

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>
37	4	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Garrish to MacGregor Through Magruder RE H.E.W. suggested appearances. 7 pgs.
37	4	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Sedan to Magruder RE Memo for Corporate Executives. 6 pgs.
37	4	9/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to MacGregor RE Letter to Editors on McGovern Smear Tactics. 7 pgs.
37	4	8/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Colson RE Counterattack Group. 10 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>
37	4	8/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Failor to Garuder RE McGovern's Welfare Tax Reform Speech. 2 pgs.
37	4	8/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Finkelstein to Marik RE Gallup Poll. 2 pgs.
37	4	8/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Parker RE Campaign Schedule. 2 pgs.
37	4	8/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Wyly to Magruder RE Voter Data Bases. 4 pgs.
37	4	8/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Shumway to Magruder RE NY Times Coverage. 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>
37	4	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotinder to Haldeman RE Stanley Bregman. 2 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman

Box Number: 318

Folder: Campaign 25 Part IV Sept. 5 [Folder 1] [2 of 2]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
123	Return Private/Political Memo, Garrison to MacGregor, 9-6-72
124	Return Private/Political Memo, Sedam to MacGregor, 8-9-72
125	Return Private/Political Memo, Shumway to MacGregor, 9-1-72
126	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to Colson, 8-28-72
127	Return Private/Political Memo, Failor to MacGregor, 8-29-72
128	Return Private/Political Memo, Finkelstein to Malik, 8-30-72
129	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to Parker, 8-16-72
130	Return Private/Political Ltr, Wily to Magruder, 8-21-72
131	Return Private/Political Memo, Shumway to MacGregor, 8-31-72
132	Return Private/Political Memo, Chotiner to HRH, 9-15-72
133	Return Private/Political Memo, Chotiner to HRH, 9-15-72
134	Retain Open

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Sans

MEMORANDUM

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDE
FROM: TED J. GARRISH
SUBJECT: Attached Memo

At the request of Pat Hutar I met with Mrs. Jean Hawkins who is an assistant to Mrs. Pat Hitt, Assistant Secretary of H.E.W. Mrs. Hitt is planning many political and non-political appearances during the campaign and wanted to know the best areas to cover and the appropriate issues. She may also be able to organize some of her colleagues at H.E.W. to make similar appearances. In this regard I have prepared the attached memorandum and would suggest that it be sent to Mrs. Hitt and Mrs. Hawkins by one of our messengers as soon as possible.

Mac Gregor

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September , 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: MRS. PATRICIA R. HITT
MRS. JEAN HAWKINS

THROUGH: CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: TED J. GARRISH

SUBJECT: Suggested Appearances and Issues

As we discussed, the attachment to this memorandum lists suggested priority areas in each of our key states where appearances by administration officials would be helpful. The criterion used for selecting these areas is a combination of moderate to high past Republican vote and ticket-splitting. Within each state the areas are listed in order of their importance. Specific areas within the larger media markets are shown where applicable. It is possible that other surrogate speakers may already be covering the most important areas within each state; however, because it is impossible to saturate any of these areas, further coverage by your department will be helpful and needed. For each state the important issues are listed, along with issues of special concern in the various media markets of each state.

If you have any questions, please call.

cc: Mr. Fred Malek
Mr. Jeb S. Magruder
Mrs. Pat Hutar

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

SUGGESTED APPEARANCES AND ISSUES

<u>STATE</u>	<u>STATEWIDE ISSUES</u>	<u>PRIORITY AREAS</u>	<u>SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES</u>
<u>California</u>	Vietnam Jobs Taxes Inflation National Defense	1. <u>Los Angeles</u> Alendale Downey Long Beach Santa Monica Redondo Beach- East Torrence Claremont	Same as State
		2. Sacramento/Stockton	Jobs Drugs
		3. <u>San Francisco ADI</u> ^{1/} Assembly Dists. 19,23 San Mateo Marin County (San Rafael)	Vietnam Environment
		4. <u>Orange County</u> Anaheim	Same as State
		5. <u>San Diego County</u> Oceanside-Escondido Eastern San Diego	National Defense Jobs
<u>Illinois</u>	Vietnam Taxes Inflation Jobs Drugs	1. <u>Chicago ADI</u> ^{2/} North Chicago Evanston Wilmette Wheeling Niles Thromburg Northfield Oak Park Cicero Lyons	Same as State

^{1/} ADI indicates the Area of Dominant Influence for television media markets.

^{2/} These are the north and west suburbs of Chicago. Downtown Chicago and South Chicago seem to have less potential for improving our position than the above mentioned areas. However, there are several notable exceptions in the city itself. These are the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th wards. These are in west central Chicago and are predominantly ethnic areas that split their tickets substantially in 1968 in favor of Senator Dirksen.

