy for this country to send American troops or to risk nuclear war for Israel. I believe that Vietnam marks a watershed in many respects. I am amazed that President Nixon still acts as if American military power could be used in defense of our allies and that other countries act as if they credit this possibility. I do not. We will send arms, we will send economic aid, we will move aircraft carriers around—though to what purpose I do not understand, since it is perfectly clear that these carriers will not be used against Russia or the Arabs to protect Israel. As President, George McGovern might do almost as much—at least up to the movement of the aircraft carriers. More than that, I doubt that even Nixon would ever do.

It is pointed out that McGovern as President would cut the military budget: would that not weaken credibility in the American commitment to Israel? Since I do not agree that the effectiveness of this commitment is based on the belief that America would actually go to war, I think some reduction in American military expenditures whether 10, 20, or 30 per cent—is quite consistent with such a commitment. One understands that a good part of the military budget is waste anyway. Very likely the waste and the non-waste would be cut at roughly the same rate—that is probably the best one can hope for in view of the nature of budget-making and of

bureaucratic power. We have spent billions on weapons that are useless, we are aware that the military keeps vast and unnecessary stores of goods, that it treats itself at the higher levels to lavish perquisites, that it maintains great numbers of unneeded bases in the United States itself which could be used to expand recreational facilities or for other civilian needs. We are aware of the fact that Congress, the military, and industry combine to insist on these wasteful expenditures. I myself would like to have in the White House a President who could stand against some of these expenditures and hold them to lower levels. And I do not see that the security of Israel would thereby be radically affected.

TO TAKE a larger perspective, I do not see that the security of Western Europe would necessarily be affected either. I have never understood why Western Europe, which is wealthier than Soviet Russia by far, requires an American military presence. East Germany and West Germany are settling the question of the two Germanies. We and our allies and the Russians are settling the status of West Berlin. Germany has accepted the frontiers with Poland and Russia. Why should not this approach to a permanent settlement be reflected in the reduction of our military presence in Europe? Who really believes that Western Europe is threatened by a Russian invasion? And if it is not, what is the purpose of the American army in Europe?

The purpose of American arms in the Far East is even more obscure. Most of the Japanese want us to leave. We should; the third most powerful economic state in the world is capable of managing its own defense. American bases and arms in the Far East permit us to pour bombs on Vietnam from Guam and Thailand and Okinawa. Yet can anyone say American security has been enhanced by the fact that we now maintain a military presence in Southeast Asia? I can think of only one good reason for holding onto bases in the Far East, and that is to keep American forces in South Korea. There they have truly maintained peace for twenty years against the bellicose North Koreans. But there have been recent indications that South Korea and North Korea themselves may come to some peaceful arrangement. We may thus in a few years be able to withdraw American troops even from Korea.

As for the rest of Asia: American bases are a disaster, for this country and the countries of Southeast Asia. American military support is a disaster. I do not believe for a moment that these countries would be less fortunate under the rule of Communist North Vietnam—and of course I fully expect that to be the fate of at least the area which formerly made up French Indochina—than they have been for the last seven years, suffering the effects of the horrible war that our

presence alone sustains. Our efforts to play a role on the South Indian subcontinent are pitiful. Our arms have enabled Pakistan to engage in the most terrible crimes any nation has committed since World War II and to fight pointless wars against India. Our arms indeed have contributed to the abysmal poverty of both nations. If other nations wish to provide arms to this end, let them. We have no national interests there, except an interest generally in peace and development. Undoubtedly the least defensible action of the Nixon administration has been its support of the butchers of Pakistan.

George McGovern wants to reduce the size of the military, its role in the world, and the scope and scale of American commitments around the world. I agree. He has said he will not reduce the American commitment to Israel. Inevitably this commitment, whether by McGovern or Nixon, cannot extend to the use of American troops or warships, or to a serious risk of war with Russia. That is reality. I believe our interests as Americans demand an immediate withdrawal from South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. There is nothing we can do in those countries that can help them. This has now been demonstrated under both Johnson and Nixon. We can kill their people and destroy their land by our distinctively American ways of warfare, we can turn their daughters into prostitutes and their children into beggars, we can corrupt their rulers and their politics. This much we can do, and have. It is not clear that there is anything else we can do—at least we have not, under a number of administrations. Therefore we should leave, immediately. McGovern would leave.

This is the one and overwhelming reason why, as between Nixon and McGovern, I would stand for McGovern—having, however, also considered whether his election would represent an unacceptable danger to the survival of Israel and having concluded that it would not.

ON DOMESTIC issues, the balance between Nixon and McGovern is closer. Here my view of the specific Jewish interest and the larger American interest merge. I believe in equality of opportunity and the reward of merit, and not because they help Jews. I think these principles also help society. They make society more efficient and effective, they conform to a widespread sense of a proper moral order, they are necessary to help America compete with other countries and it is perfectly clear from the balance of trade that America, with all its vast natural advantages, no longer competes very well with a country such as Japan which has none of these advantages. With equality of representation replacing equality of opportunity, I see America sinking—not rapidly, not insupportably, but inevitably. Nations do change in their capacity to produce and compete. Their

values change, and clearly American values are today in large measure antagonistic to production and competition, and it is these antagonistic values that are represented by McGovern. One recalls with surprise that after World War II, even with so much destroyed by war, England was still the richest country in Western Europe, and after 25 years of small differences in growth rates, it is now the poorest. And yet the massive gradual shift leading the United States in the same direction seems to be irreversible. One can only hope that Japan and Western Germany will be next—and well they may. It seems to me no solution to vote for a man who makes speeches against the tide rather than the man who is ready to drift with it. What can speeches change?

On the whole, I prefer the way Nixon—or his advisers—have talked about American social policy to the way McGovern has talked about it. And yet we should not exaggerate the differences. In comparison with Kennedy and Johnson, both Nixon and McGovern are men who want to do less in domestic policy rather than more. Neither Nixon nor McGovern wants to follow the pattern of the 60's in which for each problem and each subdivision of a problem we devised a special program—or two, or three, or more—and funded them all, to some extent, and saw most of them fail. What, after all, does McGovern's domestic program amount to? The greatest emphasis has been placed on the guaranteed annual income of \$1,000 for every American. In all the fuss about this proposal—which is crudely formulated and no doubt far too large—the similarities with the Nixon Family Assistance Plan have, surprisingly, been almost entirely overlooked. Both want to do away with a welfare system based in significant measure on social services to aid the poor and to institute instead a program to give money directly to the poor. Both wish to cover the working as well as the non-working poor. Both want to replace diverse state and local programs with a federal program, and state variations with a national minimum. Both try to deal—better than the present welfare system does—with the problem of work incentive, and it can be argued that the McGovern approach, in which the income guarantee is in no way affected by earnings, is the more effective in creating an incentive to work. It will be recalled that one of the contributing ideas to the Nixon FAP was the child allowance, which Daniel P. Moynihan championed vigorously. The child allowance too has the virtue of being unrelated to earnings and therefore does not undermine the incentive to work in the way a system does in which the income guarantee declines with earnings. The child allowance also goes to every family, rich or poor, just as the McGovern allowance does. Of course there are important differences between the Nixon and McGovern plans yet as one is modified in Congress, and

the other is modified by political reality, they will come closer and closer to each other, even though the candidates will inevitably magnify the significance of the distinctions that remain.

THE interesting thing is that McGovern has talked about little else domestically. It is hard to know what he would do about housing, about urban renewal, about crime, about juvenile delinquency, about elementary education, about higher education, etc. McGovern apparently believes—if we are to take his relative indifference to specific domestic programs seriously—that the best way to solve the problem of the poor is to give them money. That is also what Daniel P. Moynihan believes, and what he apparently succeeded in getting President Nixon to believe. It is not only a Republican administration which no longer believes that we know how to solve specific problems with specific programs. The government-in-opposition at the Brookings Institution now also believes the same thing—and so, it would appear, do McGovern and his advisers. Certainly it would be naive to expect a President McGovern to act like President Johnson, even leaving aside the fact that he would come in with a narrow majority and probably also an antagonistic Congress. The age of poverty programs is over, and the age of income redistribution has begun. Amazingly, no one has noticed that Nixon and McGovern agree on this point—though Congress still seems to disagree with them both.

What else is there to say about McGovern domestically? Tax reform? Undoubtedly he would try to cut into the income of the well-to-do more sharply than Nixon has done. In this he would only be following the lead of most advanced nations with substantial social programs, and the inescapable arithmetic of the programs which both Democrats and Republicans, Left and Right, have already agreed on. The costs of giving subsidies for every student to every institution of higher education will be enormous—we are already committed to that by the higher education act. The costs of Medicare and Medicaid are already enormous, and there is no

conceivable reform in health care that can substantially reduce the huge rate of growth in these costs. Social Security will cost more. Revenue sharing with states and cities will cost more.

All these are programs which McGovern, I assume, would support; some he would expand—such as the public underwriting of health care. What McGovern as President would find—and what would introduce sobriety into his proposals—is that there is not enough money even for the programs already written into law, and whose principles he accepts, and hardly any for the new programs he would wish to introduce. The issue would resolve itself into a choice between new taxation and more inflation. All this is the *déjà vu* of all developed nations whose desire for social services outruns their capacity to provide enough through taxation, however much they soak the rich, to pay for them.

ONE comes back, then, to foreign affairs, and there the choice, for the Jewish voter, is between the man who acknowledges the moral and practical tragedy of Vietnam, and of American military policy in so many other places, and the man who makes no such acknowledgment but who has done more for Israel than any other American President. It will be a difficult decision for Jewish voters, and more of them are likely to vote for the Republican candidate than Jews have ever done before. For myself, I believe McGovern would do what an American President can do to ensure the survival of Israel. For just as no American President, even with all our arms and wealth, could ensure the survival of a non-Communist South Vietnam, there are limits to American power in the Middle East too. We must always live in fear and trembling when it comes to the survival of Israel, dependent as this survival is on Israel's own strength, on the financial and political aid of Jews in other countries, and on Israel's own good political sense. None of those things will change, whether Nixon or McGovern is President after 1972. And so, in the end, for me, Vietnam is decisive, and on that ground I support McGovern.

Milton Himmelfarb

IT WILL be better for the Jews if McGovern does not win. Whether he wins or loses, it will be better for us if this year we give the Democratic candidate less than our usual crushing majority.

The Jews' overriding foreign-policy interest is Israel. More accurately, our overriding interest of any kind is Israel. If—which God forbid—Israel should cease to exist, do we not know in our bones that the Jews would cease to exist? We have not in us the stuff of our *galut* ancestors, and what they were able to do in the absence of a Jewish state we and our descendants will be unable to do; for we are barely able to do it in the presence of a Jewish state.

American Jews and Israelis must agree with Ben-Gurion: It is not that the Jews are for the sake of Israel but that Israel is for the sake of the Jews.

For American Jews, therefore, the interest in Israel is not what the interest in Italy is for our Italian neighbors. When Italy and Yugoslavia disputed the possession of Trieste, Italian Americans naturally sided with Italy. But that was a marginal question. The existence of Italy and Italians and *italianità* was not at risk. What Jew would not pray for Israel's problems with the Arabs to be like Italy's with Yugoslavia? With Israel it is not a question of this city or that, these borders or those. Yugoslavia, and her friends, did not deny Italy's right to be Italy.

It is 3,750 years since Abraham began Jewish history, a history of some consequence. If Israel's friends do not worry about her, both Israel and that history will come to an end. And if the Jews do not worry about Israel, why in the world should anyone else?

For a Jew, accordingly, McGovern's inferiority to Nixon should be manifest. The case is not what it would be if, say, Humphrey were running against Nixon. Then a supporter of Nixon could argue that Nixon's deeds were more important than Humphrey's words, but he could hardly say that the words were not good words, or that they had not been good from the outset. With McGovern, on the other hand, even the words are recent, quite different from his former words, and therefore dubious. In the press of the campaign he is now saying to Jews things about Israel that are marked by all the fervor and sincerity of Governor Rockefeller's eating knishes in Jewish neighborhoods during *his* campaigns for office.

How reassuring can it be to Jews that the Arabists of the National Council of Churches (like the anti-Israel secular Left) were rapturous about McGovern's nomination? And though people like Senator Ribicoff tell us that Richard Stearns is not really all that close to McGovern,

should we be reassured when Stearns, with his anti-"Zionist" and pro-"Palestinian" record, is quoted (in *New York* magazine, July 3) as saying: "I would like to have the most responsible job in this Administration that I could have. I didn't go through this for the simple exercise of nominating and electing a President"? (In the press of the campaign a new Stearns now says he agrees with the new McGovern.) Or should we be reassured because McGovern has said that Senator Fulbright would make a good Secretary of State? Fulbright—whose coldness toward Israel chills us.

Nor will it do to say that we should listen to the present McGovern, rather than the McGovern of a few years ago. How seriously can we take the new pro-Israel statements and planks of a candidate whose policy is diplomatic and military withdrawal? Nixon has made his remarkable new approaches to the Soviet Union (and China), but the United States Sixth Fleet remains in the Mediterranean, a barrier for Israel against a Russian attack. Of what use will McGovern's new professions of friendship and support for Israel be when he recalls those carriers from the Mediterranean?

Much has been written about Israelis in high places telling American Jews that Nixon, unlike McGovern, is a proved friend, and therefore worthy of support. We hardly need Israelis to tell us something so obvious.

IN DOMESTIC matters the great question today is what equality and justice mean. McGovern and the McGovernites define equality and justice in a way that is bad for the Jews—and bad for America as well.

Their definition is the one that somehow, without real discussion and almost behind our backs, has come to be accepted by the Best People. Equality and justice used to mean No Discrimination (against individuals), now they tend to mean Fair Shares (for groups). How does one assure Fair Shares? By legislating proportionality, or quotas. Can anything be clearer than that a principle of group Fair Shares must be fatal for the Jews?

When we think of discrimination—unfairness, injustice—against Jews in the United States, the example that comes most readily to mind is that of the medical schools between, say, 1920 and 1950. It was not that the proportion of Jewish students in American medical schools was lower than the proportion of Jews in the American population, even in those bad old days. It was that many Jewish candidates for admission to medical school were kept out, though qualified, because they were Jews. For us the incontrovertible proof of injustice and unfairness, and of their especial wickedness *in America*, was that Fascist Italy—Fascist Italy!—opened the doors of its medical schools to Americans shut out as Jews by American medical schools. The discrimina-

tion was against qualified individuals, and by "qualified" we did not mean passable; in many cases we meant superior. (It was Jews who told the contemptuous joke about the stutterer who accused the radio station which had not hired him as an announcer of being anti-Semitic.)

No Jew agreed with the excluders' defense, that there was no discrimination, because the Jews, only x per cent of the American population, were $x + y$ per cent of medical students. How could percentages, or quotas, justify the injustice to *this* individual, excluded though meriting inclusion? Was it not self-evident to any rational person that trying to reconcile quotas with democracy was like trying to square the circle? Quotas were part of the feudal world of ascription, with the different estates having different privileges and duties, and estate deriving mostly from parentage. Were Americans proud of the Constitution's one lapse into that system of ascription—toleration of hereditary slavery?

To talk about these things today it is necessary to use the past tense. Today, and precisely among the advanced and educated—the successors to those whom a generation ago we could appeal to as rational—quotas no longer are self-evidently feudal, but seem to be of the essence of democracy. The Republican Mr. Pottinger of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has been bestowing the blessings of quotas on the universities; and the Democrat Mr. McGovern has been promising appointments, from the bottom to the top, by quota. (Except that "quota" is still felt to be an unattractive word, so its agents deny the word while doing the thing.) Though President Nixon cannot avoid the responsibility for Pottinger, Pottinger is not close to Nixon; but Senator McGovern is close to McGovern.

But it does not end there. McGovern's quota system applies to more than government jobs (and university admissions and appointments). Among his economic advisers are Edwin Kuh and Lester C. Thurow, co-authors, with John Kenneth Galbraith, of "The Galbraith Plan to Promote the Minorities," in the *New York Times Magazine* for August 22, 1971. That plan is quite simple—quotas in business and industry. (I envy the young, and the young in heart, who do not experience my occasional difficulties in grasping that while American women, who are more than 50 per cent, are a minority, American Jews, who are fewer than 3 per cent, are not a minority. Among others, Galbraith, Kuh, and Thurow explain it all to me, but I suppose I am a slow learner just as I am slow to learn what everybody who is anybody knows about the Middle East: that Israel, with a Jewish population of 2½ million, is a Great Power.)

Whether tactically or because they themselves are not entirely happy about quotas, many argue for quotas group Fair Shares as only a tempor-

ary device, necessary now for undoing the effects of past injustice, but to be discarded as soon as they have served that purpose, in favor of a true, substantive and not merely formal, principle of individual No Discrimination. Anyone who believes that is allowing hope to triumph over experience: *rien ne dure que le provisoire*, nothing is so permanent as what is temporary. Once you give people a special privilege, you can as easily take it back from them as take back meat from a tiger. Have we been able to take back the depletion allowance from the petroleum industry, or agricultural subsidies from Senator Eastland?

Presidential candidate (eight years from now, or forty-eight): Group Fair Shares have done their job, and it is time to go on to individual No Discrimination.

Accredited minorities, HEW staff, deans of minority students, coordinators of Spanish-surname research: Male chauvinist pig! Racist! Fascist! Insensitive!

For Jews the outcome is unmistakable. Now we are lumped under "white," or "other." But as the white and other are subjected to their residual quotas, and as new whites and others, inevitably, come onto the scene to make their separate claims—Italians, Poles, Southerners—how long can it be before it occurs to those whites and others who are not Jews that the differentiations within "white and other" should in all fairness be reflected in subquotas? Manifestly, if fairness requires proportionality and quotas, it cannot be fair that the Jews, who are so few, should have so many good things and good jobs. Fair Shares—let the Jews' good things and jobs be in proportion to their numbers. (And how far are we from the time when "women" will discover that they are not a unitary, undifferentiated minority, so-called, but that some are black, and some are Jews, and so on; and that by the justice of Fair Shares, Jewish women are getting too much?) Concede the major premise, Fair Shares, and the conclusion is irrefutable.

BUT WHY concede that premise? Why, especially, should Jews concede it? Those Jews who refuse to concede it have been accused of engaging in mere, mean-spirited defense of their turf. Of course, when any other group defends its turf, everyone understands that to be, if not necessarily admirable, then at the very least natural. Apparently it is only the Jews' defense of their turf that is mere, and mean-spirited. But in fact we are not dealing here with a defense of turf, in anything like the sense of straightforward economic interest. The logic of proportionality does not, cannot, stop with vocation and job.

