

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>
40	4	10/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Sunday New York Times Ad. 1pg.
40	4	10/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Kuchel radio and T.V. Spots in California. 1pg.
40	4	10/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H.R Haldeman From: Gordon Strachan. RE: Attacking Shriver. Attached Op Ed Piece for the New York Times. 12pgs.
40	4	10/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan. From: L. Higby. RE: Notes for campaign meeting. 5pgs.
40	4	10/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H. R. Haldeman. From: Gordon Strachan. RE: MacGregor/Dole Press conference. 5pgs.
40	4	9/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Dick Moore. From: Bruce Herschensohn. RE: The mountain comes to Mohammed. 2pgs.
40	4	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Clark MacGregor. Through: Jeb S. Megruder. From: Bob Marik. RE: Overall campaign strategy. 7pgs.
40	4	8/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Clark MacGregor. Through: Jeb S. Macgruder. From: Bob Marik. RE: Campaign plans for the Priority I and II states. 5pgs.
40	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Priority I and II states. 1pg.

<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>
40	4	8/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Clark MacGregor. Through: Jeb S. Macgruder. From: Bob Marik. RE: Campaign plans for the 41 smaller States. 6pgs.
40	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	60 days to Victory. Voter identification canvass/registration/voter turn out. 3pgs.
40	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Non-Republican schedule. Direct Mail. 5pgs.
40	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Agricultural campaign. 3pgs.
40	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Older Americans in the campaign. 1pg.
40	4	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From: Alex Armendariz. Spanish-speaking activities in the key states. 2pgs.
40	4	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From: Ken Rietz. Young voters campaign. 6pgs.
40	4	8/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	A series of 5 articles by Samuel Lubell printed in The Star regarding predictions and election patterns. 7pgs.
40	4	6/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H. R Haldeman. From: Fred Malek. RE: Progress report on Campaign activities. 31pgs.
40	4	9/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H. R. Haldeman. Through: Clark MacGregor. From: Fred Malek. RE: Senior advisors. 2pgs.

October 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Sunday New York Times Ad

Bill Safire recommended that the full text of a radio speech be printed in a full-page ad in the Sunday New York Times News Review Section. The purpose would be to show the press and opinion leaders that the President is addressing the issues while McGovern is a strident stump campaigner.

The November Group (Phil Joanou) recommends against this \$7-\$8000 expenditure because the impact is too indirect and nebulous.

Dick Moore doesn't think the full text of a speech is very useful. Instead, Moore suggests excerpts from four or five speeches with liberal use of white space.

John Scali thinks it is a good idea because the radio speeches are not making much impact.

Ray Price believes that the ad is basically a bad idea. It would not help at all. The readers of the ad are already against the President.

Len Garment says that the Week in Review audience is even smaller than the New York Times audience and since they are for the most part against us, the ad would have only a marginal impact. He believes the radio speeches are having a first rate news impact.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the radio speeches not be reprinted in the New York Times News Review Section.

AGREE _____

DISAGREE _____

COMMENT _____

I will advise Bill Safire.

GS:car

October 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Kuchel Radio and T.V.
Spots in California

Naury Stans received information from California people that radio and T.V. ads by former Senator Tom Kuchel would be effective among the liberal element in California.

Bob Finch does not think Kuchel would be effective. Kuchel doesn't mean much anymore in California.

Herb Klein thinks radio and T.V. spots by Kuchel would be effective in Northern California and the San Joaquin Valley.

Fred Malek thinks Kuchel would have a positive effect. However, he does not think the Kuchel spots would be worth sending new money into California to pay for them in light of the strict budget situation. Malek does not think it would be worth shifting some of the money already allocated to California to the Kuchel spots. Malek says his view would be supported by Nofziger, who was not personally contacted.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Kuchel radio and TV spots not be prepared and run in California to appeal to the liberal element.

AGREE _____ DISAGREE _____

COMMENT _____

I will advise Stans of your decision.

Howard

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Date: 10/19

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

One aspect of the shift in strategy to attack Shriver instead of ignoring him was to be an Op Ed piece in the New York Times. Khachigian drafted it and Colson asked Blatchford to sign it. He refused and Dick Howard told Blatchford he would find someone who would be here next year to sign it. Colson is looking for someone now.

142u McLaughlin to sign

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK COLSON

FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN 

It has been requested for some time now that we start hammering in on Shriver. I think a good place to start is in an op-ed piece in response to the absurd Times editorial endorsing Shriver. (attached)

• I worked up a piece which lays out a great deal of the Shriver stuff, but is light enough as not to be pure hatchetry.

I don't have anyone specific in mind to sign it, although I think Blatchford comes to mind as one who might be able to do it. However, if the thing is changed too much, the bite would be taken out.

Buchanan suggested if the Times didn't take it up as soon as possible, we should ship it over to the L. A. TIMES. In any event, if we can't get someone to sign it, I'll sign the damn thing myself.

cc: Ken Clawson

Attachment

~~cc:~~ Strachan

DRAFT OP ED PIECE FOR NEW YORK TIMES

SHRIVER

In its editorial of October 10, 1972, the Times argued vigorously for Sargent Shriver as its choice for Vice-President of the United States. The arguments were familiar, with the scales tipped for Mr. Shriver because he is an "ebullient liberal with a passion for service" who would help "lift" our sights.

Omitted, however, was mention of Shriver's passion for tasteless campaign rhetoric. And aside from the gutter language, the Times left out the countless gaffes which have provided us with a few good laughs in this election year. The humor is black comedy, to be sure, but Shriver's playing the part of Clown Prince to McGovern's Prairie Preacher is of sufficient note to deserve Theodore White's close attention.

But one must begin at the beginning, and that is with the "ebullient liberal" who will "lift the nation's sights." There is

the standard charge that Mr. Agnew appeals to "racist elements."

But did the Times not read the dispatch from their own James Naughton who reported on August 24, 1972 of Shriver's visit to Baton Rouge, Louisiana? Shriver told the Louisianans that he had been raised in Maryland with "an understanding of Southern qualities." That not being enough Southern comfort for his audience, Shriver raised the ante by boasting that all his Civil War forebears who fought served on the side of Dixie. "But none of them fought on the other side," the Times quotes Shriver. One wonders what the meaning is of a politician who travels to the Deep South to boast that none of his ancestors fought for the Yankees.

But Shriver's greatest asset, the Times suggests, is that he does not use the "slur", or exploit "division," or indulge in "polarization" (while you-know-who does).

Yet Mr. Shriver is the source of some of the most abusive language in this campaign. It is a close contest between George McGovern's Hitler label on President Nixon and the following

Shriverisms which -- no doubt by their ebullience -- "help lift the nation's sights."

President Nixon has been described by Shriver as "like a reformed drunk," as the "No. 1 warmaker in the world," as "a psychiatric case for somebody to analyze," and as "power mad." Our all time favorite, however, is that President Nixon is "the No. 1 bomber of all time, and that includes Julius Caesar."

(And I always thought Caesar was leading only in the catapult, longbow, battering ram, and rapine).

"I look upon myself as a healing potion," said Mr. Shriver several weeks ago, "not as a 'cutting edge' like Spiro Agnew."

When one thinks of Shriver as a healing potion, he thinks of hemlock as a healing potion.

As for the Times' mention of "insensitive slurs," it would hardly do to let that one pass without at least looking at some additional Shriverisms.

Two years ago, Shriver indulged in an outrageous insult to those of Greek ancestry. When a candidate for office in Virginia suggested that "the Greek from Baltimore" should be put on a leash, Shriver said: "I might just add a thought that if they (high elected officials) don't like (young people) here, maybe they can go back to Greece . . . not just to Baltimore, but all the way back to Greece."

Then there is Shriver's insensitivity to Chicanos and farmers.

As reported in the Washington Post, Shriver told reporters: "I sometimes wonder why we're doing all this. I was thinking, maybe we could just set up (movie) sets at my house at Timberlawn (his 300 acre estate in Rockville, Md.) -- one that looks like San Antonio, another that looks like Peoria -- and do the whole thing there. Maybe we could bring in some Chicanos and some farmers." After all if you've seen one Chicano and American city, you've seen them all. And one visualizes Shriver wearing one of his highly publicized \$400 Pierre Cardin suits, holding court as the farmers plow his

back forty and the Chicanos happily eat their tacos.