<u>STATE</u>	<u>STATEWIDE ISSUES</u>	<u>PRIORITY AREAS</u>	<u>SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES</u>
<u>Illinois</u>		2. <u>Peoria</u> Peoria City McLean County (Bloomington-Normal)	Taxes Drugs
<u>Maryland</u>	Vietnam Drugs Taxes Inflation Jobs	1. Baltimore County 2. <u>Washington Suburbs</u> Montgomery County (Gaithersburg) (Rockville) Prince Georges County 3. <u>Anne Arundel County</u> Annapolis	Drugs Inflation Taxes Environment Same as State
<u>Michigan</u>	Vietnam Taxes Jobs Drugs Inflation	1. <u>Detroit Suburbs</u> Oakland County Macomb County Western Wayne County (Dearborn) 2. Flint 3. Grand Rapids	Same as State Taxes Welfare Environment National Defense
<u>Missouri</u>	Vietnam Jobs Taxes Inflation Crime	1. St. Louis 2. Kansas City 3. Rural Areas (Especially directed to older voters)	Jobs Crime Same as State Health Care Taxes Inflation

<u>STATE</u>	<u>STATEWIDE ISSUES</u>	<u>PRIORITY AREAS</u>	<u>SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES</u>
<u>New Jersey</u>	Vietnam Taxes Jobs Inflation Drugs	1. <u>Bergen County</u> Bakersfield. Teaneck 2. <u>Hudson County</u> Jersey City Bayonne City Hoboken City 3. <u>Middlesex County</u> Woodbridge Edison Perth Amboy Sayreville Cateret New Brunswick	Same as State Same as State Same as State
<u>New York</u>	Vietnam Drugs Inflation Jobs Taxes	1. Queens County 2. Nassau County 3. <u>Westchester County</u> Scarsdale Yonkers Cortlandt 4. <u>Suffolk County</u> Islip Smithtown Huntington	Same as State Same as State Same as State Same as State
<u>Ohio</u>	Vietnam Jobs Inflation Drugs Crime	1. <u>Cleveland</u> Western Cleveland City (Particularly Congressman Minshall's Cleveland Ward) Parma Lakewood Cleveland Heights North Olmstead Bay Village City Berea City Lynhurst	Same as State

<u>STATE</u>	<u>STATEWIDE ISSUES</u>	<u>PRIORITY AREAS</u>	<u>SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES</u>
<u>Ohio</u>		2. <u>Cincinnati</u> Eastern Cincinnati	Inflation
		3. Toledo	Crime Environment National Defense
<u>Oregon</u>	Vietnam Taxes Inflation Drugs Crime	1. Portland	Same as State
		2. Eugene	Vietnam Taxes Environment
<u>Pennsylvania</u>	Vietnam Taxes Drugs Jobs Inflation	1. <u>Pittsburgh</u> Wards south of Monongahela River & counties to south & west of Pittsburgh- Washington County, Westmoreland County, & Cambria County	Taxes Environment
		2. Philadelphia Suburbs	Jobs Crime Drugs
<u>Texas</u>	Vietnam Drugs Inflation Taxes Jobs	1. Houston	Same as State
		2. Corpus Christi	Inflation Taxes Jobs Health Care
		3. Wichita Falls	Vietnam Inflation Taxes Race Relations National Defense
		4. El Paso	Taxes Environment

<u>STATE</u>	<u>STATEWIDE ISSUES</u>	<u>PRIORITY AREAS</u>	<u>SPECIAL EMPHASIS ISSUES</u>
<u>Washington</u>	Vietnam Taxes Jobs Inflation Drugs	1. Seattle/Tacoma 2. Spokane	Vietnam Jobs National Defense Inflation Welfare
<u>Wisconsin</u>	Vietnam Taxes Inflation Jobs	1. Milwaukee 2. Kenosha/Racine/ Rock/Walworth Counties	Jobs Jobs Inflation Taxes

Malik
Strachan ✓ 0

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR.
SUBJECT: Memorandum for Corporate Executives

For your information attached is a copy of a memorandum we prepared for distribution by Paul Kayser's Business and Industry Committee.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: ALL REGIONAL, STATE AND CITY CHAIRMEN, BUSINESS AND
INDUSTRY COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR., GENERAL COUNSEL

SUBJECT: Relationship of Federal Law to Political Activities
Undertaken by Corporate Executives

The following is a brief outline which discusses the bearing of various aspects of Federal law upon political contributions made by corporate executives. The outline also deals with related topics which may be of interest to such individuals.

The outline is only intended to summarize major features of Federal law which relate to campaign activities. Individuals should look to the specific Federal statute at issue where questions arise. In addition, the laws of individual states as such relate to elections and to corporate activities should also be consulted where appropriate.

I. CONTRIBUTIONS BY CORPORATIONS

It is a violation of Federal criminal law for any corporation, even a corporation which is wholly-owned by a particular individual, to make any contribution or expenditure in connection with any election to Federal office [18 U.S.C. 610]. There are three general exceptions to this prohibition: (1) A corporation may establish and administer a separate, segregated political fund financed by voluntary contributions solicited from executives and employees. If contributions received exceed \$1000 in a calendar year, such fund must register as a "political committee" and file periodic reports with Federal authorities [Title III, Public Law 92-225, February 7, 1972]. (2) A corporation may, insofar as Federal election law is concerned, communicate with its stockholders and their families on any subject*. (3) A corporation may conduct non-partisan registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns aimed at stockholders and their families.

The first of the above exceptions is the primary factor in issue in the current Common Cause v. TRW litigation. In that lawsuit, which has been a matter of concern to many corporate executives, Common Cause basically

*Because of conflicts which arise in regard to the Federal tax treatment of corporate political contributions and in regard to the corporation and election codes of various states, as a general rule only indirect statements on political issues which will not be considered as "contributions" to a candidate should be included in reports to shareholders which are issued at corporate expense.

alleges that TRW, a major defense contractor, has violated 18 U.S.C. 611, a section of the U.S. Code which proscribes political contributions by any corporation or individual contracting with the Federal government, by maintaining a separate political fund financed by voluntary employee contributions, as is now expressly permitted of corporations generally by Section 610, the preceding section of Title 18. It is our view that the complaint filed by Common Cause is without merit and that all corporations, including those substantially involved in government contract work, are permitted by law to establish and maintain separate voluntary employee funds.