For a concrete illustration of what is at stake here, I wish I could incorporate the whole of Jerome Karabel's "Open Admissions: Toward

Meritocracy or Equality?," in *Change* for May 1972. Karabel is described as a researcher for the American Council on Education, the roof or umbrella organization of the American colleges and universities. No doubt he thinks of himself as nonconformist and anti-establishment, but in matters of this sort, can anything be more establishmentarian than an article by someone on the staff of his organization?

For our purposes, he says two things of interest. The first is that a generation ago the increasing reliance upon individual ability or merit for determining whom to admit and whom not to admit to colleges and universities, and the decreasing reliance upon ascription (birth, group), was a victory for democracy and equality; but that today—for reasons not explained very clearly—reliance upon individual merit or ability is undemocratic and unequalitarian. The second thing of interest he says is that it is not enough for everyone who wants a college education to be admitted to a college: as long as some colleges are academically more selective than others, there will be unjust inequality. In other words, the University of Chicago has no right to be fussier about its students—and presumably about its professors—than Podunk A. and M. In that view, distinctiveness/distinction is inherently and necessarily the enemy of democratic equality, and must be done away with. What of the academy as a community of scholars, a constituent of the international republic of learning, the place where Mycenaean studies can be cultivated, together with hopelessly impractical, pure mathematics? To ask that question is to show you believe—or, for motives not hard to divine, pretend to believe—in the discredited ivory-tower notion of the university. If this is the wisdom of people who are supposed to care about the universities as universities, why should we be surprised that it is also the wisdom of HEW "change agents"?

A letter in COMMENTARY (May 1972) has reported that when the chairman of a graduate department of religion in an Ivy League university said that a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek was prerequisite to admission, HEW representatives told him to "end those old-fashioned programs that require irrelevant languages and start programs on relevant things which minority-group students can study without learning languages."

If that frame of mind, the new treason of the clergy, is made even more official than it already is, hard times will have arrived. Every ordinary Jew is dependent upon, is nourished by, learned Jews and the learned Jewish tradition. Jewish scholars have to know—in addition to the Jewish languages—Greek, Latin, and who knows how many modern European languages (for reading the scholarly literature). Some scholars also have to know Arabic, others Akkadian and Ugaritic. A

friend of mine teaches in that very department, in that university. He has had to learn Middle Persian.

From all of which it emerges that if we protect the Jewish interest—and this one, at least, surely is not very crass—we will also be protecting the American interest, against those who go lusting after relevance, and would use both the bureaucracy and the courts to impose it. (What would Edmund Wilson have said about government, and liberal Babbitts, decreeing that languages are irrelevant?) When classical and biblical studies had begun to decline among the Protestants, there were some among them who consoled themselves that the Catholics were carrying those studies forward. Now that the Catholics seem to be going the way of the Protestants, it may be the Jews—and precisely the most Jewish Jews—who are running with the torch. I am told that at Columbia a striking proportion of the young men who are studying Aeschylus and Lucretius sit in class with their heads covered by *kippot*, and are never there on a Jewish holy day, no matter how "minor."

Of more immediate, and practical, political consequence is it that some Jews, because of their Jewish experience and sensibility, are helping to remind America that individual No Discrimination, not group Fair Shares, is the good, authentic American idea.

A FEW observations remain to be made, of a more (or an even more) internal Jewish character. It has been said that American Jews are deserting the Democratic candidate because of economic conservatism—that is, because so many of us are rich, and McGovern has a soak-the-rich tax program. Whether so many of us are rich is questionable, despite all those Wall Street types the writers love to mention and quote; but certainly, on average, the Jews of Scarsdale are richer than the Jews of Congressman Celler's district in Brooklyn. I will bet that the Jews of Scarsdale go for McGovern more than the Jews of Celler's congressional district—an odd sort of economic conservatism.

It has also been said that middle-aged Jews should think twice about preferring Nixon to McGovern, for fear of further widening the already wide generation gap, and alienating the Jewish young even more. Nonsense. The radical children of conservative Jewish parents are anecdotes, not statistics. Radical Jewish sons and daughters have liberal-to-radical parents—who are apt to be more liberal-to-radical than they are Jewish, and who know that the current liberal-to-radical thing is to be for quotas, and McGovern. In the Florida Democratic primaries, while the elderly throughout the state voted for the victorious Wallace more than the young did, the Jewish elderly voted for Wallace not at all. They preferred Humphrey, giving him a larger margin

over McGovern than younger, more prosperous Jews did. (The evidence for Florida has been analyzed by Professors Lipman and Strauss of the University of Miami.) There are generation gaps, and generation gaps.

A certain amount of blackmail is being exercised here. I was in Israel during the Democratic convention, and in *Malaria* for July 7 that great and good Jew Abbie Hoffman was quoted as saying:

Any Jew who supports Nixon is a Gentile [Hebrew: *goy*; or did Hoffman use the word "goy" himself?—MH], even Golda Meir. . . . I am pro-Jewish [that's nice—MH] but anti-Zionist [i.e., denying the right of a State of Israel to exist—MH].

How will the Jews vote? Everyone is agreed that in 1968 we gave Humphrey 80 per cent or a little more, and Nixon between 15 and 20 per cent. The projections of the Jewish vote for Nixon in 1972 that one sees in the papers range all the way to 50 per cent. But old habits die hard, and many a Jewish arm will be too paralyzed to pull the Republican lever in a Presidential election. Besides, by November the fudging and blurring of McGovern will have proceeded enough for most Jews to do what they want to do, and are comfortable doing—vote for the Democrat. The fore-

casts of people whose judgment I respect are between 25 and 35 per cent. My guess is 25 per cent.

More would be better, and less would be dangerous. It is good to have the politicians competing for our support; but why should they compete if we do not show we are prepared to reward friends and punish enemies? Even if McGovern is elected, it will do us no harm at all if he senses in us a certain coolness, or reserve. It was because the Jews, more than all other whites, supported Mayor Lindsay that he decided to reward us with his plan for Forest Hills and all the boons, internal and external, material and moral, that go with it. If there had been fewer Jewish votes for Lindsay—especially in Forest Hills—he would have treated the Jews more considerately, or at least circumspectly.

Is there any use fighting? Aren't quotas inevitable? Shouldn't we accommodate ourselves to the wave of the future? For instance, shouldn't we begin now to train our children for vocations less dependent on government and large organizations (and on a college education)? I have heard a professor at a rabbinical seminary speak in that vein to his students.

But I also remember what Isaiah Berlin said about twenty years ago in his lecture on *Historical Inevitability*: the irresistible, often, is only the unresisted.

Between Nixon and the New Politics

Norman Podhoretz

ALTHOUGH Nathan Glazer (p. 43) is for McGovern and Milton Himmelfarb (p. 48) is against him, they both expect that Jews will give a smaller majority of their vote to the Democratic candidate this year than they have ever given to a Democratic candidate in any recent Presidential election. The normal pattern has been for Jews to give between 80 and 90 per cent of their vote to the Democratic Presidential candidate; this year the figure is widely expected to go below 70 per cent and could even, some say, go below 60. One also hears that a certain number of wealthy Jews who have contributed heavily to Democratic Presidential candidates in the past are either planning to sit this election out or to throw their financial support to Nixon.

Does all this mean that the Jews are beginning to move into the Republican party? I think not—or at least not necessarily. In my opinion, the turn away from McGovern has been caused not by a sudden access of Jewish enthusiasm for Nixon or his party, but by a steadily mounting Jewish uneasiness over McGovern. I think, moreover, that to understand this uneasiness fully, one has to look not only at the two issues of Israel and quotas which Mr. Glazer and Mr. Himmelfarb between them so exhaustively discuss, but also at the character of the "McGovern phenomenon" as a whole. For everything in this discussion depends on whether the forces led by McGovern will retain control of the Democratic party or whether they will indeed prove to be, as many people have predicted, the Goldwaterites of the Left.

That Richard Nixon inspires dislike among liberals and even hatred is hardly news, and it is

hardly necessary to show in detail that in the course of his pre-Presidential career he generally spoke and acted in such a way as to deserve this response. Even as President he has done many things calculated to infuriate liberals. He has unleashed Agnew, he has taken a tough line on civil disobedience and direct-action protest, he has invaded Cambodia, he has intensified the air war in North Vietnam, he has appointed conservatives to the Supreme Court, he has come out against busing.

Yet it is also true that in the course of his career as President he has done more and more to deserve, if not the affection of liberals, then at least a diminution of their dislike. He has proposed a guaranteed annual income, he has instituted wage-and-price controls, he has withdrawn half-a-million men from Vietnam, he has enunciated a foreign-policy doctrine involving a lesser degree of American intervention in international disputes, he has visited Communist China, he has negotiated an arms-limitation treaty with the Soviet Union and possibly also (if such surprising developments as the move toward unification of the two Koreas and the departure of Soviet troops from Egypt are anything more than coincidence) the beginnings of a long-range political settlement. On balance, surely, it makes more sense for Nixon's old supporters in the conservative camp like William F. Buckley, Jr. and Richard J. Whalen to feel betrayed (which indeed they seem to do) than it does for liberals to go on hating him as much as they seem to do. Nevertheless liberals do go on hating him, less perhaps than they used to but still much more than, on the record, they rationally should.

And if this is the case with lib-

erals in general, it is also the case with Jews, who are still one of the most liberal groups in the country (for even if the most wildly pessimistic forecasts from the Democratic point of view were to prove accurate, it would mean that "only" 60 per cent of Jewish voters were going for McGovern—a higher percentage than he is likely to get from any other group except perhaps the blacks). Jews as liberals share in the general liberal dislike of Nixon, and Jews as Jews, often with an even lesser degree of rationality, dislike him on their own. The Israelis say that Nixon has done more for them than any American President before him, and yet in speaking before Jewish audiences I have repeatedly been asked what I think makes the Nixon administration "anti-Israel." More Jews have been appointed to powerful positions within the Nixon administration—one has only to mention the names of Henry Kissinger, Arthur Burns, and Herbert Stein—than has probably ever happened before, and yet I have re-

peatedly been asked by these same Jewish audiences whether the "fact" that there are no Jews in the Nixon administration means that the President is anti-Semitic. For just as blacks seem not to realize that it is under the Nixon administration that the dual school systems of the South have finally been abolished, and that the concept of "affirmative action" has been turned into a means of instituting a quota system mainly in the black behalf, so Jews seem not to realize that the Nixon administration has been friendly in a variety of important ways to them.

To complicate matters even further, those Jews who worry about quotas and who oppose McGovern because he appears to favor them, seem not to realize that it is under the Nixon administration that quotas have become a threat. But this is only one of many indications that the Jewish uneasiness over McGovern is not to be fully explained with reference to specific issues, any more than the probable

loss he will suffer of normally Democratic Jewish votes is to be explained by a newfound Jewish fondness for Nixon. The specific issues are certainly real and the concern over them is certainly genuine, but there is, I believe, something larger and more difficult to define for which they serve as a manageably concrete, though not altogether satisfactory, stand-in. This something is the New Politics.

By the New Politics I mean the insurgency within the Democratic party which came out of the anti-war movement and which, having lost its chance to capture the party in 1968 either through Eugene McCarthy or through Robert Kennedy, found a second chance in the reforms developed by the McGovern Commission and then seized it through the candidacy of McGovern himself. The nature of the New Politics movement is easy enough to describe in sociological terms. The movement is made up largely of educated, prosperous people, members of the professional and technical intelligentsia and their wives and children, academics and their students: the group, in short, as Michael Novak (p. 52) reminds us, that David T. Bazelon presciently identified as a New Class long before it came to consciousness of itself as a class and as a potential political force. Thus for all the self-gratulatory speeches about the unprecedented "representativeness" of the 1972 Democratic convention, a survey by Haynes Johnson of the *Washington Post* showed that fully 39 per cent of the delegates—as compared with 4 per cent of the population as a whole—held postgraduate degrees, and that 31 per cent had incomes of more than \$25,000 a year, whereas only 5 per cent of the population as a whole is in so high an economic bracket.

But if the sociological character of the New Politics movement is clear, its political or ideological character has been obscured somewhat in the process of its transformation into the McGovern "populist" movement. Lately the talk has all been of tax reform and the redistribution of wealth, but this was not an issue indigenous to the New Politics or to the "McGovern phenomenon": it was taken over

from George Wallace, and the carelessness with which the McGovern proposals have been thought out is perhaps a sign of the fundamental indifference to such matters which the New-Politics movement until so recently felt. For what this movement really cares about is not the distribution of economic power but the distribution of political power. It wishes to "participate in the decisions that affect our lives" and it wishes to govern, but it has no clear idea of what, in addition to participating and governing, it wishes to do. Consequently it has *itself* become the issue. Why has the AFL-CIO, which until the nomination of McGovern obsessively kept declaring that its main political priority was the defeat of Nixon, refused to endorse McGovern? Asked this question, George Meany and I. W. Abel and the other anti-McGovern labor leaders fish for unconvincing explanations in McGovern's voting record, when what is actually bothering them is the hostility of the New Politics toward organized labor ("It isn't worth the powder it would take to blow it up." I once heard a leading McGovern strategist say of the labor movement) and the contempt of the New-Politics people for the ordinary workingman and the "racism" and vulgar materialism which allegedly define his character.

So too with those Jews who are bothered by McGovern. They are bothered in my judgment much more by the general attitudes of the New-Politics movement than by McGovern's stand on Israel—which, after all, as Nathan Glazer points out, is by now as fervent as any friend of Israel could wish—or by his stand on quotas: after all, the Nixon administration has done more to further quotas by deeds than McGovern could possibly yet have done by words. But the Jews who are bothered by McGovern sense that the movement of which he is presently the head represents the entry into the political main-

stream of that widespread antagonism toward the Center and its "middle-class" values which grew into so vivid a presence in American life and culture over the course of the 60's; and they see in that antagonism not only a denigration of them, of their achievements and their aspirations, but a threat to their future position. This is why a relatively large number of Jews will almost certainly refuse to vote for McGovern, even if—as will surely happen in many instances—they should decide not to vote for Nixon either.

In other words, if there should be a large-scale defection of Jews from the Democratic ticket this year, it would not necessarily signify the birth of a permanently substantial Jewish Republican vote. If the McGovern candidacy should indeed turn out to be a counterpart of the Goldwater candidacy of 1964, with the electorate severely punishing the Democrats now for challenging the Centrist consensus from the Left as it punished the Republicans then for challenging it from the Right, the Democrats would no doubt do in their catastrophic defeat what the Republicans did after theirs in 1964. They would move once again toward the Center, politely overriding their now discredited and demoralized insurgents in the process (just as Nixon has quietly ignored the protests of the Goldwater Right against many of his foreign and domestic policies), and renewing their appeal to groups like the Jews whose repudiation of the insurgents would have contributed to the size of the defeat.

If, on the other hand, the projections of the McGovern strategists should be vindicated and McGovern, carried along by a new coalition of blacks, youth, and women, should win *despite* the defection of traditionally Democratic groups like the Jews, there might then very well come about one of those periodic realignments which C. Vann Woodward and other historians tell

us is long overdue, with a sizable number of Jews and other former Democrats now turning to the Republican party in the hope of finding or creating a reconstituted Center there. For if America should "come home" to the Democrats under McGovern, many whose home is the Center would no longer be at home with the Democrats.

In either case, we would all know better than anyone knows today where the country is, how it feels, what it wants. In the event of a McGovern victory, even a narrow one, we would know that the McGovernites are right when they say, in the words of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., that "disgust with the way things have been recently managed in this country, the recoil against the Establishment, the pessimism about the national future, the desire for unspecified . . . change . . . infect every bloc in the nation." By contrast, in the event of a catastrophic McGovern defeat, we would know that the anti-McGovern forces, both Republican and Democratic, are right when they say that such feelings are still confined to an ideologically passionate minority (what the *Wall Street Journal* sometimes calls the "mass intelligentsia" and sometimes the "modernist-academic elite"); that most other people, if they are really infected with disgust, are disgusted not with the "Establishment" in general but precisely with that wing of it dominated by the New Class and the New Politics; and that the great majority of Americans believes the country is already "home," that the structure of the house is sound, and that what it mainly needs is patching and sprucing up to a greater (if they are liberals) or lesser (if they are conservatives) extent.

If, however, the Democrats under McGovern should neither win nor be decisively defeated—if, that is, Nixon should be re-elected by a very close margin—everything would remain uncertain, unsettled, and bitterly polarized, for the Jews and for everyone else.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT -
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

78 MOUNT AUBURN STREET

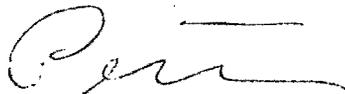
14 August 1972

Len Garment
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Len:

Herewith a short memo on the intellectuals. I believe that these suggestions might help some, and I will be happy to elaborate on them in greater depth should you so desire.

Yours (in haste),



Peter P. Witonski

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

DATE: 14 August 1972

To: Leonard Garment

FROM: Peter P. Witonski

RE: The Intellectuals and the Reelection of the President.

To date our campaign to gain support for the President's re-election within the intellectual community has not achieved the things we had hoped it would. There has been a vast amount of confusion and duplication (as exemplified by Carothers's operation), and a striking lack of originality. The lack of originality is, I believe, the major problem. The intellectuals approached by the administration, as of this date, have been asked only to lend their names to a list that will eventually appear in the national press. These scholars have been suspicious of petitions since the fifties. Petitions, they feel, are simply a way of using intellectuals. They do not want to be used.

Of course, not all intellectuals are unwilling to append their names to a petition supporting the President. It is simply a case of which group of intellectuals you want on a petition. Most of our efforts, to date, have focused upon a small group of disenchanted Kennedy Liberals, who have lately seen the Light. The problem is, they have only just recently seen the Light: they have not yet committed themselves to the glow. Many of them were burned in the sixties, and are presently unwilling to jump on any political bandwagon. This does not mean that we should forget about these scholars. They can make major contributions to the campaign and

to the status of the second Nixon Administration. However, I very much doubt that many of them will sign our petition of support for the President. I know many of these men personally, and I know for a fact that they would be willing to make their support for the President public in other ways.

In concentrating our efforts on the disenchantèd liberals, we have partially ignored the many hundreds of firmly committed Republican academics who have been toiling in the vinyards for many years now. Many of these scholars---and I include such men as Harry Jaffa, George Stigler, Leo Strauss, Russell Kirk, and Ernest van den Haag---are men of great reputations within the intellectual community. Since you will not get many disenchantèd liberals to sign a petition supporting the President's reelection---assuming that you still wish to have a petition---I would suggest that you now begin to direct your efforts towards those intellectuals who are already Nixon aficionados, punctuating them with those few disenchantèd liberals who will allow their names to be included.