The final slur -- which should at least outrage all football fans -- is Mr. Shriver's description of defensive football linemen as "wide, " "heavy" and "thick" in the head. But even this isn't all that funny to football players who hold college and advanced degrees. The point is, of course, that Shriver shouldn't be slurring Greeks, Chicanos, farmers, football players or anyone else. There is a limit even to ebullience!

Withal, Mr. Shriver has ignored his own advice of 1970 when he warned that heated campaign rhetoric could "tear this country apart and cause America to lose her soul." Match the 1970 Shriver with the current model and you come away scratching your head. It seems that a couple of weeks ago Shriver could not even withstand the temptation to surface the most original of epithets, the one that really appeals to our highest instincts: "Tricky Dicky." Yessir, Sarge, that's the way to heal the country. Reach out with originality and give it to us again: "Tricky Dicky." That is what he called the

President of the United States on September 26 and 27, 1972 and probably every day thereafter. The Times must be very, very proud of this high-minded rhetoric.

If he hasn't helped heal America, Sarge has, at least, given us some first-rate buffoonery. There was the time Shriver wanted to carry California for the "Nixon-Shriver" ticket. There was the time that Shriver said Nixon had peace in his lap and "blew" the chance -- while Mr. Shriver was Ambassador to France and failed to alert the Secretary of State that peace was in our laps. There was the time that Shriver said the reason McGovern dropped Eagleton was to "protect the country," and backed off after a few phone calls from McGovern central. There was the occasion when McGovern said of his God-knows-nth choice as running-mate: "Shriver! Who wants him? All that Shriver talk is coming right from Shriver himself." McGovern was just returning the favor. After all, Shriver made a \$2000 campaign contribution to his first choice -- Ed Muskie. There was the time he explained of his

\$108,000 annual income: "I spend everything I earn, just like most other Americans." Like all others who make \$108,000 a year? And there was the time in Cleveland when he distinguished himself by answering a question with a Bronx cheer -- good form; must have learned it in Hyannis.

In point of fact, the Times' editorial strained to find good words to say about Sarge -- the "ebullient liberal with a passion for service." But in the end, we may indeed have come down to a statement made by Mr. Shriver in Minneapolis on September 20, 1972. "On November 7th," he intoned, "the choice of the century will be between a hollow brain and a hollow program." Think about it for a minute; it describes the McGovernite ticket about as well as anything I've heard this year.

ACTION MEMO

We should probably change tactics on Shriver. Instead of ignoring him we should move actively to make him a liability to the ticket. He should be cracked hard by lower level people.

HRH_{rpm}

9/12/72

September 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PAT BUCHANAN

FROM:

LARRY HIGBY

Bob asked that I pass on to you the fact that we should now probably change tactics on Shriver. Instead of ignoring him we should move actively to make him a liability to the ticket. He should be cracked hard by lower level people.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~H~~
~~FX~~
~~1421~~

October 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY L

Would you please make sure that it is mentioned in the attack meeting that one thing we definitely do not want done is to have anybody speaking of trying to run up a record vote or a landslide or a record mandate. We've got to stop this sort of talk.

Also, make sure Malek and Magruder, Chapin, Ziegler and Tolson are covered on this today. ^{10/19} Klein (Bledlamith)

Also, call Art Sohmer and make sure he let's the VP know that this is the line.

again 10/27
again 10/23
10/20

October 19, 1972

Hfk
10/20

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. KIBBY

Would you please make sure that it is mentioned in the attack meeting that one thing we definitely do not want done is to have anybody speaking of trying to run up a record vote or a landslide or a record mandate. We've got to stop this sort of talk.

Also, make sure Malch and Magruder, Chapin, Kiegler and Colson are covered on this today.

Also, call Art Schmeier and make sure he let's the VP know that this is the line.

LH:kb

POLITICAL ACTION MEMORANDUM

**Make sure that no one speaks of trying to run up a record
vote or a record landslide or a record mandate. We've
got to stop this talk.**

**HRM
October 12, 1972**

HRH:kb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date _____

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

L & AS cover
as
May
Mac
Malak
Chyri
2
Colon.

X VP!

✓

POLITICAL ACTION MEMORANDUM

Make sure that no one speaks of trying to run up a record vote or a record landslide or a record mandate. We've got to stop this talk.

HRH
October 12, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

**MacGregor/Dole Press
Conference**

Clark MacGregor and Bob Dole are scheduled to have a Press Conference tomorrow at 11:30 a.m. to discuss the Get-Out-the-Vote program with Fred Malek.

All in the 9:15 meeting, including Colson, Abrahams, Clawson, Chapin, were opposed because the press will focus the Press Conference on Watergate, etc. Magruder and Abrahams cannot convince MacGregor that this Press Conference is a bad idea.

An alternative to the MacGregor/Dole Press Conference would be a Malek Press Conference since he could better keep the focus on the Get-Out-the-Vote.

You may want to cover this with MacGregor tomorrow at 8:15.

GS/jb

October 23, 1972/5:00 p.m.

SCHEDULE: CLARK MacGREGOR MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 23, 1972

6:30 p.m. - International Horse Show, D.C. Armory

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1972

8:15 a.m. - Roosevelt Room

9:15 a.m. - Staff Meeting

1:30 p.m. - Meet w/Clergy, South American Room, Statler Hilton Hotel

3:00 p.m. - Get Out The Vote Press Conference, 3rd Floor Conf.Room, 1701

4:00 p.m. - West Wing Meeting

11:30
Dole
10/24

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

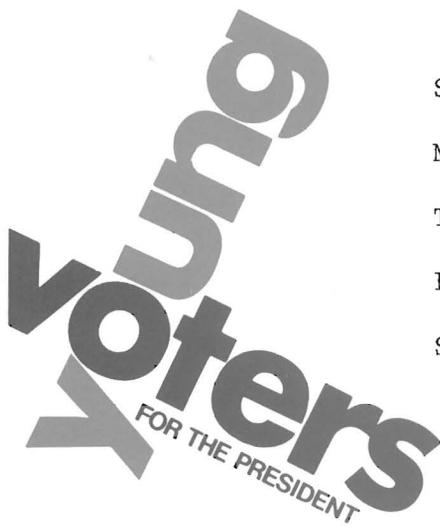
BS
Date: 10/2

TO: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

FYI - no need for H. to see.
Memo papers over the problems
Rietz had with Cohen.

BAK has nothing to add.

*See Me
L.*



September 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
THROUGH: CLARK MACGREGOR
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KR*
SUBJECT: White House Interns

We have distributed within the past 10 days - the same time we received them - the names, campus addresses and phone numbers of the Interns to our youth and senior committee speakers bureaus. Scheduling has begun, particularly in the key states, to youth and older groups. Since schools have just opened in the past two weeks, the appearances are being set.

Much of the demand for multi-state travel we are satisfying by use of the young White House staffers whose working knowledge of the issues and greater responsibilities make them attractive to young people. For example, Lee Huebner covered high schools and campuses in Wisconsin on September 17, 18, 19. He will be doing western New York schools on October 3. Wallace Henley did the same thing in Chicago on September 19, and will be in Wisconsin on September 27 and September 28. Dolf Droge did a campus tour of the Fox River Valley and Milwaukee, Wisconsin on September 18. He will be in New York City, October 2. New York state and Illinois are setting up a schedule for one day a week tour of schools in the key cities for a young staffer.

California has 10 teams of 3 young legislators hitting the campuses in rotation, and they too have put in motion the scheduling of a young staffer and an intern once a week for a tour of schools. Of course these appearances are on top of the intensive scheduling to put our 1500 young volunteer speakers into every available academic, professional, social, religious and fraternal youth organization in the cities of the key states. Phone banks and mailings by our youth speakers have been contacting these organizations for the past month.

So far the intern activities are the following:

-Tammy Ortegwa appeared at the YVP youth rally in San Francisco, September 5 with Counselor Finch and Secretary Morton. (She is being scheduled into Spanish American schools in California.)

-Phil Ordway covered 3 high schools and a political science class at the University of Michigan on September 7 and 8.

1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006 (202) 872-1430

-Four of the interns have agreed to speak at high schools in their areas (two in Virginia, one in Boston, one in Connecticut) and meet with the student councils for National Student Government Day, September 26). They will send in a report to the youth office in the White House.