In an apparent legislative oversight, Congress, as part of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, amended Section 610, which formerly prohibited all contributions by corporations, by adding the three exceptions discussed above but overlooked similarly amending 611. A measure, which has the unqualified support of the Department of Justice, to amend 611 as well has been introduced into Congress in an attempt to resolve this inconsistency. Nearly every major corporation is presently under some sort of contractual arrangement to provide services or materials to the government. As a result, if Section 611 were interpreted, as contended by Common Cause, to prohibit the establishment and maintenance of voluntary political funds by such corporations, the legislative intent of Congress in amending 610 to generally permit such corporate activity would be severely undermined.

II. CONTRIBUTIONS BY UNINCORPORATED BUSINESSES

Unincorporated entities, such as associations, partnerships, sole proprietorships, etc. (except those which contract with the Federal government [18 U.S.C. 611]) may freely engage in political activities and may freely contribute to candidates for public office.

III. CONTRIBUTIONS BY CORPORATE EXECUTIVES

A. Repeal of all Limitation on Amount of Contributions

The previous \$5000 limit on the maximum amount that individuals can contribute to a political campaign has been eliminated.

B. Reporting Contributions of Money and Gifts in Kind

When any contribution of money, facilities, supplies, services, etc. is made to a duly constituted political committee or to a candidate for Federal office, it is the responsibility of that committee or candidate to report such to the applicable government authorities. The individual making the contribution is not required to make a report.

The amount contributed and name, address, occupation and principal place of business of anyone contributing money or anything of value in the aggregate amount of over \$100 annually to an individual candidate or a particular political committee is to be reported by such candidate or committee to the Federal government and will be a matter of public record. In this connection, please note that personal services provided without compensation by individuals volunteering all or

part of their time on behalf of a candidate or political committee are not legally considered "contributions" and are not reported.

Should our Business and Industry chairmen or other volunteers expend their own funds for stationery, telephone, stamps, office rent, etc. in the conduct of their assigned responsibility, they should write to the Nixon State Finance Chairman stating such expenditures, together with a reasonable explanation of each. These are referred to as "like kind" contributions, and receive the same consideration and treatment as they would have received had they been direct cash contributions to the Nixon Finance Committee. Again, the Nixon Finance Chairman is required to file a report stating the name, address, occupation and principal place of business and the value of all like kind contributions received if the aggregate value of contributions by a particular individual exceeds \$100.

C. Tax Consequences

1. The New Limited Tax Credit or Deduction

The Revenue Act of 1971 (Public Law 92-178) provides that, beginning with the 1972 taxable year, taxpayers may elect to take a credit or deduction for contributions in money or in kind to campaigns for Federal, state or local elective public office. The maximum deduction allowable (subtracted from taxable income) is \$50 on an individual return, or \$100 on a joint return. The tax credit allowable (subtracted from the total tax due) is one-half of the contribution, to a maximum of \$12.50 on individual returns, or \$25 on joint returns. Contributions to more than one candidate or eligible committee are considered cumulatively for tax purposes and individual contributions may not be calculated as separate deductions or tax credits.

2. Gift Tax Consequences

Donors may exclude from taxable gifts under the Federal Gift Tax Law each year, the first \$3000 (\$6000 if married) in gifts to each donee to whom he made gifts during that year. Since a political committee is a "person," gifts to such committees are eligible for this exclusion. This annual exclusion results in no gift tax being due if the formal requisites are met when a husband and wife together, or a husband or wife with the consent of the other spouse, gives \$6000 to a political committee and such gift is the only gift by the husband and wife to the particular political committee in that calendar year.

In addition, it should be noted that this same exclusion will apply as to each donee in a calendar year. For instance, suppose further that the same donor (with the consent of his wife) gives

\$6000 in 1972 to ten different political committees. In this circumstance, each one of the \$6000 contributions would be excludable from the Federal Gift Tax and no gift tax would be payable.*

D. Suggested Guidelines for Corporate Executives to Aid in Determining What are Acceptable Activities Under Federal Law

The basic rule that should be kept in mind at all times is that it is illegal for a corporation to make a "contribution" or "expenditure" in connection with a political campaign. This essentially means that as a corporate officer you can not pursue any activities relating to the campaign which can be calculated as a cost, no matter how insignificant, to your corporation.

Campaign-related activities falling under this prohibition would include:

1. Working for the campaign on a full time basis while still under salary, except if such campaign services are rendered during regular paid vacation time.
2. Using a company telephone to make long distance calls where the corporation is billed for such calls on a per call or incremental basis.
3. Using stationery which is supplied at company cost.
4. Using a company airplane or company car.
5. Utilizing the services of a company employee while such individual is on salaried time.

You may, as a company officer, freely engage in any campaign-related activities which 1) are of a type and duration similar to those an individual in your corporate position normally may undertake for non-corporation related, personal purposes and 2) do not result in a cost to your corporation.