As you know, I am not a believer in these published lists. I don't think they achieve anything politically, save perhaps to interest a few book worms. If I were running the program, I would be far more concerned with getting the intellectuals to interest the general public. Ever since the New Deal, the public has perceived the Democratic Party as the party with "Brains"; and the Republican Party as the party of the un-intellectual bourgeoisie, what J.S. Mill called "the Stupid Party." Our task this year should be to show the

voters that things have changed; that under Richard Nixon, the Republican Party has become the party of ideas, of the "Brains."

I doubt that a petition in the New York Times can achieve this.

What I would propose, as an alternative course of action, is a genuine dialogue between the President and the intellectual community. Such a dialogue could enlist the friendly support of many of those disenchanted liberals presently unwilling to sign a petition. It could also influence the public.

The confrontation would be similar in style to the nationally televised forums the President held with various representative citizens during the last General Election. Instead of "citizens," the President, and, possibly the Vice President, would confront a carefully selected audience of leading intellectuals. The impact of such a forum would be powerful. It would receive a great deal of coverage in the media; it would enhance the President's reputation as a thinking-professional, the peer of the best minds in America; and it would greatly impress the public.

If the forum proved a success, we could set up mini-forums (of five to ten intellectuals), that could appear on talk shows all over the country, and address university audiences.

There are several other things that should be done to attract intellectuals. We should have people at all the major professional conferences, such as the American Political Science Association Convention, that take

place in the fall. Most important, we should have at least one person at the September meeting of the Mt. Pelerin Society in Switzerland. (The Mt. Pelerin Society is an international association of major conservative intellectuals, that is having its 20th meeting this year. It is made up mainly of American scholars, including such men as Walter Lippman, Milton Friedman, and Marty Lipset. It will be the only occasion before the General Election when the cream of American conservatism will be gathered under one roof.)

We should also start an immediate writing campaign. I.e., we should get a group of twenty or so intellectuals to start writing favorable essays about the President as soon as possible, so that the essays can get into print before November.

P.P. Witonski

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*TO
Carr*

Date: 9/8/72

TO: DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Under the new system this was expedited in only 3 short weeks

*Continue to
be annoyed with our
efficiency - only 3 wks.
The war probably ended
2 months ago - and
we haven't heard
yet!
C*

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAGREGOR

FROM: JEB MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Joint Advertising Program

The detail work on the joint advertising program is completed. Specifically, letters to Nixon State Chairmen (over your signature), and Nixon State Finance Chairmen (over Paul Muller's signature) announcing the program are drafted (see Attachments A and B) and the certificates have been printed, (see Attachment C).

As you may recall, the Nixon State Chairmen will be responsible for ensuring the program is administered in the states according to (a) the legal requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971; and (b) our strategic requirements for a high-level, quality oriented campaign. Nixon State Finance Chairmen will be responsible for ensuring that records are kept and the certificates are disbursed properly.

The letters are attached for your review and approval (Attachments A and B.)

1. Letter to Nixon State Chairmen

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

COMMENT

2. Letter to Nixon State Finance Chairmen

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

COMMENT

Attachments

DRAFT

Dear (Nixon State Chairman):

As you know, one of the President's major objectives is to ensure the election of Republicans to Congressional and State offices. In line with this objective, he plans to give up a portion of his advertising limitation (not actual dollars) to each state for use in joint advertising. The purpose of this letter is to outline our program.

By way of background, the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 requires that the charges for joint advertising on behalf of the candidacy of more than one candidate for federal elective office must be appropriately apportioned to each of the candidates' media spending limitation and each candidates' apportioned share must be certified by that candidate. The certification is that his apportioned share of the charge for advertising does not exceed his media spending limitation under Title I of the Act. To permit you maximum flexibility in scheduling joint advertising of other candidates with the President, we have devised a system to help in your effort.

First, we will supply your Finance Chairman with preprinted certificates drawn against the President's limitation to be used by you in your state. These certificates will be in denominations of \$10, \$20, \$50, and \$100 and total \$ _____ for your state.

Second, within this dollar limitation, these certificates contain no restriction on the manner of use and therefore may be employed to support the President's share of joint advertising as you best see fit. However, as a condition of your authority to make these judgements, you must assume the following responsibilities:

- A. The Act stipulates that each candidate must certify to a reasonable allocation of the joint advertising cost. You - working with your Finance Chairman - will be responsible for determining that the allocation as to the President's share is accurate. Obviously, we look to you to avoid the penalties that accrue if the allocations are deemed unreasonable by the Federal Elections Office.

- B. In addition to the prepaid certificate, the law requires that you also provide the medium with certain other information about the advertisement. A form for this purpose is attached. A copy of this form must also be sent to your Nixon State Finance Chairman. This will provide him with the information he legally must report on schedule C of Election Form #3.
- C. Regardless of the media expenditure allocation for certification purposes, 100% of the actual money cost for joint advertising must be provided on a State or local level. No dollar obligation will be assumed by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.
- D. You will be responsible for determining that any joint advertising involving the President's participation is in good taste and in keeping with the tone of the national campaign. In no instance should Mr. Nixon's name or image be associated with undesirable advertising, such as that containing derogatory statements about the opposition, involving name-calling, and the like.

A detailed explanation concerning the control and issuance of the presigned forms will be provided to your State Finance Committee Chairman in the letter transmitting the certifications to him, a copy of which will be provided to you. Notifying candidates in your state will be your responsibility. Similarly, you will have to determine how best to "spend" your state's allocation.

As you can imagine, it is very important that you fully comply with the Federal Elections Campaign Act of 1971 in the use of the certifications delegated to you. Therefore, if you have any questions concerning the use of these certifications, please call me or call our General Counsel, Mr. Glenn Sedam, at 202/333-1912.

Sincerely,

Clark MacGregor
Campaign Director

ATTACHMENT

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING CERTIFICATION NOS. _____
OF EXPENDITURES AGAINST CAMPAIGN LIMITATION OF RICHARD M. NIXON.

Description of Joint Advertising:

Name and address of medium _____

Date of Ad Appearance _____

Length of Ad _____

Rate _____

Total Expenditure Certified \$ _____

Charges covered by this certification \$ _____

Information re other Tie-in Candidates:

Name	Office Sought	State, City, County
------	---------------	---------------------

_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

NOVEMBER
GROUP
INC.

B

September 6, 1972

Dear Nixon State Finance Chairman:

A few days ago Clark MacGregor outlined to your Nixon State Chairman the general procedures to be followed in connection with certifications of expenditures against President Nixon's campaign spending limitations to cover his participation in joint advertising on a State or local level. A copy of this letter is enclosed.

As indicated therein, we are hereby transmitting presigned certifications as follows:

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Total Dollar Value</u>	<u>Certification Numbers</u>
\$10's		
\$20's		
\$50's		
\$100's		
Total		

Kindly acknowledge receipt of these certifications by signing a copy of this letter and returning it to me without delay in the self-addressed envelope provided.

There are several important points to be made regarding the certifications:

1. While they have no purchasing power, they do have a unique value in that they commit part of the total spendable funds that can be used under the Federal Election Campaign Act for the re-election of the President. Unauthorized use could incur criminal penalties under Federal law. Therefore, you should maintain a very careful custody over them. When the campaign is over, any unused certifications should be returned to me.

SECRET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017
(212) 755-7777

2. An addenda to the presigned forms will be necessary in order to provide all the information required for certifications under the Federal Election Campaign Act. We are enclosing a format, which when completed and attached to the prepared certifications should satisfy all requirements. (See Attachment A).
3. For practical reasons, the certificates have been prepared in rounded dollar amounts. Depending upon the charge being made against the President's spending limitation it may be necessary for you to supply the medium with several certificates which total to the nearest round figure in excess of the charge. (For example, if against a total ad cost of \$350 and the amount allocated against the President's spending limitation is \$35, two \$20 certificates or four \$10 certificates will have to be provided to the medium.)
4. In reporting the expenditure on Schedule C of Comptroller General Election Form 3, the exact dollar amount allocated against the President's spending limitations should be shown, e.g. in the above illustration, \$35 not \$40.
5. The responsibilities for proper allocation among candidates in joint advertising, as covered in the General Accounting Office regulations, as it relates to the President's participation will be that of each State Committee. Our suggestion is that generally the presigned certifications support no more than ten per cent of the total cost of the ad. In any event, we look to your Committee to properly document the rationale behind each allocation, and to carefully preserve documentation in the event that it must be supported to a General Accounting office auditor.

We are also enclosing a copy of the authorization by the President for signature of certification on his behalf and of permission by the designee to use facsimilies (attachment B). A photocopy of this document must be furnished by you to each medium receiving a certification on behalf of the President, at the time of the first certification. (The authorization is effective for the entire campaign and therefore only one copy is required for each medium used.)

Hopefully, this letter contemplates all questions that might arise concerning the joint advertising certification procedure.

Should it not, please phone me at (212) 752-3633.

Sincerely,

Paul J. Muller
Finance Director
November Group, Inc.

Receipt of certifications totaling \$ _____
is hereby acknowledged.

Date

ATTACHMENT A

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING CERTIFICATION NOS. _____
OF EXPENDITURES AGAINST CAMPAIGN LIMITATION OF RICHARD M. NIXON.

Description of Joint Advertising:

Name and address of medium _____

Date of Ad Appearance _____

Length of Ad _____

Rate _____

Total Expenditure Certified \$ _____

Charges covered by this certification & _____

Information re other Tie-in Candidates:

Name	Office Sought	State, City, County
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

ATTACHMENT B
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: C. LANGHORNE WASHBURN
FINANCE COMMITTEE TO
RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

Sections 104(b) and (c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 require that a candidate for the office of President, or a person specifically authorized in writing by such candidate, certify to any person making a charge for use of any newspaper, magazine, outdoor advertising facility or broadcasting station on behalf of his candidacy that payment of such charge will not violate the expenditure limitations imposed by Title I of the Act.

In accordance with this requirement and the regulations and guidelines found in 11 CFR 4.12(c) and the answer to Question 1, Part VII of the March 16, 1972 Federal Communications Commission Public Notice entitled "Use of Broadcast and Cablecast Facilities: Candidates for Public Office", I hereby authorize you to make such certifications on my behalf for my campaign for nomination and election to the office of President. In that these regulations and guidelines also require a statement of any restrictions or limitations on your authority to act in this regard, by this memorandum I notify you that none are imposed.



As permitted by rulings from the General Accounting Office (Reference 8330-E; GS-1659 of June 3, 1972) and Federal Communications Commission (Reference 8230-E; GS-1444 of June 13, 1972); I, C. Langhorne Washburn, authorize the use of a facsimile of my signature on certifications under Section 104(b) and (c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. In making this authorization, I understand that I am personally responsible for each certification in the same manner as if I had signed my name by hand and also directly have certified myself that the proper control procedures exist for the use of the facsimile.



ADVERTISING CERTIFICATION

No 36110

C

- - - - - TEN DOLLARS - - - - - \$10.00

I hereby certify that expenditure of the amount shown on this certification for advertising detailed on the attached documents will not exceed the spending limitation of Richard M. Nixon, candidate for the office of President of the United States of America, in the general election of 1972, as specified under Section 104 of the Campaign Communications Reform Act of 1971 Public Law 92-225.

Issued to: Date:

ONLY THE ORIGINAL GREEN COPY OF THIS CERTIFICATION IS VALID IN THE AMOUNT SHOWN ABOVE.

Stephen M. ...
AUTHORIZED SIGNATOR

88
Geo McClellan

L → Clarke - ~~John~~ re US Steel project

970 - back by Hawaii - late Fri or
early Sat morning.

~~Corrier~~

Collins - Nielsen - man Ratings - Update, etc

G → Goodale - re Ads for U.P.
Check H.

prints

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHARLES W. COLSON
FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR
SUBJECT: Your Request for the Formation
of a New Labor Committee

Bill Rhatican of your office called Glenn Sedam early in August and asked that a dummy committee be established as a vehicle through which a mailing to labor could be funded.

Bill was advised at that time that as a matter of policy new committees would not be formed and that activities should be undertaken under the umbrella of this Committee, budgeted by this Committee, and paid for by the Finance Committee. Bill later called back saying that you insisted that a new committee be organized.

Glenn prepared draft documents that could be filed were a new committee to be registered and forwarded the drafts to Delury. In his forwarding memo he briefly outlined the responsibilities of a chairman and a treasurer under the new law.

Glenn, following the policy set out by me, and by Maury Stans, continued to advise all concerned that a new committee not be registered. Further, he continued to advise that if a new committee were intending to solicit or receive contributions or make expenditures on behalf of the President, that committee must be authorized by Maury Stans to do so. Maury is the only person delegated authority by the President to authorize committees to operate on the President's behalf.

A similar issue arose in August regarding a concerned Vietnam Veterans for Nixon Committee. Glenn responded in the same manner. We later learned, however, that the concerned Vietnam Veterans Committee has undertaken a mailing, and has not registered. This puts them in violation of the law, and presents a potentially embarrassing legal violation for us.

Therefore, I ask that all requests for new committees be directed to me. If I believe there is reason to deviate from our policy of "no more committees" I will discuss it with Maury Stans, and if Maury agrees, we will have the committee properly organized and budgeted.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *S*

SUBJECT:

Campaign Victory Plan

In August we read Bob Marik's victory plans for the large states and the small states. In light of the possibility that Wave III will be received soon, is there any advantage to doing updated victory plans for the crucial states? I am particularly interested in California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and New Jersey. However, the states might change in light of the Wave III results. In any event, give me a call about this project as I do not want to raise it with Bob Marik until you agree with me that it's a good idea.

9116

*Gordon -
JSM is
discussing with
Marik early next week.
Marik has been working on before
we received your notes but obviously
awaits wave III info.
RSM*

September 25, 1957

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, [illegible]

FROM : [illegible]

SUBJECT: [illegible]

A letterhead memorandum (LHM) describing the above mentioned activities of the [illegible] will be prepared for the [illegible] and [illegible]. The LHM will describe the [illegible] activities of the [illegible] and [illegible] and will also describe the [illegible] activities of the [illegible] and [illegible].

The LHM described above will be prepared for the [illegible] and [illegible] and will describe the [illegible] activities of the [illegible] and [illegible]. The LHM will also describe the [illegible] activities of the [illegible] and [illegible].

This memorandum was prepared on September 25, 1957, and was prepared by [illegible].

RECOMMENDATION:

That the [illegible] be referred to the [illegible] as [illegible].

APPROVAL: [illegible] DATE: [illegible] OFFICE: [illegible]

REMARKS:

That you agree with the [illegible] and [illegible] as [illegible].

APPROVAL: [illegible] DATE: [illegible] OFFICE: [illegible]

MEMORANDUM

TO: [Illegible]

DATE: [Illegible]

RE: [Illegible]

[Illegible text block]

APPROVED: [Illegible] DISAPPROVED: [Illegible] COMMENTS: [Illegible]

DATE: [Illegible]

Test your approval. The above information is for your information only. It is not to be used for any other purpose.

APPROVED: [Illegible] DISAPPROVED: [Illegible] COMMENTS: [Illegible]

Attachments:

- VP 1
- VP 2
- VP 3
- VP 4
- VP 5
- VP 6

cc: Dr. Bob A. H. Koch

Dear Fellow Republican:

One vote per precinct was the difference between winning and losing for President Nixon before. And it could be again!

That is why your vote and familiarity with the issues are so important in this Election. Consider the alternative -- the most clear-cut in a century.

The President wants to provide training and work incentives for those on welfare so people who can work will work. Senator McGovern, on the other hand, wants to give every man, woman and child in the country \$1,000 whether he works for it or not, whether he needs it or not, and whether we can afford it or not.

President Nixon wants to trim only the fat from our military budget, believing that to insure peace, we must remain strong. Senator McGovern's proposed \$32 billion slash would, according to his fellow Democrat, Senator Humphrey, "cut into the very security of this country".

We're sure you approve of President Nixon's strong action and decisive leadership. But mere approval won't get him re-elected.

Consider what the President has accomplished.

DRUGS. The President considers hard drugs Public Enemy No. 1. He has cracked down hard on pushers. He is spending 600% more for rehabilitation than was being spent.

THE ECONOMY. According to the July 22nd issue of the New York Times the second quarter of 1972 showed the fastest gain in the economy since 1965 and a "notable drop in the rate of inflation".

VIETNAM. The President has brought home over 90% of our troops, while demanding that our POW's must be released before we leave Vietnam. Senator McGovern wants us to get out of Vietnam regardless of our POW's.

CRIME. Under President Nixon the increase in the crime rate has been cut 50%. And 80 major cities reported less overall crime this past year.

- 2 -

FOREIGN POLICY. The President's most burning desire is a generation of peace. And he has taken decisive action. He went to China. He went to Russia. He has been negotiating to ease tensions in the Middle East.

He has done all this and much more. But the job is only half finished. That is why we need President Nixon now more than ever.

President Nixon needs your vote. Go to the polls and vote for President Nixon on November 7th. He needs you as a volunteer, even if you're already working a long day. Volunteer if you possibly can. He needs your financial support, even if it's a real sacrifice to give. Please send any amount you can spare.

Use the Volunteer Card enclosed for your contributions. They could prove as important as your ballot. A form for obtaining an absentee ballot is also enclosed. If you expect to be away from home on Election Day, please use it without delay.

Sincerely,

P.S. Although large gifts are needed here in California, small ones are also greatly appreciated. Do give something if at all possible. And please do it now.

Dear Fellow Republican:

One vote per precinct was the difference between winning and losing for President Nixon before. And it could be again!

That is why your vote and familiarity with the issues are so important in this Election. Consider the alternative -- the most clear-cut in a century.

The President wants to provide training and work incentives for those on welfare so people who can work will work. Senator McGovern, on the other hand, wants to give every man, woman and child in the country \$1,000 whether he works for it or not, whether he needs it or not, and whether we can afford it or not.

President Nixon wants to trim only the fat from our military budget, believing that to insure peace, we must remain strong. Senator McGovern's proposed \$32 billion slash would, according to his fellow Democrat, Senator Humphrey, "cut into the very security of this country".

We're sure you approve of President Nixon's strong action and decisive leadership. But mere approval won't get him re-elected.

Consider what the President has accomplished.

DRUGS. The President considers hard drugs Public Enemy No. 1. He has cracked down hard on pushers. He is spending 600% more for rehabilitation than was being spent.

THE ECONOMY. According to the July 22nd issue of the New York Times the second quarter of 1972 showed the fastest gain in the economy since 1965 and a "notable drop in the rate of inflation".