-Mark Mazo will cover Wellseley High School and Boston Latin School on September 26.

-Robin Stickney will speak at Ft. Hunt High School in Mt. Vernon, Virginia on September 26.

-Stickney will also speak at adult education classes at Northern Virginia Community College on October 3 and 4.

-Michael Flock will be doing a tour of Ohio schools to include Wochester College in Canton, Mt. Union College and a gathering of the A.A.U.W. on September 28 and 29.

-Mark Mazo is being scheduled for a tour in Michigan, October 2 and 3 with the help of Representative Bow's office and the YVP Speakers Director.

The youth office in the White House is currently doing a survey of the interns to see what they are doing and what coordination is taking place with the YVP and CRP speakers bureaus. Our office is doing the same thing from our end. We are confident that the interns who are willing, will be used as much as possible. It is our feeling, however, that interstate travel is best accomplished by young White House staffers because of their greater impact, drawing power and closeness to the President.

September 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK MOORE
FROM: BRUCE HERSCHENSOHN
SUBJECT: The Mountain Comes to Mohammed

To A -
For Contemplation
Only
C

STEP #1

On a mid-September late evening, without any warning at all, the President rides to one or more of the memorials of Washington. While there, he talks to tourists. He stays long enough for the press to find out and rush there, panting for breath. He doesn't look particularly happy about their presence and ends the visit very shortly after their arrival. It also "surfaces" that he has frequently gone to the memorials and monuments of Washington at night during the past three and a half years. (A previous Jack Anderson column could be the "non-partisan" confirmation.) It is real "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington" style and it can't help but be appealing to people.

STEP #2

In mid-October, very late in the evening, he goes over to a site close to the White House where the Metro is undergoing construction. This time it's a long session with the workers.

STEP #3

Now, of course, there will be those who will say the whole thing is just a trick for a story and so within days the President makes an admitted candidate-ish walk through Washington during the day-time, shaking hands, answering questions, going from one place to another.

His reasoning is that he enjoys campaigning and talking to the people and he feels frustrated in not being able to do the nationwide campaigning he is used to doing - - but the Presidency doesn't permit him that kind of time away from Washington. It is a luxury he misses. With so many people of the nation right here within this city, he wants to take the opportunity to meet with as many as his time permits.

STEP #4

I recognize the President may not want to do the following, but I believe it has merits and could be a "moment" which could be talked about in years to come. At the end of his day-time handshaking walk, he goes right into McGovern Headquarters on "K" Street, says hello to the workers, telling them that their participation in the American electoral process is admirable, and they should always work for the things and people in which they believe. I think they would be too awed and surprised to shout him down. Besides, the visit should be very brief and end with that great American

departing phrase, "Don't work too hard." What a moment!

Admittedly, it's way-out, but particularly following a visit to his own campaign headquarters, it would have great meaning. It's brave to walk right into the enemy camp -- and he has done it on an international level. We could make something out of his non-hesitancy to meet opposition eye to eye, no matter if it be international or domestic.

Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 8, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: BOB MARIK

SUBJECT: Overall Campaign Strategy

This memorandum summarizes the overall operating strategy for the upcoming campaign. Two accompanying memos present the operating plans in more detail.

Formula for Victory. The first step in our strategy has been to determine the most probable route to victory, state by state, and to allocate our resources so as to best assure that victory will be achieved. Taking the smaller states first, the President should win the solid South, most of the farm states, and most of the Rocky Mountain states. In addition, there are other small states elsewhere in the country where he should do well (Tab A). In total, a realistic objective as of today, is 196 electoral votes from the states mentioned above.

The larger electoral vote states have historically been campaign battlegrounds, and 1972 should be no exception. Recent polling data and discussions with local political observers indicate that the following states are winnable, but likely to be very close.

Electoral Votes

California	45
New York	41
Pennsylvania	27
New Jersey	17

These states have been designated as Priority I states--to receive the greatest intensity of campaign programs, organizing effort and management attention. Also in Priority I is Cook County, Illinois.

In several other large states where the President appears to have a substantial lead at the present time, an intensive, well-run campaign should preserve those leads. Those states have been designated

Priority II, and will receive only slightly less emphasis than Priority I.

Electoral Votes

Ohio	25
Texas	26
Connecticut	8
Maryland	10
Downstate Illinois	--

In addition, Michigan has been included as a Priority II state. The race is expected to be close there, with the President's chances rated lower than in the Priority I states because of the Democratic margins in 1964 and 1968.

It can be seen that, if the projected 196 electoral votes are won in the small states, then only 74 electoral votes are required from the Priority I and II states to reach the required 270 electoral votes.

It is clear, therefore, that McGovern must focus on some of the smaller states, in order to realistically hope for a chance of victory. To assure that our strength is not eroded, the following smaller states have been designated as Priority III--to receive slightly more intensive campaign resources and management attention.

Electoral Votes

Iowa	8
North Dakota	3
Nebraska	5
Kansas	7
Montana	4
Wyoming	3
Colorado	7
New Mexico	4
Idaho	4
Nevada	3
Missouri	12
Washington	9

Fundamental Shifts in the Electorate. This Presidential year is unlike 1968 or any prior year. There are fundamental changes taking place in the constituent coalitions of the major parties.

Those changes have, at least for the present, been accentuated by the nomination of George McGovern on the Democratic side.

The basic Republican constituency, albeit a minority of the electorate, remains solidly with the President. In particular, the older voters appear to be supporting him in record numbers. Our greatest danger of erosion to McGovern is the "upper-end" ticket-splitter--the upper income, highly educated, urban or suburban voter. Thus far, that erosion does not seem to have occurred. The President's trips to China and Russia have particularly appealed to this group.

Of the elements of the former Democratic coalition, the "Peripheral Urban Ethnic" represents our greatest target of opportunity. This is the blue-collar, lower to middle income, urban dweller, often Eastern European in descent. In many cases, he preserves his ethnicity in his neighborhoods and social customs. He voted in large numbers for George Wallace in 1968 and the 1972 primaries. He is the one who pays the price for social change and upheaval in this country--through busing, drugs, crime in the streets, etc. Richard Nixon is on the right side of most of the issues for this voter, and he may, in 1972, break a pattern of Democratic voting which has lasted for generations.

Jewish voters, who have never supported Richard Nixon in large numbers, are indicating their intention to do so in 1972. The issues of Israel and national defense are paramount, but many other issues also enter in. Similarly, the Spanish-surname voters are beginning to respond to the programs and high-level appointments of this Administration, which have shown a sensitivity to their problems and aspirations. To a lesser degree, we see an opportunity to expand the Black vote for the President from the 1968 level of 12% to 18% or higher in 1972.

Finally, but very important, is the Youth vote. There is now evidence that the President could receive a majority of the 18-24 year-old support. At the very least, he should not suffer the deficit which the media have been predicting for over a year. The approach to the young voter is high-visibility involvement in the campaign, to break down peer-group pressure against support of Richard Nixon.

Grassroots Emphasis. The President is well-known to the voters and receives wide daily exposure in the media. Therefore, it would not be necessary nor effective to contemplate a media-oriented campaign.

Our emphasis, rather, will be on field organization, involvement of large numbers of volunteers and individual contact with the voters.

Large numbers of store front headquarters will be established in all the states. They will serve as centers of operation for volunteer recruitment and door-to-door canvassing for voter identification. In the Priority I and II states, computer-printed lists of registered voters will be provided for canvassing. In the other states, voter lists will be obtained at the local levels. Concurrent with door-to-door canvassing in the Priority I and II states, volunteer-staffed telephone centers will also be calling voters to identify the favorables.

In Priority I states, direct mail will be sent to Republicans and "reachable" Democrats and Independents early in the campaign. The purpose will be to place the President's record before the voters, particularly his accomplishments which are of particular interest to specific demographic groups, and to ask for their support on Election Day. In both Priority I and II states, the favorable voters, as identified by door-to-door canvassing or telephone, will receive a get-out-the-vote telegram-letter just prior to November 7th.

Publicizing the President's Record. The President will not be able to campaign extensively in September and October. Yet, his record is not well-understood by the voters. For those reasons, an intensive effort will be made to reach the voters by other means. The surrogate program will provide over 750 man-days of campaigning by members of the Cabinet, Senators, Congressmen and high-level members of the White House Staff. Direct mail will highlight those programs of particular interest to specific voter groups, as mentioned earlier. The press and public relations efforts will continually place the Administration position before the public. Advertising will dramatize what Richard Nixon has accomplished over the past four years.