Permissible campaign-related activities would therefore include:

1. Working for the campaign on a part-time basis. This would include doing campaign-related work during an occasional business day, if an executive in your position as a normal practice occasionally utilizes weekday time for personal reasons. What we are trying to say here is that an executive often must work irregular hours and is traditionally given discretion as to how he divides time spent on personal and business matters. If the interests of his corporation are not neglected, he may use personal time in any manner which he sees fit, including that of engaging in political campaign activity.
2. Using a company telephone to make calls which do not result in

*The Internal Revenue Service recently issued a ruling which stated that different political committees supporting the same candidate will be recognized as separate donees for gift tax purposes if at least one-third of the individuals serving as officers thereof are different. [IRS, TIR-1179, June 21, 1972].

line calls or local calls in areas where unlimited local service is available.

3. Utilizing the services of individual employees to perform staff work for you in connection with your campaign activities where such services are A) not provided on company time, and B) are either performed on a voluntary basis by the individuals involved or are paid for with your own or the campaign's funds.

E. Some Suggested Political Activities That Can Be Undertaken By Corporate Executives on Behalf of the President

1. Personally encourage partisan political involvement by employees and fellow executives.
2. Write personal letters at your own expense to the home of each employee and shareholder supporting the re-election of the President and praising his programs in the light of their interest and welfare.
3. Include in reports to stockholders and their families a discussion of how past Administration policies have affected the business of the corporation and of the possible impact on the business of the announced policies and platforms of the candidates.
4. Give partisan speeches to civic and business groups.
5. Encourage and permit employees to work in political activities, but do not pay them while so doing. They must take a leave of absence or do campaign work on their own time.
6. Conduct company sponsored non-partisan registration and get-out-the-vote drives for employees.
7. Pass a board resolution endorsing the President's candidacy and praising the merits of his policies and programs in light of company interests.
8. Set up general non-partisan political programs. Included might be debates between opposing candidates for a particular office or a series of alternate presentations by spokesmen for each side. These events could be held during business hours on company premises but it is essential that all candidates be offered a fair opportunity to take part equally.
9. Have the house organ interview executives on matters of interest to employees and shareholders. Included can be discussions of how past Administration policies have affected the business of the corporation and of the possible impact on the business of the announced policies and platforms of the candidates.
10. Establish a "conduit system" for receiving voluntary political contributions by employees solicited on a non-partisan basis and made directly to FINANCE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT or FINANCE COMMITTEE TO ELECT GEORGE McGOVERN, and forward all such contributions directly to such organizations within five days of receipt.

J. Strickland

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

September 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Letter to Editors of Major Papers on McGovern
Smear Tactics

At your request we have re-drafted the above letter which the Counter-attack group would like sent out over your signature. If you approve, the letter will be reproduced by MTST and sent to 100 or so major newspapers throughout the nation.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the letter.

 Approve

 Disapprove

Comments: _____

Enclosure

DEVAN L. SHUMWAY

DRAFT

Letter to the Editor

Dear Sir:

Senator George McGovern's candidacy for the Presidency appears to be having serious start-up difficulties. Perhaps, this is one reason why, in recent weeks, an element of character assassination has become increasingly apparent in various of his and his running mate's public statements.

I want to be specific. Sargent Shriver, as quoted by the Associated Press, said on August 25 that the President of our country "is the Number One warmaker in the world at the present time."

Senator McGovern commented on the NBC Evening News of August 25 that the alleged "bugging" of the Democratic National Committee headquarters -- a bizarre incident in which no major official of the Nixon Administration was involved -- "is the kind of thing you would expect from a person like Hitler."

This was not the first time in his campaign that Senator McGovern alluded to the Nazi dictator. In an Associated Press dispatch of June 30 he described the President's policy of air support of South Vietnam as "the most barbaric action that any country has committed since Hitler's effort to exterminate the Jews in Germany in the 1930's." On March 1, United Press International quoted Senator McGovern as describing the President's Vietnam policy as "the most barbaric act that has been committed by any modern power since the death of Adolph Hitler."

These odious comparisons have no place in a responsible political campaign.

over

President Nixon has emphatically and specifically instructed me that personal attacks on Senator McGovern are to be avoided and that our campaign is to be focused on a discussion of the issues. We regard such an approach as the responsible way to conduct a campaign, and we intend to continue to conduct ourselves accordingly. That will be the character of the Nixon campaign.

As to the McGovern campaign, one can only say that it appears to be following the opposite course. I believe that Senator McGovern ill-serves the American electorate and, for that matter, his own political interests when he engages in such slander because I believe that the voters of this Nation are repulsed by such heinous tactics.

Sincerely,

Clark MacGregor
Campaign Director
Committee to Re-elect President Nixon

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

Date August 18, 1972

TO: ✓ VAN SHUMWAY

FROM: CLARK MacGREGOR

___ Please Handle

___ FYI

___ File

___ Hold

Disapprove for the time being.

1) CM would like documentation
on when McGovern said
"Hitler" and where.

2) He would prefer using his own
words from his statement wherever
possible.

MEMORANDUM FOR: HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
FROM: DEVAN L. SHUMWAY *Van*
SUBJECT: Letter to Editors of Major Papers on
McGovern Smear Tactics

At the request of the Counter-attack group, we have drafted the attached letter for your signature. If you approve, the letter will be reproduced by MTST and sent to 100 or so major newspapers throughout the nation.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the letter.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

COMMENT _____

X for the time being

1) He would like to have the document then as when McG. said "diller" and when

2) He would prefer using his own words from his statement where ever possible.

DRAFT

To the Editor

Dear Sir:

Twice in the last few weeks, Senator George McGovern has attempted in public appearances to draw an analogy between President Nixon and Adolph Hitler. Many people have expressed alarm at the direction the 1972 Presidential campaign could take if the Senator continues with this kind of gutter tactic.