VIETNAM. The President has brought home over 90% of our troops, while demanding that our POW's must be released before we leave Vietnam. Senator McGovern wants us to get out of Vietnam regardless of our POW's.

CRIME. Under President Nixon the increase in the crime rate has been cut 50%. And 80 major cities reported less overall crime this past year.

- 2 -

FOREIGN POLICY. The President's most burning desire is a generation of peace. And he has taken decisive action. He went to China. He went to Russia. He has been negotiating to ease tensions in the Middle East.

He has done all this and much more. But the job is only half finished. That is why we need President Nixon now more than ever.

President Nixon needs your vote. Go to the polls and vote for President Nixon on November 7th. He needs you as a volunteer, even if you're already working a long day. Volunteer if you possible can. (There's a serious shortage of volunteers in New Jersey.) He needs your financial support, even if it's a real sacrifice to give. Please send any amount you can spare.

Use the Volunteer Card enclosed for your contributions. They could prove as important as your ballot. A form for obtaining an absentee ballot is also enclosed. If you expect to be away from home on Election Day, please use it without delay.

Sincerely,

P.S. Although large gifts are needed here in New Jersey, small ones are also greatly appreciated. Do give something if at all possible. And please do it now.



Multiply your voting power
with this
VOLUNTEER CARD

- I agree the President deserves support. Contact me, I'll be a campaign volunteer.
- Enclosed is my check for \$ _____ made out to Democrats for Nixon. Re-election of the President.

Signature _____ Telephone _____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, insert it in the reply envelope and mail today.

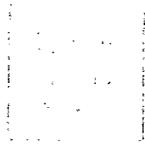
A copy of our report filed with the Comptroller General will be available for purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402

Giving costs you less this year! See tax note on other side. ▶

IMPORTANT TAX MESSAGE

Political contributions are now tax deductible in two ways
(which ever gives you the most benefit:)

1. A \$12.50 tax credit (\$25.00 for a married couple filing a joint return) can be subtracted from your total tax bill, or
2. A \$50.00 deduction can be taken from your taxable income (\$100.00 for a married couple filing a joint return).



1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100



Dear Fellow Republican:

One vote per precinct was the difference between winning and losing for President Nixon before. And it could be again!

That is why your vote is so important in this Election. Consider the alternative -- the most clear-cut in a century.

For one thing, the President believes in the traditional values that make America great. Senator McGovern seems to have forgotten them.

President Nixon wants to provide training and work incentives so those on welfare who can work will work and will be taken off the welfare rolls. Senator McGovern, on the other hand, wants to give every man, woman and child in the country \$1,000 whether he works for it or not and whether he needs it or not, and whether we can afford it or not. President Nixon wants to trim only the fat from our military budget, believing that to insure peace, we must remain strong. Senator McGovern's proposed \$32 billion slash would, according to his fellow Democrat, Senator Humphrey, "cut into the very security of this country".

The President has taken a hard line against criminals. Senator McGovern would make Ramsey Clark head of the FBI.

Because of President Nixon's strong actions and decisive leadership we urge you to join us in helping to keep him in the White House.

Consider what the President has accomplished:

SOCIAL SECURITY/HEALTH CARE. He has proposed a National Health Insurance Plan and the Liberalization of the Retirement Earnings Test. He has also made Social Security payments inflation-proof -- after having signed into law increases in excess of 51%.

CRIME. He has cut the increase in the crime rate by 50%. And 80 major cities have actually reported a decrease in that rate in the last year.

- 2 -

TAXES. He has decreased the federal income tax for a family of four earning \$10,000 by an average of \$320. And has proposed federal-state revenue sharing that would slash your property taxes.

VIETNAM. He has brought home over 90% of our troops. And will end the war as soon as possible without sacrificing our POW's.

The President has done a lot. But his job is only half finished. That is why we need President Nixon -- now more than ever.

President Nixon needs your vote. Go to the polls and vote for President Nixon on November 7th. He needs you as a volunteer, even if you're already working a long day. Volunteer if you possibly can. He needs your financial support, even if it's a real sacrifice to give.

Use the Volunteer Card enclosed for contributions. They could prove as important as your ballot. And use the absentee ballot request form enclosed if you expect to be away from home on Election Day.

Sincerely,

P.S. Although large gifts are needed here in (name of state) a small one is certainly better than none at all. But do give something. And please do it now.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

August 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN⁴
SUBJECT: Spanish Mailing

The Spanish ensemble will go out under the letterhead of the Committee for the Re-election of the President. This will consist of a letter geared to the interests of the Spanish-speaking Community, and will include a Spanish-oriented brochure, the regular Committee envelopes, and the regular Committee letterhead.

This ensemble has been worked out in detail with Alex Armendaris, and to the best of our abilities, fits the needs of the reachable Spanish-speaking Democrats in Cook County, Illinois and California.

The ensemble will not go to the Spanish-speaking Democrats in New Jersey and Pennsylvania because, in our opinion, we do not have a good chance of converting them to vote for the President.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the letter going to the reachable Spanish-speaking Democrats in Cook County, Illinois and California (TAB A).

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the brochure to go along with the Spanish letter. The copy is attached as TAB B, and a xerox of the comp is attached as TAB C.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the use of the regular Committee envelopes and the regular Committee letterhead for this mailing. (TABS D, E and F respectively).

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the use of the Volunteer/Contributor Card, which is the same as the one used with the regular Republican ensembles (TAB G).

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

Attachments:

- TAB A
- TAB B
- TAB C
- TAB D
- TAB E
- TAB F
- TAB G

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik

Dear Fellow American:

Spanish Americans have traditionally voted Democratic. This year we are not. Here are a few of our reasons.

President Nixon has agreements with 20 countries to help stop drug traffic and has cracked down hard on pushers.

President Nixon supports tax credits for parochial students. George McGovern doesn't.

He says our POW's must be freed before we leave Vietnam. George McGovern would risk abandoning them.

And what has the President done just for our people?

President Nixon has appointed over 40 Spanish-speaking Americans to top level government positions -- 700% more than the previous administration.

He has created the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People and directed it to develop the programs necessary to meet the needs of Spanish Americans.

He has continually increased funds for bilingual education so Spanish-speaking children can be educated in the language they know best -- while they learn English.

He has established the Office of Minority Business Enterprise and directed it to help Spanish Americans to open their own businesses.

President Nixon has done all this and more -- in only four years. We can only ask ourselves -- what has George McGovern done for Spanish Americans?

Because of his strong action and decisive leadership, we urge you to join us in helping to re-elect the President. We need your vote. We need you as a volunteer.

- 2 -

President Nixon. We need him now more than ever. Vote for him on November 7th. If you want to do more to see the President re-elected, please use the Volunteer Card enclosed to make a contribution of time or money.

Sincerely,

4

REN/ag

PRINTED ON 100% RECYCLED PAPER

4

SPANISH BROCHURE

(COVER) Al fin,
un amigo en la Casa Blanca

(INSIDE FLAP) In 1968, Richard Nixon promised Spanish-speaking Americans that they would not take a backseat to other Americans in receiving appropriate government programs and aids. The President has kept his promise. Here is his record.

(BACK) The Democrats have always taken Spanish-speaking Americans for granted and then -- ignored them. President Nixon has spent 4 years making Spanish-speaking Americans count. That's why we need President Nixon.

Ahora mas que nunca

(INSIDE COPY) APPOINTMENTS

To better understand -- and solve -- the problems of Spanish-Americans, the President has brought the Spanish-speaking into his Administration. Now Spanish-speaking Americans are directly influencing the government programs that affect their lives.

- He has appointed nearly fifty Spanish-speaking Americans to executive-level policy-making positions -- five times more than the last two Democratic Administrations combined. These include:

Philip Sanchez -- Director, Office of
Economic Opportunity

Romana Emanuelos - Treasurer of the United States

Henry Ramirez - Chairman, Cabinet Committee
on Opportunities for
Spanish-speaking People

- He initiated the "16 Point Program" to bring the Spanish-speaking into all levels of government. As a result, more Spanish-Americans were hired in the past year than any other single group of Americans.

SPANISH BROCHURE

- 2 -

- . He set up the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish Speaking People and directed it to develop whatever programs are necessary to meet the needs of Spanish-Americans. President Nixon and his Cabinet meet regularly with the chairman of this committee to discuss the progress of projects for the Spanish-speaking.

EDUCATION

President Nixon has created special programs for Spanish-speaking children.

- . He took the concept of bilingual education and made it a reality. Today, Spanish-speaking children learn in Spanish as they progress in English. At the same time they are instilled with pride in their Spanish heritage through the study of the rich histories and cultures of the countries of their parents.
- . He has increased college opportunities for Spanish-speaking youth from inner-city schools through special Office of Economic Opportunity programs.
- . He has supported OEO projects which provide the funds to help migrant children stay in school and let go on to college.

HOUSING

Under President Nixon, an innovative housing program has been undertaken to provide both better homes and more jobs for Spanish-speaking Americans. Today, 87 housing projects providing over 6,000 units of low income housing are being built by Spanish-speaking contractors, sub-contractors and workers -- for Spanish-American families.

HEALTH

President Nixon has approved more and more funds for improved health care programs especially for Spanish-speaking Americans.

SPANISH BROCHURE

- 3 -

- Under his Administration a network of health care clinics have been established by OEO to provide medical and dental assistance to Spanish-speaking Americans.
- A comprehensive health care program for migrant workers from maternal and child health services to out-patient clinics and disease control programs is now provided by his Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

President Nixon has worked to increase businesses, jobs and job training for Spanish-speaking Americans.

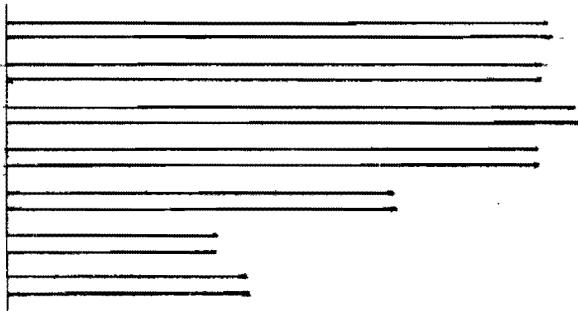
- He established the Office of Minority Business Enterprise to help start new businesses owned by Spanish-Americans. As these businesses grow, they will provide more and more jobs for the Spanish-speaking and contribute to the economy of the Spanish Community.
- The President's OMBE has also helped Spanish-speaking communities form their own banks. In their first year, these banks had nearly \$64 million in deposits.
- Last year, 197,000 Spanish-speaking Americans learned new skills so they could get better jobs under President Nixon's Department of Labor Manpower programs.

DRUGS

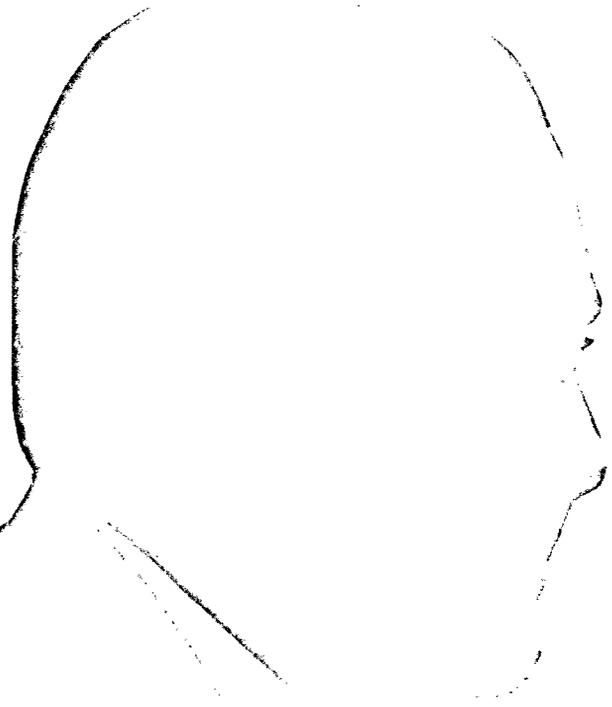
President Nixon has moved to combat drug abuse in Spanish-speaking communities. His Drug Abuse Program is providing local programs in drug education, treatment and rehabilitation for Spanish-Americans.

(SLUCLINE:
MICE TYPE)

Published and paid for by the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, Maurice H. Stans, Chairman, C. Langhorne Washburn, Deputy Chairman, Paul Barrick, Treasurer, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.



Ahora más que nunca



**Al fin,
un amigo en la Casa Blanca.**

5-23-11

Here is his record:

[Redacted text block]

Education

[Redacted text block]

[Redacted text block]

Planning

[Redacted text block]

Health

[Redacted text block]

[Redacted text block]

Domestic Operations

[Redacted text block]

Foreign

[Redacted text block]

Committee for the
Reelection of the President.

1907

1907

1907

1907

100

100

100



Multiply your voting power
with this
VOLUNTEER CARD



I agree the President deserves support. Contact me, I'll be a campaign volunteer.

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____ made out to Democrats for Nixon. Re-election of the President.

Signature _____ Telephone _____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, insert it in the reply envelope and mail today.

A copy of our report filed with the Comptroller General will be available for purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Giving costs you less this year! See tax note on other side. ▶



IMPORTANT TAX MESSAGE

Political contributions are now tax deductible in two ways
(which ever gives you the most benefit:)

1. A \$12.50 tax credit (\$25.00 for a married couple filing a joint return) can be subtracted from your total tax bill, or
2. A \$50.00 deduction can be taken from your taxable income (\$100.00 for a married couple filing a joint return).

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 14, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN
SUBJECT: Direct Mail Strategy

Three (3) options are suggested in this memorandum for your review and decision. These options have been developed on the basis of political considerations within the specific confines of the budget restrictions.

In lieu of the magnitude of these decisions, a brief historical overview is warranted. The Direct Mail Budget was initially approved at \$4,490,000, which was supposed to cover the data base development in eleven (11) key states, research, postage, materials and mailing service for 31,667,000 ensembles. The breakdown by state is shown in TAB A. The original budget is shown in TAB B.

The data base is presently over budget by \$121,000, due to the fact that we were unable to negotiate cost-sharing arrangements with all state parties and/or the state-wide candidates. A Critical Path Plan is used to control and help manage each of the state data base projects. The detail of the specifics required to develop this data base is reflected in TAB C, which each state vendor has accepted as a standard for performance.

We developed programs for six (6) Primaries using the Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation for both the software, hardware and mailing operations. It did not become evident until May/June that they did not have the software and hardware capability to satisfy our total needs for the General Campaign. We then immediately reviewed capable software companies and changed to a centralized software system with decentralized production. University Computing Company (Sam Wyly) is now our software/data base facility in Dallas, Texas.

Their performance to date has been excellent, the positive attitude of their people and scientific management systems will allow us to meet our deadlines. Using University Computing Company as a central data processing center allows us to have regional computer printing and mailing services in California, Texas, Illinois (covering Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania), and Philadelphia (covering Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland). The 5¢ precancelled stamp will be used on all of our ensembles to give them the first-class look at the third-class bulk price.

We originally planned that Priority I states would have three (3) mailings to Republicans and two (2) mailings to non-Republicans who were for the President. Priority II states would receive "Get Out the Vote" telegrams for Republicans and non-Republicans for the President, plus a supportive letter as soon as they were identified. We had intended to mail undecided voters a convincing package to get them to support the President in these eleven (11) key states.

STRATEGY WITH MC GOVERN AS THE CANDIDATE

Our original direct mail strategy was to mail to Democrats and Independents only after they had been identified as favorable to the President by voter canvasses (telephone and door-to-door). The purpose was to reinforce their commitment and get them out to vote. With Senator McGovern as the Democratic candidate, it is possible that a fundamental shift of the electorate toward the President will occur. To capitalize on this, we now feel that direct mail should be targeted to the peripheral urban ethnic populations such as Italian, Polish, Irish; the Jewish population in all metropolitan areas in the key states and Spanish-speaking Americans. A history of Wallace voters and other specific split-voting precincts with identifiable demographics would also be included. We would plan to mail a non-personal letter with copy geared to that specific voting segment along with a brochure with emphasis on their area of interest. It is my opinion that direct mail will be most effective if we have an initial Presidential Mailing which will sensitize the recipients, particularly the several demographic classifications of voters, to the Campaign issues and concerns.

We have previously operated under the understanding that President Nixon would not send out a computer letter with his signature on White House stationery. Jeb S. Magruder has requested permission

to have a letter with the President's signature on White House stationery with the words at the bottom, "Not Printed at Government Expense", get sent out to sensitize the voters. Option No. 1 will create an environment within the Direct Mail milieu causing more effective results. This plan takes advantage of the incumbency and leaves greater flexibility to handle the unexpected within a cost effective atmosphere.

The three (3) options we are suggesting are listed below in their order of preference. The quantities for states mailed take into consideration the most recent priorities which eliminated a mailing to the State of Washington.

<u>OPTION I</u>	<u>QUANTITY MAILED (000's)</u>	<u>COSTS</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
Presidential Letter	6,260	\$ 713,640	This is our first option if the President will agree. The Presidential letter will include White House stationery letterhead with the 5¢ pre-cancelled stamp completely computerized on the envelope and letter. This would go out to reachable non-Republicans in California, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Cook County, Illinois.
Ethnic Mailing	5,478	657,300	
Republicans in NJ. and Calif.	3,125	450,000	
Telegram to Identified Pro- Nixon Voters	<u>13,825</u>	<u>1,244,250</u>	
	<u>28,698</u>	<u>\$3,065,190</u>	

An ethnic mailing ensemble to the specific voter segment would go out one week later. This ensemble would include a letter geared to that voter segment, a brochure in most instances, and a personalized volunteer/contribution card.

The letter to Republicans would include an absentee ballot request and non-personalized letter, a brochure and a personalized volunteer/contribution card.

DESCRIPTION

All of the Priority states would receive "Get Out the Vote" telegrams to all Republicans and all non-Republicans who are for the President.

TAB D shows the cost and quantity by state for Priority I and II states for OPTION I.

<u>OPTION II</u>	<u>QUANTITY MAILED (000's)</u>	<u>COSTS</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
Ethnic Mailing	6,260	\$ 751,200	The first ethnic mailing is the same.
Second Ethnic Mailing	4,695	563,400	
Republicans in NJ. and Calif.	3,125	450,000	The second ethnic mailing would include another hardselling message to the specific voter segment to reinforce what we originally sent and to tie in with the voter identification throughout the states.
Telegram to Identified Pro-Nixon Voters	<u>13,825</u>	<u>1,244,250</u>	
	<u>27,905</u>	<u>\$3,008,850</u>	

The Republican and "Get Out the Vote" telegrams would be the same.