McGovern. William Buckley has said that our job is to "make McGovern perfectly clear." That will be done in part by contrasting the President's positions on issues with those of McGovern, through the vehicles discussed above. It will also be done through the activities of the Democrats for Nixon. That organization will provide a viewpoint counter to McGovern's, which will be credible to many loyal Democrats.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 5 -

General Tone of the Campaign. The President is the incumbent. He has a good record on many issues. He has a substantial lead in the polls at this time. He has made inroads into several constituent groups of the old Democratic coalition.

The favorable trends could be upset if the public begins to see Richard Nixon as a partisan politician, rather than as a competent national leader. Therefore, our projected tone should be a positive one, reflecting solid accomplishment over the past four years, and promise for even greater success in a second term. McGovern's programs should be rejected as extreme and unworkable. There should not, however, be strident attacks on McGovern, the man. He comes across to the voters as rational, honest and decent, and attacks to the contrary would probably be counter-productive. All of the campaign spokesmen should stay on the high road, but be specific on the issues.

The present lead in the polls will, in all likelihood, diminish over the last several weeks of the campaign. Our insurance of victory will not be louder voices in the media, but a vigorous, effective, sustained grass-roots campaign in the precincts. We must have those million volunteers in place, performing meaningful tasks, identifying our voters and getting them to the polls on Election Day, in every state in the country.

CONFIDENTIAL

ANALYSIS OF PROBABLE SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT IN THE 41 SMALLER STATES

<u>FARM STATES</u>	<u>ELECTORAL VOTES</u>	<u>PROBABLE NIXON</u>	<u>DOUBTFUL</u>	<u>LEANING MC GOVERN</u>
Wisconsin	11	-	-	11
Nebraska	5	5	-	-
Kansas	7	7	-	-
North Dakota	3	-	3	-
South Dakota	4	-	-	4
Iowa	8	8	-	-
Minnesota	<u>10</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	48	20	3	25
<u>MOUNTAIN STATES</u>				
Idaho	4	4	-	-
Wyoming	3	3	-	-
Arizona	6	6	-	-
Utah	4	4	-	-
New Mexico	4	4	-	-
Colorado	7	7	-	-
Montana	4	4	-	-
Nevada	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>
Total	35	32	3	-
<u>BORDER STATES</u>				
West Virginia	6	-	6	-
Missouri	12	-	12	-
Oklahoma	8	8	-	-
Virginia	12	12	-	-
Florida	17	17	-	-
North Carolina	13	13	-	-
Kentucky	9	9	-	-
South Carolina	8	8	-	-
Tennessee	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
Total	95	77	18	-
<u>DEEP SOUTH</u>				
Arkansas	6	6	-	-
Louisiana	10	10	-	-
Mississippi	7	7	-	-
Alabama	9	9	-	-
Georgia	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
Total	44	44	-	-

<u>NEW ENGLAND</u>	<u>ELECTORAL VOTES</u>	<u>PROBABLE NIXON</u>	<u>DOUBTFUL</u>	<u>LEANING MC GOVERN</u>
Maine	4	-	4	-
Vermont	3	3	-	-
New Hampshire	4	4	-	-
Massachusetts	14	-	-	14
Rhode Island	<u>4</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	29	7	4	18
 <u>OTHERS</u>				
Oregon	6	-	6	-
Washington	9	-	9	-
Indiana	13	13	-	-
Hawaii	4	-	-	4
Dist. of Col.	3	-	-	3
Alaska	3	-	3	-
Delaware	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
Total	41	16	18	7
 TOTALS:	 292 <u>===</u>	 196 <u>===</u>	 46 <u>==</u>	 50 <u>==</u>

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 8, 1972

Strachan
Mac
p. 5

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MARIK
SUBJECT: Campaign Plans for the Priority I and II States

This memorandum summarizes the major elements in the campaign plans for the Priority I and II states. Those states, listed in Tab A, were so chosen because of their electoral vote size and the probable closeness of the election in several. Most of them will undoubtedly be targeted by the McGovern strategists, and thereby become the major battlegrounds of the 1972 campaign.

Contact with the Individual Voters. The major emphasis in all the priority states will be on grass-roots activities: local organization, volunteer recruitment, door-to-door canvassing, voter contact through telephone banks, and get-out-the-vote.

The plan for precinct-level activity is shown in detail in Tab B. The objective is to canvass door-to-door in the priority precincts (those with a voting history favorable to Republicans or a demographic makeup which should favor the President this year) to identify the favorable voters.

A large number of storefront headquarters will be established to serve as operations centers for the door-to-door canvassing. Kits will be prepared (See canvass folder--Tab C) with voter lists and canvassing instructions. Volunteers will be given the lists and asked to return them to the headquarters upon completion of the canvass, or within a set time period. The lists of registered voters will have been compiled from official state and local rolls and printed out from our computerized data bank. They will be in street-walking sequence (Tab D), and, in most states, on 3-part NCR paper for multiple recording of voter responses.

A parallel effort will also be conducted to canvass the voters by telephone. In some areas, there will be overlap between the door-to-door and telephone canvass activities, but considering the likelihood of voters not being home, unlisted telephone numbers and busy telephones, we expect, at most a 25% duplication of the two efforts. In most cases, the parallel programs will just give double assurance that the canvass will be done in each precinct.

The objective of the telephone canvass is to identify Democrats and Independents favorable to the President. Republicans will be called for volunteer recruitment and to get out the vote on Election Day.

The telephone centers will consist usually of ten telephones and will be staffed by volunteers. They will be in operation about 12 hours per day, for 5-1/2 days per week. Each center will be expected to contact 50,000 households during the eight weeks of the telephone campaign, as well as to conduct get-out-the-vote reminder calls the week prior to November 7, and on Election Day. Each center will also recruit and utilize between one thousand and two thousand separate volunteers. Our experience in the primaries has been that many of these people are new to political campaigns and represent new blood for local candidates in subsequent campaigns.

In Tab E, the projected number of telephone centers is shown for each Priority I and II state. A rough estimate is also given of the total number of households to be contacted by telephone in each state and the number of volunteers to be involved. For all ten states of Priority I and II, the totals are 13,720,000 households and 316,000 volunteers.

In most states, the telephone centers will use computerized sheets of slightly different format (Tab F) with the voter names listed in alphabetical order for ease of looking up telephone numbers.

In the case of both door-to-door and telephone operations, one copy of each completed canvass sheet will be sent to the direct mail center, where the information will be fed into the computerized voter list. The identified favorable voters will then receive a get-out-the-vote telegram-letter just before Election Day.

The results of both types of canvass will be combined, in most states, on the alphabetical (telephone) list, and will be utilized by precinct poll checkers on Election Day for get-out-the-vote operations. The total system linking voter lists, door-to-door canvassing, telephone centers, and direct mail and get-out-the-vote activities for a typical state is graphically described in Tab G.

The Priority I states will also have two mailings to "reachable" Democrats and Independents of several demographic categories. The text of the letter and the brochure to be enclosed will be tailored to the specific issue concerns of each voter group, as detailed in Tab H. Similarly, the person signing the letter will be chosen with particular regard to his or her influence with those receiving the mail.

Voter Groups. The Re-election Committee has organized campaign activity relating to several groups with common characteristics, such as Urban Citizens, Jewish voters, Labor, etc. Their programs are similar in overall objectives, with variation in detail.

- ° To develop persuasive efforts at the national and local level to produce support for the President.
- ° To provide a source of volunteers for the precinct-level programs described previously, and for other campaign functions within the state.

Each of the voter groups will have some activity in every Priority I and II state. Additional detail is given for Agriculture (Tab I), Jewish (Tab J), Older Americans (Tab K), Spanish Speaking (Tab L) and Youth (Tab M). Plans by Blacks, Urban Citizens and Labor have not yet been finalized for their field activities. Aside from the demographic groups mentioned above, professional groups are also organizing for the President. They include Lawyers, Physicians and Dentists, Businessmen and Veterans.