President Nixon has emphatically and specifically instructed me as his Campaign Director to avoid personal attacks on Senator McGovern and to confine our campaign to a discussion of the issues. I want to assure your readers that the President's instructions will be followed to the letter.

Our campaign will reject the character assassination which has so far marked the McGovern campaign not only because we believe such tactics have no place in the American system but also because we are confident that the American people will soundly repudiate such vicious smears at the polls in November.

Sincerely,

Clark MacGregor

August 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: ~~ART AMOLSCH~~ Van
FROM: LESLYE ARSHT
SUBJECT: MCG/SHRIVER attacks on RN

Sen. McG says the US bombing of Indochina "is the most barbaric act that has been committed by any modern power since the death of Adolph Hitler." UPI March 1, 1971

"I've said many times the Nixon bombing policy in Indochina is the most barbaric action that any country has committed since Hitler's effort to exterminate the Jews in Germany in the 1930's."

Greg Herrington (AP) interview June 30, 1972

"... Now this (cussing) is the kind of thing you expect from a person like Hitler. You would not expect it from a country like this that is supposed to be a free society.

"NBC Evening News" August 15, 1972

Shriver on RN: 8/25/72 in New York

"Nixon says he is a peacemaker but in the one thousand, 4 days of his Administration there has been nothing but war. Nixon is the No. 1 warmaker in the world at the present time." (AP)

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CHARLES COLSON

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

In your memorandum of August 23, 1972, you ask of the organizational relationship between Ed Failor and Al Abrahams in terms of the Counterattack Group, its meetings, its decisions and the implementation of such decisions.

Al Abrahams has line authority over our press and public relations departments at CRPN. In terms of the Counterattack Group, Abrahams has responsibility to :

1. Participate in the decision making process of said group;
2. Program our surrogates, other Congressmen, Senators and Governors, State Re-election people, other Republican candidates and all elements of the CRPN re our counterattack subsequent to said group's decision.

Ed Failor is a Special Assistant to Clark MacGregor for strategy and operates with line authority over the Letters Writing Group and operates in a staff role in terms of the Abrahams' operation. In terms of the Counterattack Group, Failor has the following responsibilities:

1. Chair the Counterattack Group;
2. Serve as liaison between you and MacGregor and myself;
3. Participate in the decision making process of said Group with the authority to appeal decisions thereof before they are executed to MacGregor and myself;
4. See that the counterattack lines are blended with our attack and positive lines;

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

Page 2

5. Assign responsibilities to implement the counter-attack lines and to follow up on execution by Abrahams' CRPN group.

Thus, Failor and Abrahams are involved in making strategy in said group. Abrahams must execute the strategy in terms of CRPN and Failor follows up to see that it is done. Failor and Abrahams have and will work closely together.

For your information, I am enclosing a copy of Ed Failor's memorandum of July 28, 1972 setting up the Counterattack Group, which was approved by Messrs MacGregor and Haldeman. (See attachments A and B)

cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman
Mr. Clark MacGregor

Committee for the Re-election of the President

A

MEMORANDUM

July 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUD 
FROM: E. D. FAILOR 
SUBJECT: Counterattack Group

Concept

It is necessary in this campaign that we have the capacity to immediately react to any news story. Thus, it is imperative that we establish a mechanism to accomplish that goal.

Structure

1. Each participant in the Counterattack Group will have read the "News Summary" by 8:30 a.m. each day. (Howard to see that the "News Summary" is delivered to each member by 8:00 a.m.);
2. Colson will input Howard prior to 9:00 a.m. regarding decisions and/or thoughts arising from the 8:15 a.m. meeting of Haldeman, MacGregor and Colson;
3. The Group will meet from 9:15 a.m. until 9:30 a.m. Monday through Saturday;
4. A determination will be made on the counterattack strategy to which we will respond and how such strategy will be executed;
5. One writer will be assigned by Colson's office and one writer will be assigned by CRP to prepare the immediate counterattack responses;
6. Barker will program cabinet officers re counterattack and clear releases;

7. Abram's office will program Congressmen, Senators, and Governors re counterattack and clear the releases;

8. Abram will coordinate the audio through CRP;

9. RNC will distribute all releases by Congressmen and Senators to all media;

10. A meeting at the White House under the leadership of Mr. Clark MacGregor will be set up with all surrogates and the appropriate staff person from each surrogate's office for the purpose of advising them of the mechanics of getting out the counterattack and the attack and positive lines. Total cooperation must be accentuated. ~~This meeting has been staffed out by CRP and the proposal is in Haldeman's office;~~

11. Members of Counterattack Group.

It is necessary that this function be implemented and followed up as well as blended in with our positive and attack lines. Failor is responsible for this at CRP and, thus, should serve as chairman of this group.

- a) E. Failor, Chairman
- b) A. Abrams
- c) D. Barker
- d) D. Howard
- e) A. Amolsch
- f) Writer

12. On Sundays there are two possible response times -- the Sunday papers and after the three network talk shows (1:30 p.m. E.D.T.). Each member of the Counterattack Group should read the Sunday papers and see all of the talk shows each Sunday. In the event any member of the Group feels an immediate response is appropriate, he should call the Chairman and a determination will be made to call a meeting of the group.

Recommendation

Recommend that the above Counterattack Group be constituted and the above plan be executed.