TAB E shows the cost and quantity by state for Priority I and II states for OPTION II.

<u>OPTION III</u>	<u>QUANTITY MAILED (000's)</u>	<u>COSTS</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
Ethnic Mailings	6,260	\$ 751,200	The ensembles are the same as OPTION I, except that the second ethnic mailing is not included.
Republicans in NJ. and Calif.	3,125	450,000	
Telegram to Identified Pro-Nixon Voters	<u>13,825</u>	<u>1,244,250</u>	TAB F shows the cost and quantity by state for Priority I and II states for OPTION III.
	<u>23,210</u>	<u>\$2,445,450</u>	

The summary of the total budget is shown at TAB G.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve OPTION I as the Political Direct Mail Strategy Plan.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

OR

That you approve OPTION II as the Political Direct Mail Strategy Plan.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

OR

That you approve OPTION III as the Political Direct Mail Strategy Plan.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

Attachments:

- TAB A
- TAB B
- TAB C
- TAB D
- TAB E
- TAB F
- TAB G

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik

STATE DATA BASE SCHEDULE

California	10-20 July
Connecticut	17 July-21 August
Illinois	17 July-15 August
Maryland	17 July-15 August
Michigan	Universal List (presently available)
New Jersey	1 August-15 August
New York	Separate
Ohio	17 July-7 August
Pennsylvania	10 July-21 August
Texas	31 July-21 August

ORIGINAL DIRECT MAIL BUDGET

Materials	\$ 936,240
Mailing and Services	1,559,880
Postage	1,559,880
Research	41,500
List Development and Software	<u>392,500</u>
<u>TOTAL BUDGET</u>	<u>\$4,490,000</u>

COMMITTEE COMPUTER PROGRAMMING FORMAT MANUAL

This manual has been prepared by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President to define the tape input specification, data validity criteria documentation required to support the Voter Registration Data Base.

Individual Voter records must be rolled or netted to household records where all members of the household have the same political party designation. A file will be defined as the complete set of household voter records for a county.

Each file will contain one complete county. Partial counties or files containing multiple counties will not be accepted

The files will be supplied on magnetic tape recorded nine track 1600 BPI. There will be no internal tape labels. The files will contain 2,000 character blocks made up of 200 character logical records blocked ten. The last block may be truncated. See attachment "1" for the format of each logical record. Each reel of the file will be closed with a tape mark. Characters will be GBCD.

Each reel of magnetic tape will be clearly labeled with an adhesive external label. The date of file creation, state name, county name, county code, and reel number total reels in the file will be shown on each magnetic tape. The label will identify the organization that created the file.

The file sequence or sort will be, major to minor, in ascending sequence:

- State Abbreviation
- County Code
- Zip Code
- Town Name
- Local Address Code
- Street Number
- Street Name
- House Number
- Surname
- Given Name One

The above sort sequence will also result in the file being in ascending sequence based on the first twelve (12) positions of each logical record.

NOTE: In this document and in the accompanying file layouts and file descriptions position zero (0) is not used.

The first position of each logical record is referred to as position one (1).

Each file will be accompanied by three computer print-outs. These are the Zip City Audit, the Political Unit Audit, and a File Inspection Manuscript.

The Zip City Audit will contain date, page number, state name, county name, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings will consist of:

Zip Code
City Name
Republican Household County
 (number of records)
Democrat Household Count
Independent Household Count
Other Parties Household Count
Total Household Count
Republican Gross Count (number
 of individuals)
Democrat Gross Count
Independent Gross Count
Other Parties Gross Count
Total Gross Count
Warning Error Count
Fatal Error Count
Magnetic Tape Reel #
 (This indicates which reel
 within the file these records
 are contained on.)

Note that Household (record) count will never exceed Gross (individual) count.

There will be one detail line printed on the Zip City Audit each time any one of the following changes:

Zip Code
City Name
Reel Number

There will be sub totals for each zip code, city name, and magnetic tape reel. Do not sub total for single lines of detail. There will be grand totals for each file. A sample layout of the Zip City Audit is contained in attachment "2".

The Political Unit Audit will contain date, page number, state name, county name, county code, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings will consist of:

Township/City code
Ward Code
Precinct Code
Political Unit Code
Republican Household Count
Democrat Household Count
Independent Household Count
Other Party Household Count
Total Household Count
Republican Gross Count
Democrat Gross Count
Independent Gross Count
Other Party Gross Count
Total Gross Count

There will be one detail line for each of the smallest political units in the file, with subtotals for each successively larger political unit and grand totals for the file. A sample layout of the Political Unit Audit is contained in attachment "3".

The File Inspection Manuscript will contain date, page number, state name, county name, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings are described in attachment "4" which also contains a sample layout of the File Inspection Manuscript. The detail information contained in the manuscript will consist of each significant field contained in the records selected to be printed on this report. These records may be selected in one of two ways; error detection or every "Nth" record. The error detection option will be used by the List Compiler to display records with possible errors so they may be researched. When this is done each record will be keyed with error messages to aid in the research. When the final list validation process is performed, an every "Nth" record sample will be selected for display to be supplied with the final tape files. If the file size is 100,000 or fewer records, every one hundredth record in the file will be selected for inclusion in the file inspection audit. If the file size is greater than 100,000 records, every two hundredth record will be selected for inclusion. Error messages will not be keyed into the records in this step.

The List Compiler (the organization preparing the data files) will perform the following procedures prior to file shipment:

1. Prepare the file in the proper format.
2. Process the file with the validation program using the option of keying suspected error records and displaying them.
3. Research each record that is displayed.
4. Correct all discrepancies found in the file.
5. Repeat the above steps if necessary for "final cleanup".
6. Ship the completed files on magnetic tape with the Zip City Audit, the Political Unit Audit, and the File Inspection Manuscript.

Two types of errors will be defined in attachment "5". A Fatal Error is one considered definite and unacceptable. A file containing any Fatal errors is not acceptable. A Warning Error is a condition which may or may not be a problem. Each warning error should be researched and corrected if necessary, but does not necessarily indicate that the record is not acceptable.

COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE FIELD DEFINITION

BYTE	LENGTH	DESCRIPTION	JUSTIFICATION		ZERO	TYPE
			L LEFT	R RIGHT	SUPPRESS	A ALPHA
			X=NOT	APPLICABLE	N NO	N NUMERIC
						A/N ALPHA NUM
1	2	State Abbreviation	X		X	A
3	3	County Code	R		N	N
6	7	Sequence Number	R		N	N
13		Always 0	X		N	N
14	5	Zip Code	X		N	N
19	5	Township/City Code	R		N	A/N
24	2	Ward Code	R		N	A/N
26	5	Precinct Code	R		N	N
31	3	Political Unit Code	R		N	N
34	2	Congressional District Code	R		N	N
36	3	State Lower House Code	R		N	N
39	2	State Upper House Code	R		N	N
41	1	Title Code-Name 1	X		X	A/n
42	9	Given Name-1	L		X	A
51	1	Middle Initial-1	X		X	A
52	15	Surname	L		X	A
67	1	Surname Suffix Code-1	X		X	N
68	1	Title Code-Name 2	X		X	A/N
69	9	Given Name-2	L		X	A
78	1	Middle Initial-2	X		X	A
79	1	Surname Suffix Code 2	X		X	N
80	1	Title Code-Name 3	X		X	A/N

BYTE	LENGTH	DESCRIPTION	JUSTIFICATION	ZERO	TYPE
			L LEFT R RIGHT X NOT APPLICABLE	SUPPRESS Y YES N NO	A ALPHA N NUMERIC A/N ALPHA NUM
81	9	Given Name 3	L	X	A
90	1	Middle Initial-3	X	X	A
91	1	Surname Suffix Code-3	X	X	N
92	1	Title Code-Name 4	X	X	A/N
93	9	Given Name-4	L	X	A
102	1	Middle Initial-4	X	X	A
103	1	Surname Suffix Code-4	X	X	N
104	1	Local Address Code	X	X	N
<u>ADDRESS FIELDS</u>					
<u>If Code 1 in Byte 104:</u>					
105	7	House Number	R	N	A/N
112	5	Fraction or Apartment: Fraction 1/2 (3bytes) 112-116 Blank (2 bytes) 115-116 or Apt Designation (5 bytes) 112-116	-- L	-- X	A/N A/N
117	2	Prefix Street Direction	L	X	A
<u>STREET NAMES</u>					
119	3	Street Number (Numeric Sts. only	R	Y	N
122	16	Street Name Field	L	X	A/N
<u>If Code 2 in Byte 104:</u>					
105	17	Blank			
122	4	Rural Route Designation	R	Y	A/N
126	4	Post Office Box Designation	R	Y	A/N
130	8	Blank			

BYTE	LENGTH	DESCRIPTION	JUSTIFICATION	ZERO	TYPE
			L LEFT	SUPPRESS	A ALPHA
			R RIGHT	Y YES	N NUMERIC
			X NOT APPLICABLE	N NO	A/N ALPHA NUM
		If Code 3 in Byte 104:			
105	14	Blank			
119	19	Edited Address	L	X	A/N
138	13	Zip Post Office Name(Town Name)	L	X	A/N
151	1	Political Party Code	X	X	A
152	9	Census Tract	X	X	X
161	2	Length of Residence	R	N	N
163	1	Contributor/Volunteer Code	X	X	A
164	5	Contribution in Dollars	R	Y	N
169	2	Source of List	R	Y	A/N
171	7	Telephone Number	R	N	A/N
178	6	Special Interest Codes	X	X	A/N
184	8	Issue Codes	X	X	A/N
192	1	Attitude Code	X	X	A/N
193	8	Blank	X	X	X

COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE DETAIL DESCRIPTION

Only the following characters are acceptable in this file:

- A thru Z
- Ø (Zero) thru 9
- / (Slash) only in position 113
- (Dash) only in positions 106 thru 110

Reference to "Directory of Post Offices" will be shown as POD-26, which is that publication's issue number. A July 1971 or later issue should be used for reference.

A validation table will be constructed for each file to be compiled. Each record in the file will be checked against the validation table to insure that the following fields, singularly and in combination, are correct in content.

- Zip Code
- Township/City Code
- Ward Code
- Precinct Code
- Political Unit Code
- Congressional District Code
- State Lower House Code
- State Upper House Code
- Zip Post Office Name
(Town) (City) (Name)

Only those political codes that have been established by local political practice must be included in the table. However, the political coding structure must be such that the concatenation of Township/city code, ward code & precinct code uniquely defines a precinct in a county.

This procedure will insure that, for example, the county code in a record is valid for the state being processed, that his zip code is valid for this county, that this zip code and city name is consistent with POD-26, etc.

STATE ABBREVIATION - Use only standard abbreviations found in POD-26. An error found in this field results in a Fatal Error, Code A,

COUNTY CODE - Use only those codes supplied in the attached. If not consistent with the validation table, a Fatal Error results. This code must be consistent within a file.

SEQUENCE NUMBER - A unique contiguous sequence number must be applied to each record within a county file, beginning with 0000001. This number must be applied to the records so that when the file is sorted to ascending sequence number sort the following sequence, major to minor, will result:

Zip Code
Zip Post Office Name
Local Address Code
Street Number
Street Name
Street Direction
House Number
Surname
Given Name

An error in this field is considered Fatal.

ZIP CODE - This field must contain the correct zip code for this record. Refer to POD-26. Fatal Error if not consistent with table.

TOWNSHIP/CITY CODE - If a township or a city code has been established as a local convention, it will be contained in the validation table. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results.

WARD CODE - If political ward codes are assigned, they will be contained in the validation table. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results.

PRECINCT CODE - If precinct codes are available, they will be included in the validation table. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results.

POLITICAL UNIT CODE - If local convention has established a subdivision of the above political units, this coding will be included in the validation table. Failure of consistency with the validation table is a Fatal Error.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CODE - This is the code for the U. S. Congressional district which applies to this record. This code will be contained in the validation table and an error found in this field is considered Fatal.

STATE LOWER HOUSE CODE - Must be consistent with the validation table.

STATE UPPER HOUSE CODE - Must be consistent with the validation table.

TITLE CODE 1 - Must contain one of the following:

- "1" - Indicates Title "Mr."
- "2" - Female, Title unknown
- "3" - " " "Miss"
- "4" - " " "Mrs."
- "5" - " " "Dr."
- "6" - " " "Rev."
- "9" - " No Title - Warning Error
- "B" - " Title "Mr. & Mrs."
- "C" - " " "Dr. & Mrs."
- "D" - " " "Rev. & Mrs."

Any other character results in Fatal Error.

In the list compilation procedure, if titles are not available in the source information, table look-ups will be used to determine titles of individuals. Titles may require modification in the list netting procedure. (Example: Input John Doe, no title. Table look-up procedure applies title code "3". During netting procedure it is found that John Doe and Mary Doe live at same address. Netting procedure would be to change John Doe title to Code "B" and place Mary Doe's given name and other information into the Name 2 field of John Doe's record with a title code "4". Mary Doe's record would then be deleted from the file.

GIVEN NAME 1 - This is the Given Name of the person considered head of household. If Christian name is not available, then first initial is acceptable.

- Fatal Errors: .Imbedded Blanks
- .Numeric Characters
- .Blank Field

	<u>SEPTEMBER</u>		<u>SEPTEMBER</u>		<u>SEPTEMBER</u>		<u>NOVEMBER</u>	
	<u>PRESIDENTIAL LTR</u>		<u>ETHNIC MAILING</u>		<u>REPUBLICANS</u>		<u>"GET OUT</u>	
	Delivery 9/11		Delivery 9/18		Delivery 9/18		Delivery 11/2-4	
	(a) Computer Ltr	(a) Ltr	(d) Bristol	(a) Computer Ltr/Vol. Card	(a) Teleg. Form			
	(b) Computer Env.	(b) Brochure	Card	(b) Brochure	(b) Window Env.			
	(match address)	(c) BRE	(e) Window Env.	(c) BRE	(d) Window Env.			
<u>STATE PRIORITY</u>	<u>QUANTITY</u>		<u>QUANTITY</u>		<u>QUANTITY</u>		<u>QUANTITY</u>	
I II	I II	I II	I II	I II	I II	I II	I II	
California	3,000,000		2,625,000		2,100,000		3,100,000	
Connecticut							725,000	
Cook Cty (Illinois)	960,000		840,000				600,000	300,000
Maryland							570,000	
Michigan							1,560,000	
New Jersey (New York)	800,000		700,000		1,025,000		1,370,000	
Ohio							1,600,000	
Pennsylvania	1,500,000		1,312,500				2,500,000	
Texas							1,500,000	
TOTALS	6,260,000		5,477,500		3,125,000		7,570,000	6,255,000
PRICE PER THOUSAND	\$114		\$120		\$144		\$90	\$90
COST PER MAILING	\$713,640		\$657,300		\$450,000		\$681,300	\$562,950

	<u>SEPTEMBER</u>		<u>SEPTEMBER</u>		<u>SEPTEMBER</u>		<u>NOVEMBER</u>	
	<u>ETHNIC MAILING</u>		<u>SECOND</u>		<u>REPUBLICANS</u>		<u>"GET OUT</u>	
	Delivery 9/18		Delivery		Delivery 9/18		Delivery 11/2-4	
	(a) Ltr	(d) Bristol	(a) Ltr	(d) Bristol	(a) Computer Ltr/Vol. Card	(b) Brochure (d) Window Env.	(a) Teleg. Form	(b) Window Env.
	(b) Brochure	Card	(b) Brochure	Card	(c) BRE			
	(c) BRE	(e) Window Env.	(c) BRE	(e) Window Env.				
	<u>QUANTITY</u>		<u>QUANTITY</u>		<u>QUANTITY</u>		<u>QUANTITY</u>	
<u>STATE PRIORITY</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>
California	3,000,000		2,250,000		2,100,000		3,100,000	
Connecticut								725,000
Cook Cty (Illinois)	960,000		720,000				600,000	300,000
Maryland								570,000
Michigan								1,560,000
New Jersey (New York)	800,000		600,000		1,025,000		1,370,000	
Ohio								1,600,000
Pennsylvania	1,500,000		1,125,000				2,500,000	
Texas								1,500,000
TOTALS	6,260,000		4,695,000		3,125,000		7,570,000	6,255,000
PRICE PER THOUSAND	\$120		\$120		\$144		\$90	\$90
COST PER MAILING	\$751,200		\$563,400		\$450,000		\$681,300	\$562,950

	<u>SEPTEMBER</u>		<u>SEPTEMBER</u>		<u>NOVEMBER</u>	
	<u>ETHNIC MAILING</u>		<u>REPUBLICANS ONLY</u>		<u>"GET OUT THE VOTE"</u>	
	<u>Delivery 9/18</u>		<u>Delivery 9/18</u>		<u>Delivery 11/2-4</u>	
	(a) Ltr	(d) Bristol	(a) Computer Ltr/Vol. Card	(a) Teleg. Form		
	(b) Brochure	Card	(b) Brochure	(b) Window Env.		
	(c) BRE	(e) Window Env.	(c) BRE	(e) Window Env.		
<u>STATE PRIORITY</u>	<u>QUANTITY</u>		<u>QUANTITY</u>		<u>QUANTITY</u>	
<u>I</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>
California	3,000,000		2,100,000		3,100,000	
Connecticut						725,000
Cook Cty (Illinois)	960,000				600,000	300,000
Maryland						570,000
Michigan						1,560,000
New Jersey (New York)	800,000		1,025,000		1,370,000	
Ohio						1,600,000
Pennsylvania	1,500,000				2,500,000	
Texas						1,500,000
TOTALS	6,260,000		3,125,000		7,570,000	6,255,000
PRICE PER THOUSAND	\$120		\$144		\$90	\$90
COST PER MAILING	\$751,200		\$450,000		\$681,300	\$562,950

TOTAL BUDGET

\$ 4,490,000	First Budget Approval
+ 1,000,000	UCC Budget Approval
<u>\$ 5,490,000</u>	<u>TOTAL BUDGET</u>
	<u>LESS: EXPENSES</u>
- 300,000	California Primary Expense
<u>\$ 5,190,000</u>	
- 1,100,000	UCC Expense Including Key Punching
<u>\$ 4,090,000</u>	
- 514,000	Data Base Development Expense
<u>\$ 3,576,000</u>	
- 209,000	New York Direct Mail Request
<u>\$ 3,367,000</u>	
- 3,065,000	OPTION I
<u>\$ 302,000</u>	
- 50,000	Agricultural Mailings
<u>\$ 252,000</u>	
- 50,000	Volunteer Mailings
<u>\$ 202,000</u>	Remaining Monies for Emergency Mailings

\$ 4,490,000	First Budget Approval
+ 1,000,000	UCC Budget Approval
<u>\$ 5,490,000</u>	<u>TOTAL BUDGET</u>
	<u>LESS: EXPENSES</u>
- 300,000	California Primary Expense
<u>\$ 5,190,000</u>	
- 1,100,000	UCC Expense Including Key Punching
<u>\$ 4,090,000</u>	
- 514,000	Data Base Development Expense
<u>\$ 3,576,000</u>	
- 209,000	New York Direct Mail Request
<u>\$ 3,367,000</u>	
- 3,008,850	OPTION II
<u>\$ 358,150</u>	
- 50,000	Agricultural Mailings
<u>\$ 308,150</u>	
- 50,000	Volunteer Mailings
<u>\$ 258,150</u>	Remaining Monies for Emergency Mailings

- 2 -

\$ 4,490,000	First Budget Approval
+ 1,000,000	UCC Budget Approval
<u>\$ 5,490,000</u>	<u>TOTAL BUDGET</u>
	<u>LESS: EXPENSES</u>
- 300,000	California Primary Expense
<u>\$ 5,190,000</u>	
- 1,100,000	UCC Expense Including Key Punching
<u>\$ 4,090,000</u>	
- 514,000	Data Base Development Expense
<u>\$ 3,576,000</u>	
- 209,000	New York Direct Mail Request
<u>\$ 3,367,000</u>	
- 2,445,450	OPTION III
<u>\$ 921,550</u>	
- 50,000	Agricultural Mailings
<u>\$ 871,550</u>	
- 50,000	Volunteer Mailings
<u><u>\$ 821,550</u></u>	Remaining Monies for Emergency Mailings

cc: G. Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 6, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: BOB MARIK *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: Signature for New Jersey Republican Letter

As a part of the direct mail program, a letter will be sent to all Republicans in New Jersey in late September or early October. It is our conclusion that the joint signatures of Senator Case and Governor Cahill would be most appropriate on this mailing.