Spokesmen Resources. The President will not be able to campaign extensively in the Fall. To aid in carrying his record to the voters, key public figures close to the Administration will speak in his behalf. The surrogate program includes 750 man-days of campaigning by 35 high level officials: Members of the Cabinet, Senators, Congressmen and members of the White House Staff. The intensity of the projected scheduled appearances, by priority state, through the campaign, is given in Tab N.

Press and Public Relations. In each of the priority states, there is a communications office which coordinates with its counterpart at 1701. It will work with the Press Office at 1701 on the media placement of surrogates, and with the local media to obtain coverage of statements or material originating from 1701. Certain states, specifically Pennsylvania and California, have set up their own audio systems. They will link with the system at 1701 to feed material back and forth as it becomes available.

Advertising. The advertising campaign will feature television, radio and newspapers. It will cover all 50 states, but the greatest concentration will be in the Priority I and II states. On Television, there will be 5-minute and 60-second spots, as well as three half-hour documentaries. Most of the buys will be in regional or individual media markets, rather than on nationwide network TV. Thus, the frequency and subject matter can be geared to the requirements of the local political situation. The specific radio and television advertising schedules for the media markets in the priority states will remain flexible week-to-week through the campaign.

Democrats for Nixon. It is anticipated that, in each of the states, the endorsements and other programs of Democrats for Nixon will have a major effect on the Democratic and Independent voters. We will work to coordinate the efforts of the Re-election Committee and that organization toward the mutual goal of the campaign.

Variations Among the States. The foregoing summary describes the general tone of the campaign in the ten Priority I and II states. Their specific variations are outlined below:

PRIORITY I

California: Full program as described, with a slight variation on the format of the registered voter lists and their disposition after canvassing.

New York: More of the total program implementation will be done within the state than in any other instance. They have their own registered voter file and will produce their own canvassing lists. They will write and produce their

own direct mail, subject to review and approval in Washington. They will develop recommendations on which voter segments will be targeted for direct mail and who should sign the letters, again subject to our approval. Notwithstanding these variances, the campaign will be run consistent with the overall plan outlined in this memo.

Pennsylvania: No major variations.

New Jersey: No major variations.

Cook County, Illinois: No major variations.

PRIORITY II

Texas: The telephone campaign will be run in cooperation with the Tower campaign. The voters will be asked whether they support the President, and then whether they support Senator Tower. Both campaigns will then have copies of the canvass results.

*Very bad idea -
Does Connally
know this? Does
he agree?*

Ohio: No major variations.

Downstate Illinois: No major variations.

Maryland: No major variations.

Connecticut: No major variations.

Michigan: The total field operation is a combined organization of Griffin, Party and the President's campaign workers. Major emphasis is being placed on an early state-wide canvass to identify favorable voters for both the President and Senator Griffin, and to locate favorable unregistered voters. That is already well underway throughout the state, using a computer list of all households, registered or not. The telephone centers will be used to follow up on unregistered voters to be sure they register. It will not be used for canvassing.

Bad

*disc w/
m.c.*

PRIORITY STATESPRIORITY I

	Electoral Votes
California	45
New York	41
Pennsylvania	27
New Jersey	17
Cook County, Illinois	--

PRIORITY II

	Electoral Votes
Texas	26
Ohio	25
Maryland	10
Connecticut	8
Downstate Illinois	--
Michigan	21

)- why #2 ?

Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 9, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MACGRUDER

FROM: BOB MARIK 

SUBJECT: Campaign Plans for the 41 Smaller States

This memorandum summarizes the campaign plans for the 41 smaller states. Those states (Tab A) fall into six major regions, with a few scattered elsewhere in the country: New England (5 states), the Deep South (5 states), the Border States (9), the Farm States (7), the Rocky Mountain States (8), and the Far West (4 states). The remaining states are Indiana, Delaware and the District of Columbia.

Because McGovern will have to target some of these states in order to retain the hope of reaching 270 electoral votes, several have been given slightly higher priority in our allocation of resources. They are generally concentrated in the Farm and Mountain regions, as shown in Tab B.

Emphasis of the Campaign Within the States. The major difference between the smaller states and the ten Priority I and II states is the intensity of programs from the National Re-election Committee. Thus, there will be no direct mail or full time campaign telephone centers, unless they are covered by the state budget and directed by the state Re-election Committee leadership. The frequency of visits by surrogate speakers will be substantially lower. The press offices within each state will usually be shared with the state Republican Party or staffed entirely by volunteers. There will be less media advertising, except for that carried by national network television.

The emphasis will, therefore, be even more on grass roots activities. Local organization, volunteer recruitment, door-to-door canvassing, voter contact through volunteer telephoning, and get-out-the-vote.

Computerized voter lists will not generally be available. That information will have to be acquired locally from the registrar of voters or commercially-available lists.

As in the priority states, storefront headquarters will be the focus of canvassing operations in the surrounding areas. The plan for precinct-level activity is shown in Tab C. The objective will be to canvass door-to-door in the priority precincts to identify favorable voters. Emphasis will be placed on canvassing Democrats and Independents. Republicans will be contacted in volunteer recruitment and to get out the vote on Election Day. The favorable and undecided voters will be listed on the canvassing sheet (Tab D) according to the instructions (Tab E) included in the Canvass Kit.

The telephone will be used in two important ways (Tab F).

Business Telephones: Unincorporated businesses can loan their telephones to campaign workers, to be used as a telephone center after business hours and on weekends. (In some cases, a full-fledged campaign telephone center may be set up in an important area of the state).

Hostess Telephoning: A program has been developed in detail to allow individual volunteers to work productively using their own residence telephone or that of another volunteer. Where successful, that program can yield large numbers of voter contacts for identification or get-out-the-vote.

Voter Groups: As in the large states, the voter groups will be active in many small states to accomplish their major objectives.

- ° To develop persuasive efforts at the national and local level to produce support for the President.
- ° To provide a source of volunteers for the precinct-level programs described previously, and for other campaign functions within the state.

Their programs will be similar to those outlined in the memorandum on Priority I and II states.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Democrats for Nixon. As in the top priority states, endorsement of the President by leading Democrats will be an important element of strategy. In particular, the use of endorsements will be emphasized in the South and Border states.

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SMALLER STATES BY REGIONNEW ENGLAND

	<u>Electoral Votes</u>
Maine	4
Vermont	3
New Hampshire	4
Massachusetts	14
Rhode Island	<u>4</u>
	29

SOUTH

Arkansas	6
Louisiana	10
Mississippi	7
Alabama	9
Georgia	<u>12</u>
	44

BORDER

Virginia	12
West Virginia	6
North Carolina	13
South Carolina	8
Kentucky	9
Tennessee	10
Missouri	12
Oklahoma	8
Florida	<u>17</u>
	95

FARM

Wisconsin	11
Nebraska	5
Kansas	7
North Dakota	3
South Dakota	4
Iowa	8
Minnesota	<u>10</u>
	48

MOUNTAIN

	Electoral Votes
Idaho	4
Wyoming	3
Arizona	6
Utah	4
New Mexico	4
Colorado	7
Montana	4
Nevada	<u>3</u>
	35

FAR WEST

Washington	9
Oregon	6
Hawaii	4
Alaska	<u>3</u>
	22

OTHERS

Indiana	13
District of Columbia	3
Delaware	<u>3</u>
	19

STATES LIKELY TO BE TARGETED BY MC GOVERN

(Slightly Higher Nixon Priority)

Electoral Votes

Missouri	12
Iowa	8
North Dakota	3
Nebraska	5
Kansas	7
Montana	4
Idaho	4
Wyoming	3
Colorado	7
New Mexico	4
Nevada	3
Washington	<u>9</u>
Total:	69