Approve _____ _____ Disapprove _____

Comments:

August 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR
CHARLES COLSON

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN *HR*

SUBJECT: Counter-Attack

I have reviewed the memorandum regarding counter-attack operations that Clark approved and feel it should be set up as outlined with the exception of a few alterations I've listed below:

1. Buchanan should definitely be a regular member of the group that meets.
2. Consider the idea of John Ehrlichman meeting occasionally with the group.
3. It will not always be possible to simply have the automatic mechanisms of Abrams or Barker approaching the Cabinet Officers, Congressmen, and Senators to get them to make statements. I assume Colson, MacGregor, Ehrlichman, et al will be called upon on occasion to make these contacts when necessary, if we are to continue with the quality of attack we now have going.
4. It might be worth having Clawson sit in on the meetings to get a journalist's point of view here on a regular basis.

Unless there are some other objections, let's set this group up now and start having it meet on a regular basis. There is a need to implement many of the things that Buchanan has suggested over the past few months.

Attachment

✓ cc: Jeb Magruder

[Handwritten signature]

MEMORANDUM

August 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CHARLES COLSON

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

In your memorandum of August 23, 1972, you ask of the organizational relationship between Ed Failor and Al Abrahams in terms of the Counterattack Group, its meetings, its decisions and the implementation of such decisions.

Al Abrahams has line authority over our press and public relations departments at CRPN. In terms of the Counterattack Group, Abrahams has responsibility to :

1. Participate in the decision making process of said group;
2. Program our surrogates, other Congressmen, Senators and Governors, State Re-election people, other Republican candidates and all elements of the CRPN re our counterattack subsequent to said group's decision.

Ed Failor is a Special Assistant to Clark MacGregor for strategy and operates with line authority over the Letters Writing Group and operates in a staff role in terms of the Abrahams' operation. In terms of the Counterattack Group, Failor has the following responsibilities:

1. Chair the Counterattack Group;
2. Serve as liaison between you and MacGregor and myself;
3. Participate in the decision making process of said Group with the authority to appeal decisions thereof before they are executed to MacGregor and myself;
4. See that the counterattack lines are blended with our attack and positive lines;

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

Page 2

5. Assign responsibilities to implement the counter-attack lines and to follow up on execution by Abrahams' CRPN group.

Thus, Failor and Abrahams are involved in making strategy in said group. Abrahams must execute the strategy in terms of CRPN and Failor follows up to see that it is done. Failor and Abrahams have and will work closely together.

For your information, I am enclosing a copy of Ed Failor's memorandum of July 28, 1972 setting up the Counterattack Group, which was approved by Messrs MacGregor and Haldeman. (See attachments A and B)

cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman ✓
Mr. Clark MacGregor ✓

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

July 28, 1972

A

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER 
FROM: E. D. FAILOR 
SUBJECT: Counterattack Group

Concept

It is necessary in this campaign that we have the capacity to immediately react to any news story. Thus, it is imperative that we establish a mechanism to accomplish that goal.

Structure

1. Each participant in the Counterattack Group will have read the "News Summary" by 8:30 a.m. each day. (Howard to see that the "News Summary" is delivered to each member by 8:00 a.m.);
2. Colson will input Howard prior to 9:00 a.m. regarding decisions and/or thoughts arising from the 8:15 a.m. meeting of Haldeman, MacGregor and Colson;
3. The Group will meet from 9:15 a.m. until 9:30 a.m. Monday through Saturday;
4. A determination will be made on the counterattack strategy to which we will respond and how such strategy will be executed;
5. One writer will be assigned by Colson's office and one writer will be assigned by CRP to prepare the immediate counterattack responses;
6. Barker will program cabinet officers re counterattack and clear releases;

7. Abram's office will program Congressmen, Senators, and Governors re counterattack and clear the releases;

8. Abram will coordinate the audio through CRP;

9. RNC will distribute all releases by Congressmen and Senators to all media;

10. A meeting at the White House under the leadership of Mr. Clark MacGregor will be set up with all surrogates and the appropriate staff person from each surrogate's office for the purpose of advising them of the mechanics of getting out the counterattack and the attack and positive lines. Total cooperation must be accentuated. ~~This meeting has been staffed out by CRP and the proposal is in Haldeman's office;~~

11. Members of Counterattack Group.

It is necessary that this function be implemented and followed up as well as blended in with our positive and attack lines. Failor is responsible for this at CRP and, thus, should serve as chairman of this group.

- a) E. Failor, Chairman
- b) A. Abrams
- c) D. Barker
- d) D. Howard
- e) A. Amolsch
- f) Writer

12. On Sundays there are two possible response times -- the Sunday papers and after the three network talk shows (1:30 p.m. E.D.T.). Each member of the Counterattack Group should read the Sunday papers and see all of the talk shows each Sunday. In the event any member of the Group feels an immediate response is appropriate, he should call the Chairman and a determination will be made to call a meeting of the group.

Recommendation

Recommend that the above Counterattack Group be constituted and the above plan be executed.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comments:

August 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR
CHARLES COLSON
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN *H.*
SUBJECT: Counter-Attack

I have reviewed the memorandum regarding counter-attack operations that Clark approved and feel it should be set up as outlined with the exception of a few alterations I've listed below:

1. Buchanan should definitely be a regular member of the group that meets.
2. Consider the idea of John Ehrlichman meeting occasionally with the group.
3. It will not always be possible to simply have the automatic mechanisms of Abrams or Barker approaching the Cabinet Officers, Congressmen, and Senators to get them to make statements. I assume Colson, MacGregor, Ehrlichman, et al will be called upon on occasion to make these contacts when necessary, if we are to continue with the quality of attack we now have going.
4. It might be worth having Clayson sit in on the meetings to get a journalist's point of view here on a regular basis.