Recommendation

That you approve Senator Case and Governor Cahill to jointly sign the Republican mailing in New Jersey.

Approve Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Changed per mail 9/18

*CM
9/9/72
6:15 PM*

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 13, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MARIK *BM*
SUBJECT: Direct Mail Strategy

As you know, the Direct Mail budget was recently reduced by \$500,000. Under these circumstances, we can only implement additional mailings by reducing the currently planned mailings accordingly. Two situations have recently come up where we feel that such a change in strategy is warranted.

CALIFORNIA. Bob Hatch of California has communicated to us that Leaders of several unions in that state are prepared to send a mailing to their membership urging a vote for President Nixon. (See TAB A.) We feel that such a mailing represents a unique opportunity for the President to gain support from union families. It is expected to yield greater benefits than an equal number of letters sent to registered Democrats in the state.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you authorize a reduction of 500,000 letters from the planned mailing to 3,200,000 Democrats in California, and that the funds thus saved be applied to a mailing to 500,000 union families as described above. The decision on which Democrats to omit from the mailing would be made jointly by us and by the California Re-election Committee.

APPROVE ✓ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

ILLINOIS/MICHIGAN. In the second wave of polling, the President held a substantial lead in the State of Illinois. Nevertheless,

as a conservative measure, Cook County was designated as a Priority I "State".

Democrats for Nixon mailings are presently planned for Italians, Irish, Polish, other PUE's, Elderly and Veterans among registered voters in Cook County. In addition, there are mailings scheduled for Spanish surname voters and Jewish voters. The total number of all of these is estimated to be 280,000. In addition, we are planning to mail to 560,000 high and middle income voters in Cook County, under the Committee for the Re-election of the President letterhead. Although we do not have registration by party, this latter group would be expected to be predominantly behavioral Republicans. If the third wave of polling, which should be available in preliminary form by Wednesday night, shows the President still in commanding lead, this latter mailing to high and middle income voters in Cook County could be considered expendable.

At the same time, Bob Teeter has uncovered some extremely interesting information about the voters who are declaring themselves undecided in Michigan door-to-door and telephone canvassing. Bob did a professional survey on a representative sample of these voters. Our expectations were that many pro-McGovern voters would be hiding behind a claim of undecided. However, the results showed that the "undecided" favor the President by 48 to 13. Therefore, it would seem to be effective strategy to mail a follow-up letter to all voters found to be undecided in the Michigan door-to-door and telephone canvass.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the elimination of the high and middle income mailing from Cook County, Illinois, and that the money thereby saved be applied to a comparable size mailing to undecided voters as identified by door-to-door and telephone canvass in Michigan.

APPROVE ✓ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

9/13

September 12, 1972

TO: ROBERT FISHMAN
FROM: ROBERT F. HAYCH
RE: LABOR COMMITTEE LETTER

Today we are organizing our state Labor Committee for the President and we have been able to get some top leaders representing large unions in this state to endorse the President. Our meeting today is for Southern California and within two weeks, we will have another press conference for Northern California. The labor leaders want to solicit each of their members to vote for the President and I believe such a letter would be an effective use of your mail budget for California. The four main unions (but there are others also) in California who support the President are the Teamsters, Building Trades, Operating Engineers and various marine unions. I estimate that we will have somewhere around 1,000,000 members represented. A letter from their leader should have great impact on their vote and I request consideration for such a letter in California.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Letter in Support of Senator Percy

Senator Percy has asked for a letter of support to twelve hundred Illinois County officials from you. A draft of the proposed letter is attached.

As you may recall, we have asked Percy to sign an Illinois (Cook County) mailing for us, which he has agreed to do. I believe we should meet Percy's request.

Agree ✓

Disagree _____

Comment 9/13

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004 (202) 333-0920

Dear Illinois Leader:

I'm sure we agree that the President has compiled a remarkable legislative record over the past four years, particularly in view of the fact that the Congress has been controlled by the opposition.

That record will be even better over the next four years if, in addition to returning the President with an overwhelming mandate, we give him a Republican Congress.

A big part of our effort will be to return to the Senate every Republican incumbent up for re-election. The re-election of these important Senators would provide the foundation on which we can conceivably build a majority in the Senate. In Illinois, that means we need to work for the re-election of Senator Charles Percy.

In the past four years the Congress, through inaction, has scuttled many of President Nixon's most innovative legislative proposals. In the Senate the best example is the President's comprehensive legislative package to reorganize and streamline the departments of the executive branch.

At the President's request, Senator Percy served as the chief Senate sponsor of the legislation. And when the Senate reported the bill to the Government Operations Committee, Percy, as the senior Republican member, became the prime mover behind the bill.

But the Democratically-controlled Committee treated the most important, thoroughly studied and carefully drafted reorganization legislation since the creation of the civil service in a manner which can only be considered cavalier.

The bill moved through the Committee at a turtle's pace. The Committee arbitrarily cut short the number of hearings. Had it not been for Percy's efforts, the bill probably would have even been denied the six days of hearings it ultimately received.

As the chief Senate sponsor of the President's Drug Abuse Office and Treatment Act, Percy met with more success. In the Conference Committee, when members of the Senate and House got together to iron out the differences between the versions each body had passed, Percy determined negotiations were largely responsible for winning an increase of about \$500 million in funds for drug treatment and rehabilitation.

More of these kinds of victories lie ahead in the next four years if we can re-elect Senators like Chuck Percy and return a majority of Republicans to the Senate. A Republican majority in the Senate would mean that Chuck Percy would become the Chairman of the Government Operations Committee. No longer would the government reorganization plan lie dormant.

In a Republican-controlled Senate, Percy would also replace Senator George McGovern as Chairman of the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. Senator McGovern has said that President Nixon has done more to feed the hungry in America than any other President in our history. With a Republican, Chuck Percy, in charge of the Hunger Committee, the President could accomplish even more.

As the Campaign Director of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, I ask your support in the effort to re-elect Senator Percy. I believe an all-out effort to acquaint all the people of America with the record of achievement of the first four Nixon years can win a mandate for further service. To translate that mandate into a successful program for peace in the world and progress at home, the President will need the continued support of Republican Senators like Chuck Percy.

Sincerely,

Clark MacGregor
Campaign Director

Committee for the Re-election of the President.

MEMORANDUM

August 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: L. ROBERT MORGAN
FROM: BOB MARIK 
SUBJECT: Signatures for Direct Mail

This memorandum summarizes where we stand on decisions for signatures on direct mail and authorization to use each name.

CALIFORNIA

Jewish Letter:

Letterhead: Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President

Signers:

Albert Spiegel, Lewis Boyar

Italian Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon

Signers: John Wirth to provide 1 or 2 names. (May use Jenò Paulucci.)
Target Date: Monday, August 28.

Spanish-Surname Letter: (L.A., San Diego, other)

Letterhead: Committee for the Re-election of the President

Signers: Caesar Romero (Permission given verbally by agent to Alex Armendaris.)
Text of letters must be cleared by telephone with Mrs. Sue Taurog, Suite 625, 9229 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90069, (213) 278-3233.

Elderly Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon

Signers: John Connally

P.U.E. Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon

Signers: Mayor Jack D. Maltester, Past President,
U.S. Conference of Mayors, San Leandro,
California. (415) 638-4100. On vacation--
will reach Monday, August 21.

Edward Kiernan, President, International
Conference of Police Associations. (212)
544-2700.

(Permission granted.)

Veterans Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon

Signers: John E. O'Neill, Executive Director,
Concerned Veterans for Nixon. 872-9800.
Permission given. Letter en route.
Text clearance not necessary.

Raymond Gallagher, Past National Commander
of Veterans of Foreign Wars. (605) 472-2710.
Permission given. Letter en route. Text
clearance necessary by phone.

High Income-Middle Income:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon

Signers: John Connally

COOK COUNTY ILLINOIS

Jewish Letter:

Letterhead: Concerned Citizens

Signers:

Samuel Rothberg, Paul Hurwitz

Italian Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: John Wirth to provide names.
(May use Jenò Paulucci)
Target Date: Monday, August 28.

Irish Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Frank Fitzsimmons (permission verbally
secured by Dick Howard. Will get per-
mission at time of review of final
ensemble.)
Edward Kiernan. (See California P.U.E.)

Polish Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Frank Prochot, Vice President, Polish
National Alliance. (Probable)
Casimer Zukomski, Vice President, Polish
American Congress. (Probable) John Wirth
securing permission.

Spanish Letter:

Letterhead: Committee for the Re-election
of the President
Signers: Caesar Romero - Permission Granted.
(See California Spanish Letter)

Elderly Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats or CREP
Signers: James Roosevelt (Permission not yet obtained.)
John Connally

Veterans Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Raymond Gallagher and John O'Neill
(Permission Granted--See California
Veterans Letter.)

High, Middle Income:

Letterhead: CREP
Signers: Clark MacGregor

NEW JERSEY

Jewish Letter (P.U.E.)

Letterhead: Concerned Citizens
Signers:
David Litwin, Philip Hoffman

Elderly P.U.E.

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Connally
Gallagher (permission granted)

Non-elderly P.U.E.

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Connally
Fitzsimmons (permission granted)

Italian Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: John Wirth to provide names.
Target Date: August 28.

Elderly (Other):

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon

Signers: Connally

Non-elderly, high, middle income:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon

Signers: Thomas Dunn, Mayor, Elizabeth, N.J.
(201) 353-1188. (Permission granted
and letter received (Tab A).

PENNSYLVANIA

P.U.E. Elderly Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon

Signers: James Roosevelt
John Connally

P.U.E., Other, Non-elderly:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon

Signers: Connally

Fitzsimmons (permission granted)

P.U.E. Jewish Letter:

Letterhead: Concerned Citizens

Signers:

Arlen Spector, Leonard Goldfein

Italian Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon

Signers: John Wirth to provide names.
Target Date: August 28.

Irish, Polish Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Fitzsimmons (permission granted)
Kiernan (Permission Granted.)

Other, Elderly:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Connally

Non-elderly (High and middle income):

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Connally

Other Jewish Letter:

Letterhead: Democrats for Nixon
Signers: Herman Fineberg



OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

THOMAS G. DUNN
MAYOR

August 17, 1972

ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY

Mr. Robert Marik
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Bob:

Please convey to Governor Connally my authorization, as requested by you in our telephone conversation today, to affix my name to a New Jersey mailing espousing the cause of re-electing President Nixon by the "DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON".

Further, as I mentioned in my telephone talk with you, Chairman Connally of the "DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON" has carte blanche approval to use my name, signature, etc. on any matter that will aid in the re-election of the President, providing same is approved by the Chairman.

Should you wish to contact me in the forthcoming week, please call on one of the following numbers:

August 21st-25th	(609) 492-9423	LONG BEACH ISLAND
August 26th on.	(201) 353-1188	OFFICE-CITY HALL
	(201) 353-6069	RESIDENCE

Cordially,

MAYOR

TGD:sae

P.S. For information purposes: I have been the Democratic Mayor of Elizabeth, New Jersey since January 1, 1965. I am seeking re-election in the forthcoming General Election for my third four-year term. From mid-1971 to mid-1972, I served as President of the New Jersey Conference of Mayors. Any other "background" facts can be obtained by calling my secretary Sally at the office. (201) 353-1188

T.G.D.

G. Strachan

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

August 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN

SUBJECT: "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President"

Max Fisher and Larry Goldberg have promoted the pseudonym "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President". An article recently appeared in Time magazine mentioning the group. "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President" is not a legal committee, but we intend to use it as a name on the top of the letters, envelopes and brochures to the reachable Jewish Democrats. The advertising to the Jewish Community will carry the same "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President" theme.

The letter and the brochure will both have the disclaimer that they are paid for by the Committee for the Re-election of the President. The letters in the different states (Cook County, Illinois, California, New Jersey and Pennsylvania) will be signed by different people. The Volunteer/Contributor return card will come to a Washington post office box for processing; the money will be placed in the Finance Committee's bank account, and the volunteers will be computerized and immediately sent to the respective states.

The attached ensemble has been approved by Max Fisher. This mailing is scheduled to go out for delivery on September 25, which is after the Jewish High Holidays.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the letter going to reachable Jewish-surnamed Democrats with the letterhead "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President". The letter and letterhead are attached as TABS A and B respectively.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE COMMENTS

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the brochure to go along with the "Concerned Citizens for the Re-election of the President" letter. The copy is attached as TAB C, and a xerox of the comp is attached as TAB D.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE COMMENTS _____

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the mailing and reply envelopes that go along with the ensembles, attached as TABS E and F respectively.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE COMMENTS _____

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the use of the Volunteer/Contributor Card, which is the same as the one used with the regular Republican ensembles (TAB G).

APPROVE DISAPPROVE COMMENTS _____

Attachments:

- TAB A
- TAB B
- TAB C
- TAB D
- TAB E
- TAB F
- TAB G

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik

JEWISH LETTER (DEMOCRATS)
SEPTEMBER MAILING

Dear Concerned Citizen:

Rarely in history has there been such a clear-cut choice between Presidential candidates. Although most of us are Democrats and Independents, our choice has to be President Nixon. We'd like you to know some of the reasons.

The President believes in traveling to any country in the world for peace. But he also believes in negotiating from strength. He is firmly committed to a strong Mediterranean fleet to help keep peace in Israel, and the Middle East.

In fact, the President is widely regarded as one of the greatest friends Israel has had. To cite just one example of his commitment to Israel, he has provided more military and economic assistance than all previous administrations combined.

On the other hand, Senator McGovern's record is disturbing. He has suggested the internationalization of Jerusalem and a return to the insecure pre-1967 boundary line. Most worrisome of all, he is now advocating the reduction of the Sixth Fleet which is in the Mediterranean to discourage Arab-Soviet aggression.

Turning to domestic issues, the President believes, of course, in helping the poor. But he doesn't believe in increasing the taxes of the average American in order to finance a \$1,000 giveaway to every man, woman and child--as proposed by Senator McGovern.

The President believes the merit system made America great. Senator McGovern seems to believe in the quota system. He feels minorities should be represented in proportion to their number, eligible or not, qualified or not.

Under President Nixon, things have become quieter, more orderly. Our campuses are back to the work of scholarship. Our cities don't have the almost weekly riots they used to have. And through a combination of firmness and reason, the President has succeeded in slowing down the drug traffic into America and cutting the serious crime rate in half.

The President has decreased personal income taxes by 22 billion dollars, and has proposed a Federal revenue sharing plan which would help each state ease the burden of property taxes.

And the President acted boldly against inflation when he made his courageous decision to impose a wage-price freeze. As a result of this decision, the rate of inflation has been cut dramatically for the first time in years.

For reasons such as these, we support President Nixon--and believe you should, too. We need your vote. We need you as a volunteer. We need your contribution.

Sincerely,

P.S. Citizens in (name of state) have just begun raising money, so give generously. Give whatever you can. But give something. And please do it now; it's needed now.

PRINTED ON 100% RECYCLED PAPER

Concerned Citizens
for the Re-election of the President
P.O. Box 647 Washington, D.C. 20044

*Concerned Citizens
Executive Committee
will be listed down
the left-hand margin.

PAID FOR BY THE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT, PAUL BARRICK, TREASURER

PRINTED ON 100% RECYCLED PAPER

DEMOCRAT - JEWISH

"The United States stands by its friends. Israel is one of its friends."

Richard Nixon

"On that issue (Israel) President Nixon has proved himself. He has provided as much economic and military assistance to Israel as all the White House predecessors combined. In times of crisis he has stood up to the Soviet Union in the Middle East. McGovern is more of a mystery."

Time Magazine
August 21, 1972

Foreign Policy:

President Nixon, in the name of peace, went to Moscow where he negotiated agreements with the Soviet Union to limit development of missiles. He visited Peking to begin improving U.S.-China relations. He called a halt to crisis diplomacy, seeking to reduce tension in such troubled areas as the Middle East.

Defense:

President Nixon believes in a strong America. He believes that the best way to decrease the defense budget is through mutual disarmament. He has proved his point with the Russian SALT Agreements. His democratic opponent, however, this year favors deep cuts that the President opposes, despite warnings from military experts that the U.S. would thereby be weakened around the world. In the Middle East, such weakness could encourage aggression against Israel.

Soviet Jewry:

President Nixon increased Voice of America programs to the USSR and introduced special Jewish programs. He granted financial aid to help Soviet Jews resettle in Israel--the first such aid ever offered, and ordered the Justice Department to admit Soviet Jews to the United States on a non-quota-basis. The President recently spoke out on the matter when he visited Moscow, and has promised to continue doing so.

The Economy:

President Nixon has taken strong action to halt inflation and increase employment. He initiated a 90-day wage-price freeze, followed by more flexible controls, and introduced a package of tax cuts to stimulate the economy. The inflation rate has been cut in half, and the Gross National Product has expanded at a yearly rate of over 7%. Housing starts, a prime indicator of economic vitality, are up 42% over last year.