60 DAYS TO VICTORY

VOTER IDENTIFICATION CANVASS/REGISTRATION/VOTER TURN OUT

CALENDAR

<u>Date</u>	<u>Task Description</u>	<u>Person Responsible</u>
August		
15	Appoint ORGANIZATION Chairman	County Nixon Chairman
18	Determine and rank priority precincts	ORGANIZATION Chairman
21	Complete appointment of ORGANIZATION Recruitment Materials, Registration, Canvass/Turn-out, Headquarters and Special Ballots Directors and Ballot Security Chairman	ORGANIZATION Chairman
22	Begin transferring names from registration lists to Canvass Sheets in street and block order. (NON-KEY STATES)	Materials Director
25	Meet with ORGANIZATION Directors to schedule county programs and divide responsibilities	County Nixon and ORGANIZATION Chairman
28	Open County Nixon Headquarters	Headquarters Director
28	Decide material needs for each precinct. Procure materials and begin to assemble canvass kits	Materials Director
29	Begin recruiting boiler room phoners who will call for canvass volunteers	Recruitment Director
30	Secure locations for area Nixon Headquarters	Headquarters Director
September		
1	Order "How to Register" and "How to Vote Absentee" brochures from State Nixon Headquarters	Materials Director
4	Complete plans for first canvass on September 9	Canvass/Turnout Director
6	Recruit Deputy Registrars (if law permits) and brief them	Registration Director
7	Complete all recruitment for first canvass	Recruitment Director
9	VOTER IDENTIFICATION/REGISTRATION CANVASSING BEGINS	ALL LEADERSHIP
11	ORGANIZATION Leadership meeting to plan for National Canvass Kickoff on September 16	ALL LEADERSHIP

<u>Date</u>	<u>Task Description</u>	<u>Person Responsible</u>
September		
11	First tabulation report to Computer Center for direct mail (KEY STATES)	ORGANIZATION Chairman
16	National Kick-off of voter identification/registration canvass with Surrogate Speakers and other dignitaries participating	ALL LEADERSHIP
18	Begin absentee and registration follow-up from canvass results	Headquarter Director Special Ballots Director Registration Director
18	First state tabulation report to Washington headquarters of canvass results	State Nixon Chairman
18	Second tabulation report to Computer Center for direct mail (KEY STATES)	ORGANIZATION Chairman
25	Continue canvass until all priority precincts are completed	Canvass/Turnout Director
25	Second state tabulation report to Washington headquarters of canvass results	State Nixon Chairman
25	Third tabulation report to Computer Center for direct mail (KEY STATES)	ORGANIZATION Chairman
October		
2	Third state tabulation report to Washington headquarters of canvass results	State Nixon Chairman
2	Fourth tabulation report to Computer Center for direct mail (KEY STATES)	ORGANIZATION Chairman
7	Begin absentee and special ballots drive	Special Ballots Director
7	Conclude all canvassing for registration purposes (unless state law provides for registration after October 7)	ALL LEADERSHIP
7	Complete all registration follow-up. Canvass only registered voters now (unless state law permits registration after this date)	Registration Director
9	Begin securing additional headquarters required for Election Day Turnout	Headquarters Director
9	Fourth state tabulation report to Washington headquarters of canvass results	State Nixon Chairman

<u>Date</u>	<u>Task Description</u>	<u>Person Responsible</u>
October		
9	Fifth tabulation report to Computer Center for direct mail (KEY STATES)	ORGANIZATION Chairman
16	Fifth state tabulation report to Washington headquarters of canvass results	State Nixon Chairman
16	Begin recruitment of volunteers for Election Day Turnout Activities	Recruitment Director
16	Begin recruitment of volunteers for poll checking on election day (where state law allows)	Recruitment Director Ballot Security Chairman
16	Complete Ballot Security (protection) plans for election day and begin recruiting poll watchers	Ballot Security Chairman
16	Begin transferring favorables to Election Day Call Sheets (NON-KEY STATES) (Key states will receive printout of favorables)	Materials Director
23	Sixth state tabulation report to Washington headquarters of canvass results	State Nixon Chairman
24	ORGANIZATION Leadership meeting to finalize Election Day plans	ALL LEADERSHIP
30	Seventh and final state tabulation report to Washington headquarters of canvass results. Conclude all canvassing	State Nixon Chairman
November		
2	Begin reminder phone calls to confirm Election Day volunteers	Recruitment Director
2	Conclude Absentee and Special Ballots Drive (check state law for last day for absentee voting)	Special Ballots Director
4	Complete arrangements for Election Day activities conducted from County and Area Headquarters	Headquarters Director
7	<u>ELECTION DAY TURNOUT ACTIVITIES AND BALLOT SECURITY PROGRAM</u>	ALL LEADERSHIP
8	<u>Celebrate Election Victory</u>	
10	Write thank you notes to all volunteers	ALL LEADERSHIP

NON-REPUBLICAN SCHEDULE

DIRECT MAIL

<u>STATE</u>	<u>NON-REPUBLICAN LETTER</u> <u>DELIVERY: September 14</u>	<u>NON-REPUBLICAN LETTER</u> <u>DELIVERY: October 6</u>	<u>"GET OUT THE VOTE"</u> <u>TELEGRAM</u> <u>DELIVERY: November 2</u>			
	<table border="1"><tr><td>Letter Window Envelope</td></tr></table>	Letter Window Envelope	<table border="1"><tr><td>Letter Pledge Card Window Envelope</td></tr></table>	Letter Pledge Card Window Envelope	<table border="1"><tr><td>Telegram Form Window Envelope</td></tr></table>	Telegram Form Window Envelope
Letter Window Envelope						
Letter Pledge Card Window Envelope						
Telegram Form Window Envelope						
CALIFORNIA	3,000,000	1,250,000				
COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS	960,000	720,000				
NEW JERSEY	800,000	600,000				
PENNSYLVANIA	<u>1,500,000</u>	<u>1,125,000</u>				
TOTALS	<u>6,260,000</u>	<u>3,695,000</u>				

CALIFORNIA

<u>PERCENT</u>	<u>SEGMENT</u>	<u>LETTER - COPY POINTS</u>
5.0	Italian	Local, Busing, Taxes, Parochial Aid, Drugs
5.0	Other Jewish	Social Security, e.g., Humanitarian, Israel, Education, Environment, Defense, Peace
6.7	Los Angeles Spanish	Education, Government Jobs, Local, Health, Opportunity
3.3	San Diego Spanish	Education, Government Jobs, Local, Health, Opportunity
1.7	Other Spanish	Education, Government Jobs, Employment, Housing, Health, Opportunity
16.7	Peripheral Urban Ethnic Ring	Amnesty, Crime, Drugs, Inflation & Taxes, Employment, Busing
16.7	Other Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation
6.7	Veterans	Amnesty, Defense, Vietnam, Peace
15.0	High Income	Taxes, Economy, Defense, Peace
23.3	Middle Income	Drugs, Defense, Inflation & Taxes, Busing

COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

<u>PERCENT</u>	<u>SEGMENT</u>	<u>LETTER - COPY POINTS</u>
7.3	Italian	Local, Busing, Taxes, Parochial Aid, Drugs
6.2	Irish	Local, Taxes, Parochial Aid, Welfare, Busing
6.2	Polish	Local, Taxes, Drugs, Peace/Defense, Busing
6.2	Jewish	Local, Israel, Humanity, Ecology, Taxes
26.0	Other Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation
10.4	High Income	Taxes, Economy, Defense, Peace
22.9	Middle Income Remain	Drugs, Defense, Inflation & Taxes, Busing
3.2	Spanish	Education, Government Jobs, Employment, Housing, Health, Opportunity, Parochial Aid

PER JENSEN

<u>PERCENT</u>	<u>SEGMENT</u>	<u>LETTER - COPY POINTS</u>
5.9	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Italian	School Aid, Peace, Muggers, Local
5.1	Other Jewish	Social Security, e.g., Humanitarian, Israel, Education, Environment, Defense, Peace
24.6	Peripheral Urban Ethnic & Other	Amnesty, Crime, Drugs, Inflation & Taxes, Employment, Busing
5.9	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation, Drugs, Crime
14.4	Other Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation
16.9	High Income	Taxes, Economy, Defense, Peace
22.0	Middle Income	Drugs, Defense, Inflation & Taxes, Busing
5.1	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Jewish	Israel, Defense, Education, Crime

PENNSYLVANIA

<u>PERCENT</u>	<u>SEGMENT</u>	<u>LETTER - COPY POINTS</u>
4.9	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Italian	School Aid, Peace, Muggers, Local
4.2	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Irish & Polish	School Aid, Crime, Welfare, Busing
4.2	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Jewish	Israel, Defense, Education, Crime
6.3	Other Jewish	Social Security, e.g., Humanitarian, Israel, Education, Environment, Defense, Peace
7.0	Peripheral Urban Ethnic - Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation, Drugs, Crime
17.5	Peripheral Urban Ethnic & Other	Amnesty, Crime, Drugs, Inflation & Taxes, Employment, Busing
17.5	Other Old	Social Security, Transportation, Vietnam, Inflation
17.5	High Income	Taxes, Economy, Defense, Peace
21.0	Middle Income Russian	Drugs, Defense, Inflation & Taxes, Busing