Unless there are some other objections, let's set this group up now and start having it meet on a regular basis. There is a need to implement many of the things that Buchanan has suggested over the past few months.

Attachment

cc: Jeb Magruder

W.C.M.

G. Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 29, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER/S/
FROM: E. D. FAILOR *EDF*
SUBJECT: McGovern's Welfare-Tax Reform Speech of August 29, 1972

This will advise you the Counterattack Group has made a number of preparations prior to the above subject speech in order to counterattack thereon. We presently plan on the following media contacts:

1. Herb Stein has been programmed to respond to an A.P. inquiry at 5:30 p.m. today.
2. Cap Weinberg has been programmed to respond to press inquiries;
3. Secretary Richardson will conduct a press conference solely on this matter Wednesday;
4. MacGregor will be requested to have a press conference Thursday on this matter;
5. When the precise thrust of this speech is ascertained, other people will be programmed to speak out and/or be on talk shows.

Our main themes (selected prior to knowledge of the contents of the speech) are as follows:

1. McGovern's "new" welfare plan is merely a rehash of the \$1000 to everyone plan;
2. McGovern's "new" welfare plan together with his other extreme spending programs will greatly increase taxes for those earning over \$8000;

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

3. McGovern's "new" welfare plan will bring many more people on welfare for the working people to support;
4. McGovern's credibility and ability to govern comes into question when he keeps changing his programs around when he learns his extreme proposals won't float.

When the McGovern speech has been gone over carefully, we will devise other counterattack measures.

Mr. Waldeman
0

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

August 30, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: DR. ROBERT H. MARIK
FROM: ARTHUR J. FINKELSTEIN *AJF*
SUBJECT: Gallup Poll

If the Gallup Poll at all accurately reflects the true sentiment of the American electorate, it should be incumbent upon us to redirect our campaign efforts in three areas.

- (1) No President since George Washington and James Monroe has ever won every state in the nation. To be sure the District of Columbia will never vote for Nixon. However, it is now possible to win every other electoral vote that will be cast. With recent readings from Utah, Iowa, South Dakota, Massachusetts and Minnesota, a fifty-state win is completely plausible. It could be argued here that to spend money in Oregon, Washington, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Rhode Island and California would be to spread ourselves too thin. Yet these states would appear to be the only truly contested states in the union. The Yankelovich study would seem to imply that priority states such as New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Michigan are solidly for the President. I would recommend that we discuss the rather bold move to try to re-allocate resources in order to win all fifty states in 1972.
- (2) Regardless of what action is taken from item No. 1, I again press for resources being allocated in those states where it would be possible to gain a Senate seat and to help those Senators who are presently in difficulty. In the first category I would suggest money being spent on advice, counsel, organization, information and outright political aid be given to the Senate races in North Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Montana and Alabama, that we aid incumbent Senators Tower and Griffin and to aid in the Senate fights in Kentucky and South Dakota.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

DR. ROBERT H. MARIK

August 30, 1972

- (3) Further I suggest that fifty Congressional seats around the country be selected where it will be possible for a Republican to win (included in this fifty may be some in which a Republican incumbent is known to be in real difficulty). In those Congressional districts which lie in those states noted above in points (1) and (2), a coordinated organization could be and should be developed.

Our opportunities this year are virtually unlimited. We should set our goals and objectives for the campaign ever higher. The President would appear projectable to win fifty states. This would give the President not only the overwhelming mandate he so earnestly desires, but will allow the President to be viewed by history in a very special light. This overwhelming personal mandate for the President will signify little unless a Republican Senate and House are elected. It would be a shame to allow the commentators election night witnessing an electoral landslide to find reasons to cast aspersions upon the President or the party of the President. I would strongly recommend the implementation of the aforementioned points.

cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman
Mr. Clark Mac Gregor
Mr. Jeb S. Magruder

CONFIDENTIAL

G Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 16, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: DAVID PARKER
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Campaign Schedule

In response to your memo, our projected campaign schedule is given below. All of these dates are approximate, and subject to adjustment as the campaign progresses.

	<u>Starting Date</u>
◦ Television	Mid-September
◦ Direct Mail	Late September
◦ Telegram-Letters	To be delivered the weekend before Election Day

CONFIDENTIAL

August 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: ~~DAVID PARKER~~

Could you please supply me with a listing as to those key dates as to when the television campaign, voter drive letter and telegram campaigns get underway.

Thank you.

UNIVERSITY COMPUTING COMPANY

P. O. Box 6228
DALLAS, TEXAS 75222

SAM WYLY
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

August 21, 1972

Dear Jeb:

Attached is an internal UCC memo describing recent status. I think the items needing management attention by your organization and our's are well identified. UCC's people, and your's, are completely dedicated to the success of this mission, and I feel confident it will make the contribution to the campaign that you expect.

Sincerely,

Sam

Sam Wyly

Mr. Jeb Magruder
Committee to Re-Elect President Nixon
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20006

encl.

bcc: Mr. John Ehrlichman
Mr. Bob Haldeman ✓
Mr. Charles J. Wyly, Jr.

UCC
UNIVERSITY COMPUTING COMPANY

COMPUTER UTILITY GROUP

8-18-72

ROUTE:

Sam Wyly _____

Charles Wyly _____

For your information and destroy.