Environment:

President Nixon established the Environmental Protection Agency, the first Federal unit ever set up to protect our quality of life. He has increased funding for environmental improvement by over 500%, and initiated a Legacy of Parks program to bring increased recreational opportunities to cities. No less than 25 separate environment bills have been proposed by him.

Taxes:

Under President Nixon, Americans are paying \$22 billion less in Federal taxes. In addition, the President's proposed revenue sharing plan would return more money to the states, enabling them to lessen state taxes--especially the property tax. This savings affects not only homeowners but, eventually, many tenants, too.

Education:

Stating that "no qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money," President Nixon signed the Education Amendments Act of 1972, the largest higher education bill in history. Though increasing the education budget by \$4 billion, the President places the emphasis on "quality" in education, opposing a lowering of educational standards, the busing of children and unnecessary government intrusion.

Social Security:

During President Nixon's term, social security benefits have increased by 51%, including a recent 20% increase. The President's program also has an inflation-proof feature that allows benefits to go up whenever the cost of living goes up. To further ease the cost of living for older Americans, the President has asked Congress to grant them reduced transportation fares.

Stability:

In 1968, there was mass rioting in cities and on campuses across America. Under President Nixon, riots have become a fraction of what they were. The President has spoken out strongly for the need to respect the law, but effectively worked to solve many of the problems disturbing Americans.

Vietnam:

The President has done everything in his power to bring peace to Vietnam without sacrificing the South Vietnamese in the process. He has brought home 500,000 men...reduced casualties by 95%...ended ground combat of American forces...and cut spending by two-thirds. Strong steps are continually being taken to get the enemy to cease its aggression and make peace.

JEWISH BROCHURE QUOTES

"George McGovern is wrong on Israel."

"...Now if you start cutting the Sixth Fleet, with the Soviet buildup in its fleet in the Mediterranean, one of these days the Soviet Union is going to present you with a fact accomplished, so to speak, a fait accompli, in which it says, listen, we are in North Africa, we're going to stay in North Africa, we have our bases in North Africa. They can overrun Israel in the Middle East. The only protection which Israel has in that part of the world right now is the presence of the American Sixth Fleet as a counterbalance to the power of the Soviet Union."

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey
Date

"I am a little surprised that Senator McGovern has announced this (welfare and tax reform) as his program. I find myself with a great many questions about it. I don't know where we get that money that we would have to make up if it is to be a balanced program. Even if McGovern added \$43 billion to his revenues through elimination of the Social Security payments, there still would be a 'very sizable deficit'."

Rep. Wilber Mills
Date

"Everyone who earns between \$8,000 and \$20,000 would be socked in the proverbial jaw with the tax load from McGovern's ambitious programs."

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey
Date

"McGovern has become the spokesman of some of the most dangerous and destructive currents in American politics. Some call the McGovern Doctrine the new populism. I call it the new extremism."

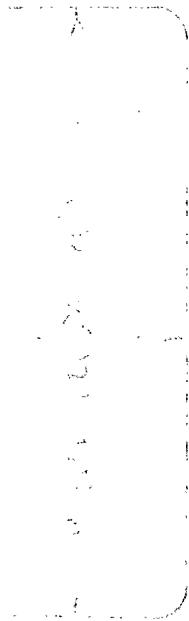
Sen. Henry Jackson
Date

"McGovern's positions on many of the issues are unacceptable to a large portion of our people."

Sen. Edmund Muskie
Date

**Concerned Citizens
for the Re-election of the President**

P.O. Box 647 Washington, D.C. 20044





This is a very faint and illegible block of text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. It appears to be organized into several paragraphs, but the characters are too light to transcribe accurately.

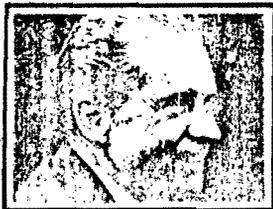
This is another block of very faint and illegible text, similar to the one on the left. It also appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

A VERY INTERESTING FOUR YEARS

This is a line of very faint text, possibly a signature or a title, located at the bottom of the page. It is difficult to decipher due to its low contrast.

Please
Place
Stamp
Here

**Concerned Citizens
for the Re-election of the President**
P.O. Box 647 Washington D.C. 20044



Multiply your voting power
with this
VOLUNTEER CARD

I agree the President deserves support. Contact me, I'll be a campaign volunteer.

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____
Made out to the Finance Committee to
Re-elect the President

Signature _____

Telephone _____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, insert it in the reply envelope and mail today.

A copy of our report filed with the Comptroller General will be available for purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402

Giving costs you less this year! See tax note on other side. ▶

IMPORTANT TAX MESSAGE

Political contributions are now tax deductible in two ways
(which ever gives you the most benefit:)

1. A \$12.50 tax credit (\$25.00 for a married couple filing a joint return)
can be subtracted from your total tax bill, or
2. A \$50.00 deduction can be taken from your taxable income
(\$100.00 for a married couple filing a joint return).

For record purposes, please fill in the information below:

Occupation _____ Principal place of
Business (if any) _____

S. Strackan
gud

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Distribution of Computer
Voter Lists to States

As you know, we have assembled a list of the majority of the registered voters for nine key states (New York not included). These lists are the key to our direct mail and telephone operation and have been compiled at considerable cost to the Committee.

In the past several weeks we have had several inquiries from state officials who are aware of the lists and have asked to have access to them. Thus, at this point, we are faced with a decision as to whether we (a) release the list to certain states or candidates within a state; and (b) charge for this service.

After discussions with Bob Marik and Jerry Jones, of Fred Malek's staff, I believe:

1. Under no circumstances should we release our primary data sources -- i.e., computer tapes and cards.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

COMMENT

2. We should make computer lists available (print-out or cheshire labels) on a selected basis for a fee. Specifically, we should determine an appropriate charge for every situation after considering both the direct cost to us for preparing the list/labels and the original acquisition cost of the data.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

COMMENT

3. Each request for these lists should be reviewed by you and Mr. Haldeman to ensure that consideration is given to both political points of view and the President's interests.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENT

cc: G. Stachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 6, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MARIK
SUBJECT: Direct Mail for Illinois

As you recall, we recommended two weeks ago that Senator Percy be added to sign the late September letter to high and middle income voters in Cook County, Illinois. Mr. Haldeman has not endorsed that plan.

All of our information indicates that Senator Percy is by far the strongest public figure (aside from the President and Vice President) among this voter segment, most of whom are Republican.

I strongly feel that, with due respect to Mr. Haldeman's reservations, it is firmly in the President's interest to have Senator Percy sign the letter.

Recommendation

That you approve the use of Senator Percy's signature on the letter to high and middle income voters in Cook County, Illinois.

Approve Disapprove Comment _____

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
 FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
 SUBJECT: Computer Lists

Bob Morgan has provided me the following information on which states participated in financing of our voter lists, and whether they are - by advance agreement - to receive a copy of the voter tape.

	<u>FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION</u>	<u>COPY OF TAPE</u>
California	None	*One copy of tape to: Bob Monagan RSCCC
Connecticut	50%	One copy to State Committee
Illinois	None	No copy
Maryland	None	No copy
Michigan	None	**No copy
New Jersey	Two-thirds by State	One copy of tape to State Committee
Ohio	None	No copy
Pennsylvania	None	No copy
Texas	50% Texans for Tower	One copy to Senator Tower

*California got a copy of the tape because of the low cost and Lyn Nofziger asked to have it done early, based on his cooperation in the state.

**A Universal List was used in Michigan and it still belongs to Donnelley.

As you know, we will make mailing labels (not lists or computer tapes with exceptions noted above) available to state candidates within the following guidelines:

1. The labels will cost \$15.00 per thousand, which is about our cost including handling.
2. Each request for these labels will be reviewed by Messrs. MacGregor and Haldeman or their designees.
3. Each request will require about two weeks to process and mail.

cc: G. Strachan

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN
SUBJECT: Republican Mailing Ensembles to California,
New Jersey, and Cook County, Illinois

Attached to this memorandum is the entire Republican ensemble in one package, including a stat of the brochure, a xerox of the brochure copy, a xerox of the letter as it will appear, a xerox of the Volunteer/Contributor Card, a xerox of the absentee ballot request self-mailer, as well as the mailing and reply envelopes. These are put together as they would appear in an ensemble received by the recipients.

The Republican ensembles basically vary in two (2) ways -- Older Americans letter and brochure, and all other Republicans letter and brochure. Known contributors in California and New Jersey will be separated from our regular mailing and given computerized letters, which we anticipate will increase their contributions. The computerized letter will take the place of the regular fund-raising letter that would normally go out in California to the same group of people; consequently, avoiding a duplication of effort. All responses to these mailings go directly to the state headquarters.

All of the Republican ensembles will be posted with a 5¢ pre-cancelled stamp to increase the personalized effect.

The objectives of this mailing are:

1. To be supportive of the Republican position.
2. Develop an additional cadre of volunteers.
3. Increase the contributions from our donors.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

4. Make it easy for voters who are going to be away from polling places on Election Day to get an absentee ballot.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the Older Americans ensemble.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE COMMENTS _____

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the General Republican ensemble.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE COMMENTS _____

Attachments:

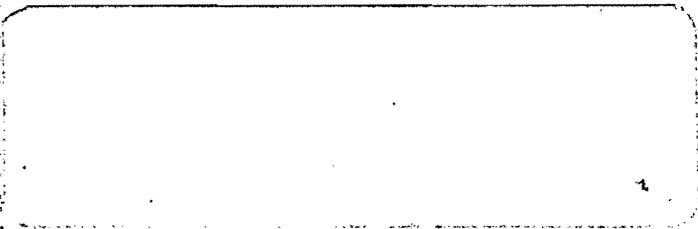
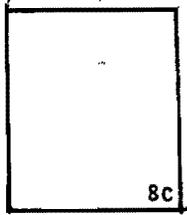
TAB A (Older American Ensemble)

TAB B (General Republican Ensemble)

CONFIDENTIAL

It may mean I'm in over.

California Committee for the Re-election of the President
2472 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90017



Now more than ever.

California Committee for the Re-election of the President

1670 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90017

Dear Fellow Republican:

One vote per precinct was the difference between winning and losing for President Nixon before. And it could be again!

That is why your vote is so important in this Election. Consider the alternative -- the most clear-cut in a century.

For one thing, the President believes in the traditional values that make America great. Senator McGovern seems to have forgotten them.

President Nixon wants to provide training and work incentives so those on welfare who can work will work and be taken off the welfare rolls. Senator McGovern, on the other hand, proposed giving every man, woman and child in the country \$1,000 whether he works for it or not and whether he needs it or not, and whether we can afford it or not.

President Nixon wants to trim only the fat from our military budget, believing that to insure peace we must remain strong. Senator McGovern's proposed \$30 billion slash would, according to his fellow Democrat, Senator Humphrey, "cut into the very security of this country".

The President has taken a hard line against criminals. Senator McGovern would make Ramsey Clark head of the FBI.

Because of President Nixon's strong actions and decisive leadership we urge you to join us in helping to keep him in the White House.

Consider what the President has accomplished:

SOCIAL SECURITY/HEALTH CARE. He has proposed a National Health Insurance Plan and the liberalization of the Retirement Earnings Test. He has also made Social Security payments inflation-proof -- after having signed into law increases in excess of 51%.

CRIME. He has cut the increase in the crime rate by 50%. And 80 major cities have actually reported a decrease in that rate in the last year.

TAXES. He has reduced the Federal income tax for a family of four earning \$10,000 by an average of \$320. And has proposed federal-state revenue sharing that would reduce your property taxes.

VIETNAM. He has brought home from South Vietnam over 90% of our troops. And will end the war as soon as possible without sacrificing our prisoners of war.

PRINTED ON 100% RECYCLED PAPER

REPUBLICAN - OLDER
CALIFORNIA

- 2 -

The President has done a lot. But his job is only half finished. That is why we need President Nixon -- now more than ever.

President Nixon needs your vote. Go to the polls and vote for President Nixon on November 7th. He needs you as a volunteer, even if you're already working a long day. Volunteer if you possibly can. He needs your financial support, even if it's a real sacrifice to give.

Use the Volunteer Card enclosed for contributions of time and money. They could prove as important as your ballot. And use the absentee ballot request form enclosed if you expect to be away from home on Election Day.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan
Chairman

P.S. Although large gifts are needed here in California, a small one is certainly better than none at all. But do give something. And please do it now.

The time has come for a new attitude
toward old age in America. To stop
regarding older Americans as a burden
and start regarding them as a resource.

Richard M. Nixon



**President Nixon.
Now more than ever.**

Committee for the Re-election of the President

F I N A L

OLDER AMERICANS BROCHURE

(FRONT PANEL) PRESIDENT NIXON. NOW MORE THAN EVER.

(QUOTE ON CENTER PANEL) "The time has come for a new attitude toward old age in America...to stop regarding older Americans as a burden and start regarding them as a resource..."

Richard Nixon

SOCIAL SECURITY

During President Nixon's term, social security benefits have increased by 51%. The President's program also has an inflation-proof feature that allows benefits to go up whenever the cost of living goes up. Regarding the income situation for older Americans, the President has also asked Congress for an expansion of the retirement earnings test, and an increase in widows' benefits.

HEALTH CARE

President Nixon has earmarked massive amounts of money to find a cure for cancer. Federal outlays for health care and research in 1973 will reach \$25.5 billion, and the President has proposed a National Health Insurance Standards Act, a Family Health Insurance Plan, and the National Health Education Foundation, all aiming at better health care for everyone. He has also requested the elimination of \$5.80 monthly premium under Part B of Medicare.

STABILITY

In 1968, there was mass rioting in cities and on campuses across America. Under President Nixon, riots have become a fraction of what they were. The President has spoken out strongly for the need to respect the law, has effectively worked to solve many of the problems disturbing Americans.

DEFENSE

President Nixon believes in a strong America. He believes that the best way to decrease the defense budget is through mutual disarmament. His recent SALT agreements with Russia prove that point. Senator McGovern favors deep cuts that the President opposes, despite warnings from military experts that the U.S. would thereby be weakened around the world.

NEW GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS

President Nixon has embarked on a comprehensive program within the government to insure coordination between all Federal and state agencies involved in the field of aging. This has included the formation of a fully staffed Cabinet Committee on Aging and the appointment of Arthur Fleming as a full-time consultant.

CRIME

The President's vigorous law-enforcement policies have cut the increase in the nation's serious crime-rate from 10% two years ago to 1% in the first quarter of this year. Eighty (over half) of our major cities have reported actual decreases in crime, and Washington, D.C. has achieved a 30% decrease over last year. Making all this possible has been President Nixon's program of increased aid to states and localities.

THE ECONOMY

President Nixon has taken strong action to halt inflation and increase employment. He initiated a 90-day wage-price freeze, followed by more flexible controls, and introduced a package of tax cuts to stimulate the economy. The inflation rate has been cut in half, and the Gross National Product has expanded at a yearly rate of over 7%. Housing starts, a prime economic indicator, are up 42% over last year.

FOREIGN POLICY

President Nixon, in the name of peace, went to Moscow where he negotiated agreements with the Soviet Union to limit development of missiles. He visited Peking to begin improving U.S./China relations. He called a halt to crisis diplomacy, seeking to reduce tensions in such troubled areas as the Middle East.

TAXES

(TO BE UNDERLINED
IN RED)

Under President Nixon, Americans are paying \$22 billion less in Federal taxes and corporations are paying \$10 billion more. In addition, the President's proposed revenue sharing plan would return more money to the states, enabling them to lessen state taxes -- especially the property tax. This affects not only homeowners but, eventually, many tenants too, through increased rents.

VIETNAM

The President has done everything in his power to bring peace to Vietnam without sacrificing the South Vietnamese in the process. He has brought home 500,000 men...ended ground combat of American forces and cut spending by two-thirds. Strong steps are continually being taken to get the enemy to cease its aggression and make peace.

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

California Committee for the
Re-election of the President

1670 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, California 90017



Multiply your voting power
with this
VOLUNTEER CARD

I agree the President deserves support. Contact me, I'll be a campaign volunteer.

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____ made out to Democrats for Nixon. Re-election of the President.

Signature _____ Telephone _____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, insert it in the reply envelope and mail today.

A copy of our report filed with the Committee General will be available for review to the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20540

Giving costs you less this year! See tax note on other side. ▶

IMPORTANT TAX MESSAGE

Political contributions are now tax deductible in two ways
(which ever gives you the most benefit:)

1. A \$12.50 tax credit (\$25.00 for a married couple filing a joint return) can be subtracted from your total tax bill, or
2. A \$50.00 deduction can be taken from your taxable income (\$100.00 for a married couple filing a joint return).

City _____
California
Zip Code _____

County Clerk of
County Registrar

City _____
State, Address and Number _____
California
Zip Code _____
Last Name _____
First Name _____

Return Address

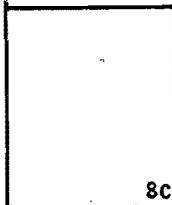
PLACE
STAMP
HERE

Will you be unable to
get to your polling place
on Nov. 7th?

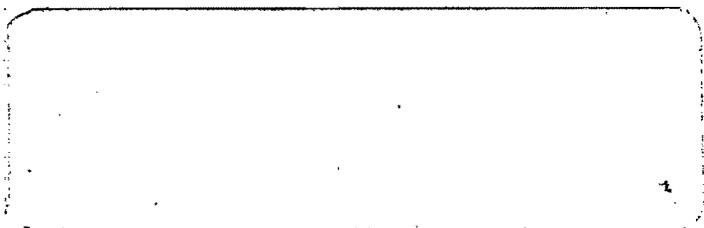
Use this form to
get an absentee ballot.

LETTERS FROM THE GREAT

California Committee for the Re-election of the President
1175 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90017



8c



Now more than ever.

California Committee for the Re-election of the President
1670 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90017

Dear Fellow Republican:

One vote per precinct was the difference between winning and losing for President Nixon before. And it could be again!

That is why your vote and familiarity with the issues are so important in this Election. Consider the alternative -- the most clear-cut in a century.

President Nixon wants to provide training and work incentives so those on welfare who can work will work and be taken off the welfare rolls. Senator McGovern, on the other hand, proposed giving every man, woman, and child in the country \$1,000 whether he works for it or not, whether he needs it or not, and whether we can afford it or not.

President Nixon wants to trim only the fat from our military budget, believing that to insure peace, we must remain strong. Senator McGovern's proposed \$30 billion slash would, according to his fellow Democrat, Senator Humphrey, "cut into the very security of this country".