AGRICULTURAL CAMPAIGN

Thanks to the effective work of Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, farmers have visibility and a "friend in Washington". This is a tremendous "plus" for the President's re-election campaign. The challenge is to hold and turn out the farm vote which is now predisposed toward the President. A husband and wife team have been selected to head "Farm Families for the President" committees in these states. *The emphasis of their effort will be on organization; several area chairmen (possibly making up a state committee); county chairman, and, if appropriate, local (township) chairman. Agribusiness should also be involved in this organizational structure--either in a supportive role to the above organization or as a parallel committee. These groups should undertake campaign activities which include:

- . Operation of booths at state and county fairs, and similar farm related meetings, conventions and rural events. Distribution of campaign materials, taking straw votes and publicizing results.
- . Initiating a well coordinated "letters to the editor" drive in rural weekly newspapers in support of the President, his policies and programs. These would cover both farm issues and other national and international affairs and be coordinated from Washington.
- . Provide manpower for the direct mail campaign to selected farmers in the state. **Local farm family volunteers will address and mail material furnished (along with mailing list) to them from the Agricultural Division.
- . Support state and county Re-election Committee chairmen in canvassing, voter identification drives, and get-out-the-vote efforts as a part of the overall campaign team.

* Chairmen not yet selected in Maryland, New Jersey or Texas.

** Except in New York.

JEWISH VOTERS

A prototype plan for activity within the individual states where there is a significant Jewish community has been designed and is available for implementation. The best basic approach for organizing the Jewish community for the campaign effort is first to identify the broadest range of leadership within the community. The format is then to put together an opening event with community leaders to include as broad a range and as large a group of this leadership as possible. The leading Jewish layman in the country, Max Fisher of Detroit, is usually available as a speaker of this group, together with someone like Leonard Garment of the White House Staff. Issues both in terms of Jewish and non-Jewish areas are presented. From this meeting, a consensus of support and the impetus of future activity emerges so that implementation for campaign activity itself can immediately begin.

From this group of community leaders, the political committee will be formed. The structure of the committee will include a chairman chosen by the committee-at-large, and subcommittees responsible for the following functional areas: speakers bureau recruitment of volunteers, media, endorsements, and direct mail/brochure distribution. The Chairman will designate a Chief of Staff to control the day to day operations of the subcommittees and the heads for each of these subcommittees. The subcommittees will be staffed from the membership of the general committee on the basis of the respective talents and demonstrated interests of those individuals.

Activity in the individual key states is not organized functionally on a state level, but on an individual community level; hence, there is not a Pennsylvania State Jewish Chairman, rather, there is a Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, as well as Harrisburg, etc. Jewish Chairman. Therefore, instead of having a state committee set up, the activity is structured in the individual Jewish communities.

California: The major operation in California is in Los Angeles under the chairmanship of Albert Spiegel who is currently the President of the Los Angeles Jewish Federation, the largest and most important Jewish community in Southern California.

In Northern California, the main focus is on San Francisco and Oakland under the chairmanship of Harold Dobbs and Louis Milenbach respectively.

Illinois: Since 90% of the Jewish population in Illinois is in Chicago, that is the major focal point.

Who is chmn

Pennsylvania: Philadelphia is the only major city in the country with a strong Jewish-Republican involvement and the program is expected to go well. An organization is also being set up in Pittsburgh. Over 80% of the Jewish population is centered in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh but a limited amount of activity is also planned in the areas of Wilkes-Barre/Scranton and Harrisburg.

Maryland: The largest Jewish population in Maryland is centered in Baltimore and Baltimore County and organization will be centered there. There will also be activity in the Montgomery County (Silver Spring-Bethesda) area.

New Jersey: The bulk of the Jewish population is in Essex County. In New Jersey, the Jewish community is heavily suburban and individually dispersed so that operations here will be more difficult.

Connecticut: The largest part of the Jewish community here is centered in Hartford. There has also been some discussion of bringing in other communities such as Bridgeport, Stamford, etc.

New York: Of the 2,400,000 Jews in the state, 1,700,000 live in New York City and most efforts will be concentrated in this area. The situation for the suburban and up-state areas will be more difficult.

Ohio: Activities are projected to take place in Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Toledo, Akron and Youngstown.

Texas: Activity will be concentrated in Dallas and Houston, since the Jewish population in Texas is centered basically in these cities.

Michigan: 90% of the Jewish population is concentrated in Detroit. Given the strength of Max Fisher in this city, there should be little trouble in being effective in this community.

OLDER AMERICANS

Older Americans Division will provide demographic information, access to U.S. Government material to the extent legally possible, printed and other promotional materials developed both at 1701 and the RNC, access to appropriate elderly spokesmen; access to the President and First Family where appropriate; copies of the HEW film; access to and strong support from Older Americans Division field staff in carrying out assigned projects and dissemination of prepared materials.

The State Older Americans Chairman will be given six specific responsibilities in addition to those assigned him by the Nixon State Chairman:

1. Recruitment of volunteers for the State Nixon organization.
2. The identification and subsequent political organization in every nursing home, senior center, nutrition project, elderly housing project, etc. within his state.
3. The organization and conduct of Older Americans Forums within each key county and other major political subdivisions (see description below).
4. The organization of door to door canvassing teams where required by the State Telephone/Direct Mail operations, and requested by the State or County Nixon Chairman.
5. Establishment and maintenance of contact with the key individuals in the local chapters of the National and State elderly membership organizations.
6. To make adequate provisions for Election Day activities to ensure that the older voters get to the polls.

Of course, these activities, as well as all others, will be undertaken in close cooperation with the State Nixon Chairman.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

July 31, 1972

FROM: ALEX ARMENDARIZ *aa*

SUBJECT: SPANISH-SPEAKING ACTIVITIES IN THE KEY STATES

1. California-It will be the prime target, consuming about 35% of our efforts. These efforts will be concentrated in Southern California, the Bay Area, and the Sacramento Valley. Activities will include media advertising, direct mail, house-to-house canvassing, storefront operations, Presidential and surrogate appearances, a volunteer drive with a goal of 8,000 by Labor Day, a support for the President petition with a goal of 350,000 signatures, endorsements, and Election Day activities. A comprehensive survey of the Los Angeles Spanish-Speaking community is providing guidelines for these activities.
2. Illinois-Efforts will be concentrated around Chicago. Activities will include media advertising, direct mail, house-to-house canvassing, Presidential and surrogate appearances, a volunteer drive with a goal of 2,000 by Labor Day, a support-for-the-President petition with a goal of 250,000 signatures, endorsements, and Election Day activities. A comprehensive survey of the Chicago Spanish-speaking community is providing guidelines for these activities.
3. New Jersey-Efforts will center around the New York suburbs in the northeastern part of the state. Activities will include Presidential and surrogate appearances, a volunteer drive with a goal of 1,000 by Labor Day, a support for the President petition with a goal of 20,000 signatures, endorsements, and Election Day activities. New York media activities will reach these voters.
4. New York-Efforts will be concentrated in New York City. Activities will include media advertising, direct mail, house-to-house canvassing, Presidential and surrogate appearances, a volunteer drive with a goal of 3,000 by Labor Day, a support for the President petition with a goal of 150,000 signatures, endorsements, and Election Day activities. A comprehensive survey of the New York City Spanish speaking community is providing the guidelines for these activities.
5. Pennsylvania-Efforts will be concentrated in Philadelphia. Activities may include surrogate appearances, a volunteer drive with a goal of 1,000 by Labor Day, a support for the President petition with a goal of 10,000 signatures, and Election Day activities.