Don

UCC

COMPUTER UTILITY GROUP

DATE August 15, 1972

**INTEROFFICE
MEMO**

FROM: Robert R. Andrews

TO: Don Thompson

SUBJECT: Committee for the Re-election
of the President

*C. W. Wyle
J. Wyle
F. Y. L.
Destruction*

The project that UCC is performing for the Committee to Re-elect the President involves numerous phases and tasks which I will summarize and describe as briefly as possible.

Voter registration data bases are to be merged with data bases containing telephone numbers, census tract, veteran information, political contribution information, etc. This data will then be used for generating name lists for canvassing, mailing labels and letters, updating of data gathered during canvassing, and generating telegrams (to get out the vote). The basic program has two major purposes: (1) voter identification, (2) get-out-the-vote campaign.

The following are the four distinct processing phases of the program and a brief description of each:

1. The Committee has contracted to have the voter registration data for nine critical states (Texas, Michigan, California, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Maryland) keypunched into a data base by county, ward, precinct, etc. This data is delivered to UCC and is matched with a data base from R.H. Donnelley that contains telephone numbers, census tract, etc. The voter registration file is then printed in two different sequences: alphabetic by name to be used in telephone canvassing and street walking sequence for door-to-door canvassing.
2. The voter registration data base will be used to generate mailing labels and computer letters for mailings prior to the actual canvassing operation. The labels will be segmented into groupings by such things as income, age, ethnic origins calculated on surname (Jewish, Spanish, Irish, etc.), political contribution, demographic data, etc.
3. The political attitude of the individuals that are obtained during the telephone and walking canvassing operations will be keypunched and used to update the voter registration data base.
4. Once the voter registration data base has been updated with attitudes, telegrams will be generated for all the Republicans in the data base and all non-Republicans that have indicated their intent to vote for the President.

August 15, 1972

Page - 2

At the present time all processes for producing the name lists for the canvassing operation are in a production state and we have processed 35% of the estimated volume of 30 million names. The data that has been supplied by the "Committee" has in many cases been unacceptable for processing and at this time, we are about 14 days late in receiving data from the "Committee". This situation was not totally unexpected but will become critical if this pattern continues.

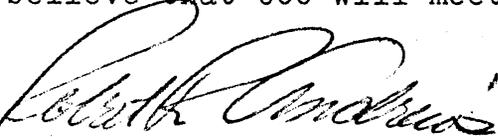
The programming and systems flow for the generation of mailing labels is in final test now. There have been numerous changes of direction and definition in this phase, as well as delays in data. In combination these factors could cause us to be slightly late on this processing. However, I do not believe this is a problem of any great significance at this time.

The keypunch load has been allocated among each of the four CUG regions and at this time we see no problem in having enough capacity to perform this function. The data base updating programs are in the process of being coded and checked out at this time. The keypunch layouts and production control documents are undergoing final review.

The final design of the logic for generating telegrams is expected within the next two weeks, but this delay should present no significant problems or delivery delays.

To date there have been numerous requests for special processing outside of the basic agreement. Even though these requests have been substantial, they have not negatively impacted the basic processing. Due to the delay in receipt of data and the severe time constraints under which we are operating these requests could have a negative impact on our commitments if they continue in this fashion.

In summary, even though the problem definition is ever changing I believe that UCC will meet its commitments.



Robert R. Andrews

RRA:mnb

S. Strickland
0

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

August 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: New York Times Coverage

James Wooten of the New York Times, who is assigned to cover the Committee during the campaign, wants to accompany you on one of your two-day trips -- particularly if it takes you to three or four states.

I think it's an excellent idea. Jim, who normally headquarters out of Atlanta, is a good and a fair reporter and I'm certain the two of you would hit it off well. He would agree in advance that certain of the sessions would not be open to him -- particularly your private meetings with local campaign leadership.

However, we should be able to get a good, favorable story in the Times showing how you emphasize the President's record at every occasion during these trips -- and how we are shoring up our people-to-people campaign at the state and precinct level.

∴ Next week probably would not be good, since I understand you are visiting only New York. But if you approve the coverage, Bob Reisner could keep me advised and I will advise Jim when the appropriate trip is scheduled.

Devan L. Shumway
DEVAN L. SHUMWAY

cc: Mr. Abrahams

No
New
PR H
to see

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

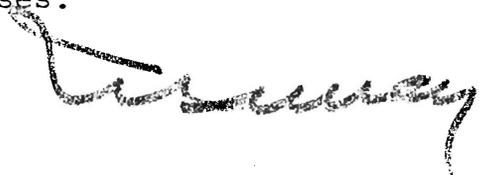
A Washington lawyer, Stanley Bregman, 1225 - 19th Street, N.W., is a registered Democrat but can't "stomach" McGovern.

He tells me that in his travels around the United States, he finds that the chief objections to McGovern are:

1. He changes his position from week to week.
2. People don't know where he stands.

Examples of this are the switching in his tax program and welfare payments.

He recommends that we ought to point this out more forcibly as the campaign progresses.



MMC:a

September 15, 1972

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

A Washington lawyer, Stanley Bregman, 1225 - 19th Street, N.W., is a registered Democrat but can't "stomach" McGovern.

He tells me that in his travels around the United States, he finds that the chief objections to McGovern are:

1. He changes his position from week to week.
2. People don't know where he stands.

Examples of this are the switching in his tax program and welfare payments.

He recommends that we ought to point this out more forcibly as the campaign progresses.



MMC:a