We're sure you approve of President Nixon's strong action and decisive leadership. But mere approval won't get him re-elected.

Consider what the President has accomplished.

DRUGS. The President considers hard drugs Public Enemy No. 1. He has cracked down hard on pushers. He is spending 600% more for rehabilitation than was being spent when he first took office.

THE ECONOMY. According to the July 22nd issue of the New York Times the second quarter of 1972 showed the fastest gain in the economy since 1965 and a "notable drop in the rate of inflation".

VIETNAM. The President has brought home from South Vietnam over 90% of our troops, while demanding that our prisoners of war be released before we leave Vietnam. Senator McGovern wants us to get out of Vietnam now and risk abandoning our prisoners of war to the enemy.

CRIME. Under President Nixon the increase in the crime rate has been cut 50%. And 80 major cities reported less overall crime this past year.

PRINTED ON 100% RECYCLED PAPER

REPUBLICAN - GENERAL
CALIFORNIA

- 2 -

The President has done a lot. But his job is only half finished. That is why we need President Nixon -- now more than ever.

President Nixon needs your vote. Go to the polls and vote for President Nixon on November 7th. He needs you as a volunteer, even if you're already working a long day. Volunteer if you possibly can. He needs your financial support, even if it's a real sacrifice to give.

Use the Volunteer Card enclosed for contributions of time and money. They could prove as important as your ballot. And use the absentee ballot request form enclosed if you expect to be away from home on Election Day.

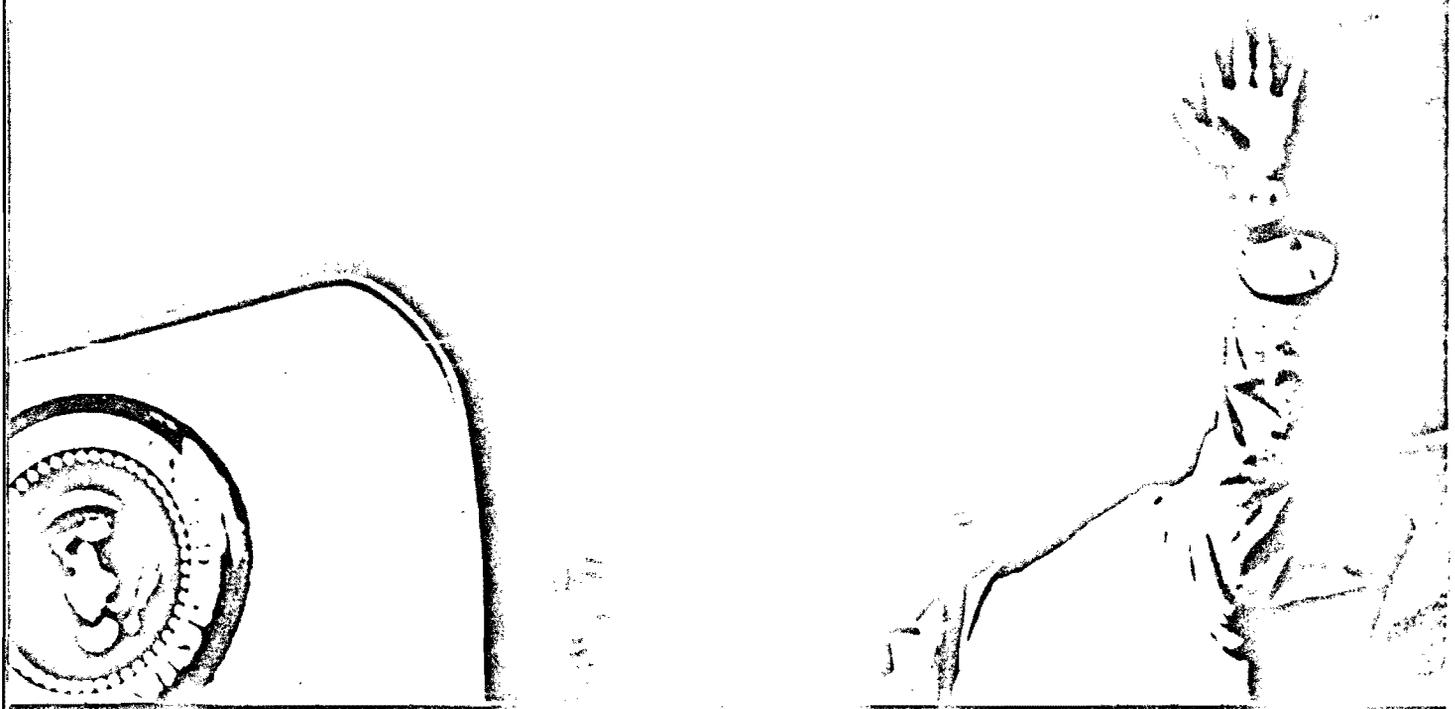
Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan
Chairman

P.S. Although large gifts are needed here in California, a small one is certainly better than none at all. But do give something. And please do it now.

"Let us reject the narrow visions of those
who would tell us that we are evil because
we are not yet perfect, that we are corrupt
because we are not yet pure, that all the
sweat and toil and sacrifice that have gone
into the building of America were for naught
because that building is not yet done"

Richard M. Nixon



**President Nixon.
Now more than ever.**

Committee for the Re-election of the President.

F I N A L

GENERAL DISCUSSION

(FRONT PANEL) PRESIDENT NIXON. NOW MORE THAN EVER.

(QUOTE ON CENTER
PANEL) "Let us reject the narrow visions of those who would tell us that we are evil because we are not yet perfect, that we are corrupt because we are not yet pure, that all the sweat and toil and sacrifice that have gone into the building of America were for naught because that building is not yet done."

Richard Nixon

DEFENSE

President Nixon believes in a strong America. He believes the best way to decrease the defense budget is through mutual disarmament. He has proved his point with the Russian SALT agreements. Senator McGovern favors the deep cuts that the President opposes, despite warnings from military experts that the U.S. would thereby be weakened around the world.

DRUGS

President Nixon has been both tough and flexible. He won the agreement of Turkey to place a total ban on the growing of opium poppy...made an agreement with France to assist in halting the traffic of drugs...and stepped up arrests of pushers. He is spending 600% more for drug education than ever before. Together, these actions are finally turning the tide against the drug scourge.

VIETNAM

The President has done everything in his power to bring peace to Vietnam without sacrificing the South Vietnamese in the process. He has brought home 500,000 men...ended ground combat for American forces...and cut spending by two-thirds. Strong steps are continually being taken to get the enemy to cease its aggression and make peace.

STABILITY

In 1968, there was mass rioting in cities and on campuses across America. Under President Nixon, riots have become a fraction of what they were. The President has spoken out strongly for the need to respect the law and has effectively worked to solve many of the problems disturbing America.

FOREIGN POLICY

President Nixon, in the name of peace, went to Moscow where he negotiated agreements with the Soviet Union to limit development of missiles. He visited Peking to begin improving U.S./China relations. He called a halt to crisis diplomacy, seeking to reduce tension in such troubled areas as the Middle East.

ENVIRONMENT

President Nixon established the Environmental Protection Agency, the first Federal unit ever set up to protect our quality of life. He has increased funding for environmental improvement by over 500%, and initiated a Legacy of Parks Program to bring increased recreational opportunities to cities. No less than 25 separate environment bills have been proposed by him.

HEALTH CARE

President Nixon has earmarked massive amounts of money to find a cure for cancer and sickle cell anemia. Federal outlays for health care and research in 1973 will reach \$25.5 billion, and the President has proposed a National Health Insurance Standards Act, a Family Health Insurance Plan and the National Health Education Foundation, all aiming at better health care for everyone.

TAXES

(TO BE UNDERLINED
IN RED)

Under President Nixon, individuals are paying \$22 billion less in Federal taxes and corporations are paying \$10 billion more. In addition, the President's proposed revenue sharing plan would return more money to the states, enabling them to lessen state taxes -- especially the property tax. This tax affects not only homeowners but, eventually, many tenants too, through increased rents.

THE ECONOMY

President Nixon has taken strong action to halt inflation and increase employment. He initiated a 90-day wage-price freeze, followed by more flexible controls, and introduced a package of tax cuts to stimulate the economy. The inflation rate has been cut in half, and the Gross National Product has expanded at a yearly rate of over 7%. Housing starts, a prime economic indicator, are up 42% over last year.

CRIME

The President's vigorous law-enforcement policies have cut the increase in the nation's serious crime rate from 10% two years ago to 1% in the first quarter of this year. Eighty (over half) of our major cities have reported actual decreases in crime, and Washington, D.C. has achieved a 30% decrease over last year. Making all this possible has been President Nixon's program of increased aid to states and localities.

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

California Committee for the
Re-election of the President

1074 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, California 90017



Multiply your voting power
with this
VOLUNTEER CARD

- I agree the President deserves support. Contact me, I'll be a campaign volunteer.
- Enclosed is my check for \$ _____ made out to Democrats for Nixon. Re-election of the President.

Signature _____ Telephone _____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, insert it in the reply envelope and mail today.
A copy of our report filed with the Comptroller General will be available for review from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington D.C. 20402 **Giving costs you less this year! See tax note on other side. ▶**

IMPORTANT TAX MESSAGE

Political contributions are now tax deductible in two ways
(which ever gives you the most benefit:)

1. A \$12.50 tax credit (\$25.00 for a married couple filing a joint return) can be subtracted from your total tax bill, or
2. A \$50.00 deduction can be taken from your taxable income (\$100.00 for a married couple filing a joint return).

City _____
California
Zip Code _____

County Clerk or
County Registrar

City _____
California
Street Address and Number _____
Zip Code _____
First Name _____
Last Name _____

Return Address

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

Will you be unable to
get to your polling place
on Nov. 7th?

Use this form to
get an absentee ballot.

Dear Sir: I won't be able to get to my polling place on November 7th because
Please send me an Absentee Ballot.

1972

(Signed) _____ Date of application _____

Print _____
(Name)

The residence shown on my Affidavit of Registration is:

Address: _____

City, State & Zip: _____

Mail & called for: _____

Address: _____

City, State & Zip: _____

IMPORTANT: County Clerk must receive this application by Oct. 31, Calif.

If you have moved prior to October 3, 1972, you must re-register before you can obtain an absentee ballot.
Call or write your County Clerk or Registrar of Voters for Details.

COUNTY	COUNTY SEAT	ZIP CODE	COUNTY	COUNTY SEAT	ZIP CODE
Alameda	Oakland	94612	Riverside	Riverside	92504
Butte	Grass Valley	95945	Sacramento	Sacramento	95814
Colusa County	Marysville	95633	San Bernardino	San Bernardino	92401
El Dorado	Placerville	95667	San Diego	San Diego	92101
Fresno	Fresno	93721	San Francisco	San Francisco	94102
Glenn	Willits	96093	San Jacinto	Stockton	95202
Humboldt	Eureka	95561	San Luis Obispo	San Luis Obispo	93401
Inyo	El Centro	92743	San Mateo	Redwood City	94064
Kern	Bakersfield	93301	Santa Barbara	Santa Barbara	93101
Kings	Hanford	93240	Santa Clara	San Jose	95110
Lassen	Sustitute	96150	Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	95060
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	90012	Shasta	Redding	96001
Marietta	San Rafael	94302	Sonoma	Santa Rosa	95402
Merced	Auburn	95601	Stanislaus	Merced	95352
Monterey	Salinas	93901	Sutter	Yuba City	95991
Orange	Santa Ana	92701	Tulare	Visalia	93277
Placer	Auburn	95603	Ventura	Ventura	93001
Plumas	Quincy	95971			

Chros

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR
 FROM: JEB S. MACGRUDER
 SUBJECT: Jeno F. Paulucci Food Industry Letter

Attached is the Paulucci letter and related pieces for mailing to businessmen in the food industry. This ensemble reflects Mr. Paulucci's revisions and as far as he is concerned is the final copy. The ensemble includes:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (a) Jeno Paulucci personal letter | APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____
COMMENT |
| (b) Letter from Frank Register to Senator McGovern | APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____
COMMENT |
| (c) Letter from Senator McGovern to Frank Register | APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____
COMMENT |
| (d) Contributor card | APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____
COMMENT |
| (e) Reply and mailing envelopes | APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____
COMMENT |

*- 18204
 4200
 Food
 indu
 - 25,000
 MRA
 dia
 9/25*

Dictate

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: BOB MORGAN

SUBJECT: Jeno F. Paulucci Food Industry Letter

Attached is the copy for the Paulucci letter to businessmen in the food industry. This copy reflects Mr. Paulucci's revisions and is the final copy.

The total ensemble will include: Jeno Paulucci's personal letter, reply envelope, mailing envelope, letter to Senator McGovern from Frank Register, letter to Frank Register from Senator McGovern, and a contributor card.

Attachment:
Jeno F. Paulucci Letter

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik

copy du ce

Jsm -
See attached for
copies of
all this

Rec: a

a -

1 -

1 -

1 -

A

...of us in the
...industry.

...have big reasons to be CONCERNED about Senator McGovern's
attitude toward the food industry. The attached correspondence
explains one of the reasons...

...a copy of the NARFUS letter to Senator McGovern
from Frank Register, Executive Director.

...a copy of Senator McGovern's answer to
Frank Register. (Please read paragraph 4 carefully).

Senator McGovern later tried to "whitewash" the matter with a
telegram which stated his letter was "unauthorized and ill
advised." This is what concerns business and industry...just
what is McGovern's true attitude toward the businessman? His
constantly changing positions on domestic and foreign affairs
already have some of us concerned about our country's future,
should McGovern attain the Presidency.

Independents and Democrats must unite with Republicans to assist
in the re-election of President Nixon. With the short time
remaining, John Connally, Chairman of Democrats for Nixon, and
and myself need your strong financial support to put together
an effective campaign. We need your help. Please send your
check to:

Jeno F. Paulucci
Vice Chairman - Independents
Democrats for Nixon
802 Madison Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20005

Regards,

JENO (SIGNATURE)

JFP:cav

enc: NARFUS letter
McGovern letter

P.S. I'm concerned for two reasons: to protect my country and
to protect my business. How about you? J.F.P.

(BIA...)

D

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Phone _____

City _____

State _____

(DISCLAIMER)

1155
1155



E

Jean F. Pauze
Vice-Chairman, Defendants
Association for the National
Association of Criminal Justice
1155-1155, etc.
in support of C. 1155

Mr. Strachan

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Jeno F. Paulucci Food Industry Letter

Attached is the Paulucci letter and related pieces for mailing to businessmen in the food industry. This ensemble reflects Mr. Paulucci's revisions and as far as he is concerned is the final copy. The ensemble includes:

- | | | |
|--|---------------|------------------|
| (a) Jeno Paulucci personal letter | APPROVE _____ | DISAPPROVE _____ |
| | COMMENT | |
| (b) Letter from Frank Register to Senator McGovern | APPROVE _____ | DISAPPROVE _____ |
| | COMMENT | |
| (c) Letter from Senator McGovern to Frank Register | APPROVE _____ | DISAPPROVE _____ |
| | COMMENT | |
| (d) Contributor card | APPROVE _____ | DISAPPROVE _____ |
| | COMMENT | |
| (e) Reply and mailing envelopes | APPROVE _____ | DISAPPROVE _____ |
| | COMMENT | |

A

JFF

The of us is th
for is ...

...the big reason we're CONCERNED about Senator McGovern's attitude toward the ... industry. The attached correspondence explains one of the reasons...

...a copy of the ... 1973 letter to Senator McGovern from Frank Register, Executive Director.

...a copy of Senator McGovern's answer to Frank Register. (Please read paragraph 4 carefully).

Senator McGovern later tried to "whitewash" the matter with a telegram which stated his letter was "unauthorized and ill advised." This is what concerns business and industry...just what is McGovern's true attitude toward the businessmen? His constantly changing positions on domestic and foreign affairs already have some of us concerned about our country's future, should McGovern attain the Presidency.

Independents and Democrats must unite with Republicans to assist in the re-election of President Nixon. With the short time remaining, John Connally, Chairman of Democrats for Nixon, and myself need your strong financial support to put together an effective campaign. We need your help. Please send your check to:

Jeno F. Paulucci
Vice Chairman - Independents
Democrats for Nixon
802 Madison Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20005

Regards,

JENO (SIGNATURE)

JFF:cav

enc: BARRIS letter
McGovern letter

P.S. I'm concerned for two reasons: to protect my country and to protect my business. How about you? J.F.P.

(PREPARED - 8/24/73)

AGUS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

B

COPY

May 22, 1972

Senator George McGovern
United States Senator from South Dakota
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator McGovern:

In yesterday's news telecasts, you were shown endorsing Caesar Chavez and the lettuce boycotts.

I would suggest that you consider this position carefully from a number of standpoints. Under existing law, such boycotts are clearly illegal. Secondly, the pattern established in the grape boycotts was one of damage and destruction to innocent third parties--in this instance, retailers who have no way of knowing who is right in a labor dispute many miles away. Thirdly, such tactics, if successful, result in increased costs which mean increased prices, a subject which I know is of concern to you.

Sincerely,

Frank D. Register
Executive Director

FDR/cms

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

CHIEF CLERK

June 1, 1972

10
C

Dear Mr. Register:

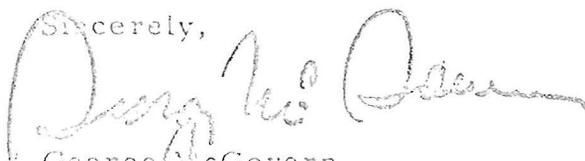
Thank you very much for your recent letter.

You should know, Mr. Register, that I have competent legal advice and you need not worry about me on that score.

Your reference to innocent third parties was intriguing to say the least. If you are suggesting that retail grocers are under any definition of the term "innocent," I would be surprised. It may interest you to know that I am fully aware of the monopoly meat and other commodity pricing practices of the chain stores. I am also aware of rate of return on your investment.

You may be sure, Mr. Register, that when I am President suits will no longer be brought by stockmen, egg producers and others, but by the Attorney General of the United States.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

George McGovern

Frank D. Register
Executive Director
National Association of Retail
Grocers of the U.S., Inc.
Suite 630
2000 Spring Road
Oak Brook, Illinois 60521

D

What is the product?
_____ Date _____

It is for use?
 Here's my check for? _____

I'd like to personally help, please contact me.

Name _____

Address _____

City or Town _____ St. _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

DISCLAIMER)

35

35



E

James F. Paulucci
 Vice Chairman - Executives
 Committee for Niles County
 Boardman, Idaho
 1155-15th St.
 Boardman, Idaho