6. Texas-It will be one of our major targets, consuming about 25% of our efforts, which will be centered around the central and southern parts of the state. Activities will include media advertising, direct mail, house-to-house canvassing, storefront operations, Presidential and surrogate appearances, a volunteer drive with a goal of 6,000 by Labor Day, a support for the President petition with a goal of 250,000 signatures, endorsements, and Election Day activities. A comprehensive survey of the San Antonio Spanish-speaking community is providing guidelines for these activities.
 7. Connecticut-Efforts will be concentrated around Hartford and Bridgeport. Activities may include surrogate appearances, a volunteer drive with a goal of 500 by Labor Day, a support for the President petition with a goal of 10,000 signatures, endorsements, and Election Day activities. New York media activities will reach these voters.
 8. Michigan-(Detroit)
 9. Ohio-(Cleveland)
 10. Maryland-(Washington suburbs, Baltimore)
- Some Efforts will be made to reach voters in these three states through a volunteer drive, support-of-the-President petition, and campaign material.

August 3, 1972

FOR THE PRESIDENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~FROM: KEN RIETZ *K.R.*SUBJECT: Young Voters Campaign

In May of 1971, Senator Brock submitted an initial proposal for capturing the youth vote. That plan was accepted by Mr. Mitchell and put into operation through the Young Voters for the President (YVP) organization created July 1, 1971.

Early research among young people showed that while the President's policies were popular among young people and there had been a continual shift in sentiment toward the President from 1968-1971, there was substantial media-created peer group pressure among young people which prevented them from publicly supporting the President. It had become an "in" thing to be publicly against the President among the young even though they agreed with his policies.

It was at this peer group pressure that the Young Voters campaign was aimed.

The YVP campaign plan called for involving 500,000 under 30 age people. These young volunteers were to be used for the real campaign work - voter registration drives, door-to-door

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canvasses, telephone surveys, etc. Emphasis was to be placed on public involvement which forced the media to report initially that all young people were not against the President and in the final stages that the majority of young people were for the President. It was felt that only through this public exposure of young people for the President would a majority of young Americans ever become comfortable in voting for the President.

The campaign was broken into six stages:

1) The July to November period was the planning stage. During this period the final plan was drawn, initial staff hired, materials outlined, and first states organized.

2) The November to March period was the initial organization building stage and testing phase. During this period YVP organizations were built in the primary states and tested. Mock elections were emphasized and initial publicity generated.

3) The March to the Democratic National Convention period was the final organization building stage. During this stage we were to complete the national organization and concentrate on door-to-door voter registration drives. We would try to publicly identify the YVP campaign while not putting a major emphasis on publicity.

4) The period from the Democratic convention through the Republican convention was to be our major publicity period. During this time we would identify the YVP structure, publicize the number of young people involved, have a major national youth event (August 12, Young Voters for the President registration day) and compare the kind of young people involved with our campaign with those of the opponent. The highlight of this period will be the special youth activity at the Republican National Convention where 3,000 young people pay their own way to the convention to work for the President's renomination.

5) The period from the GOP convention to October 15 is the special event phase. During this period we will have 20 special youth events in the key youth states. These will vary from a country music voter registration rally in Anaheim stadium to a street dance in suburban Detroit. All of these will be major

with 10,000-30,000 young people and top name entertainment. The emphasis here will be on publicizing millions of young people for the President.

6) The October 15 to election day period is when the young volunteers go to work full-time for the local state organizations on get out the vote efforts. Hopefully, they will form the real core of each state's volunteer organization.

To run this national youth organization (37 states now organized) we have a staff of 100 full-time people (50% paid). The country is broken down into seven regions - Northwest, Northeast, Border States, Southwest, Southeast, Farm States, Midwest, and California - and full-time field directors (except for Farm) are hired in each region. We have a girl in the Northeast and a Black in the Midwest. These regional directors supervise the activities in the states. The major states have full-time YVP directors.

Although the emphasis is on state and local organizations, recruiting and conducting voter registration drives, four programs are operated nationally:

- 1) A speakers program to supply speakers for youth groups. This includes Congressmen, Senators, Governors, and state legislators. It also includes young people we recruit, train, and supply materials. Today we have over 1,000 of these young people speaking nationwide.
- 2) A college program to organize colleges on a precinct basis. All students will be canvassed in September and selected mock elections held. Targeted registration drives and direct mail programs to freshmen are being set up.
- 3) A Nixonette program to involve young women. They not only serve as hostesses and receptionists but also work in registration drives and voter canvasses.
- 4) A convention program to involve 3,000 young people in the convention. These young people are paying their own way and will work as secretaries, receptionists, ushers, aids to delegations, press assistants, etc.

Highlights of the YVP program thus far have been:

- Building the largest youth organization in the history of the New Hampshire primary. We had over 1,000 young people involved the last 5 days.
- Winning 104 (90%) mock elections.
- Receiving the endorsement of 150 college and university student body leaders.
- Recruiting 125,000 volunteers.
- Receiving substantial national publicity about youth support for the President.

The Gallup poll published last week supports our contention over the past year that no democrat can lay claim to the youth vote. Following is a chart which projects the total vote today based on the Gallup survey. It shows clearly that McGovern loses the election among unregistered voters and that an effort should be aimed at registering these people. We also believe the college registration figure to be substantially inflated since most college students will not admit to being unregistered.

Youth Vote (18-24) Based on Gallup Poll

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Votes</u> (millions)	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Votes</u> (millions)
Total	43%		50%	
67% of college students (4.7 million) registered	32%	1.5	64%	3.0
33% of college students (2.3 million) not registered	42%	.9	56%	1.3
47% of non-college youth (8.5 million) registered	48%	4.1	51%	4.3
53% of non-college youth (9.5 million) not registered	48%	4.6	39%	3.7
Total vote of registered voters		5.5		7.3
Total vote of unregistered voters		5.5		5.0
Total vote if all young people registered		11.0		12.3
Total vote if 70% register		7.6		8.0

Youth vote (18-30) based on Gallup Poll

Nixon 47% McGovern 49%

The shift in youth support has been toward the President during the past three years. It is our feeling that the shift continued through the Democratic primaries despite the McGovern campaign for young voters and will continue during the next three months bringing the President to at least a 50-50 share in the total youth population and probably a slight edge among young people registered.

To emphasize the shift toward the President, the large number of our young volunteers and general support among young people for the President, during the next two weeks we will:

- ✓ A) Hold national Young Voters for the President registration day on August 12. The emphasis will be on media coverage of the thousands of volunteers.
- ✓ B) Feature articles in national news magazines about the 125,000 youth volunteers, youth voter registration drives and the special convention program.
- ✓ C) Press conferences in the states with young people going to the convention.
- ✓ D) National feature articles on 6-10 of the young people who have earned their own money to be able to go to the convention.
- ✓ E) Special youth testimony at the platform hearings.
- ✓ F) Convention press activities including:
 - ✓ 1) All young people photographed on arrival and photos sent to hometown newspapers.
 - ✓ 2) Film clips of young people from major media centers mailed to hometown TV stations.
 - ✓ 3) Radio activities transmitted to radio outlets in the major media areas.
 - ✓ 4) Young people available to the press for individual interviews.
 - ✓ 5) Press conference to announce:
 - Young Voters national chairman. We are looking for a woman 18-25. *Pam Powell*
 - Student leaders for the President. We will have 300 with 50 in Miami.
 - Vocational education leaders for the President.
 - Young labor leaders for the President.

Polls of Key Precincts Show Nixon Strong

8/13

This is the first of five articles by Samuel Lubell, a public opinion researcher whose methods of surveying key districts carefully selected areas has yielded remarkably accurate predictions and analyses of election patterns and returns since 1952.

By SAMUEL LUBELL

On the eve of the Republican National convention in Miami, Richard Nixon seems well on his way to re-election with good prospects of carrying states like New York and Pennsylvania.

In 39 carefully selected election precincts across the country, every fourth person interviewed who voted for Hubert Humphrey in 1968 now talks of shifting to Nixon.

The President is also attracting the bulk of George Wallace's 1968 vote in the South, and two of every three 1968 Wallace supporters in non-Southern States—a heavier shift to Nixon than prevailed last April before the mining of North Vietnam's harbors.

(The Star-News Survey recently reported finding in the Washington suburbs a Democratic defection rate similar to the national trend reported here by Lubell.)

On the hopeful side for George McGovern, his one real surge of support comes from young first voters, who back him by a three to two margin in the election precincts sampled. These precincts range widely in voters makeup, from worker neigh-

borhoods to well-to-do Republican suburbs.

Many youths are breaking from the voting of strongly Republican parents. Always the protest runs "Nixon promised to end the war but didn't" or "He takes troops out of Vietnam and sneaks them around the corner to Thailand."

The youth vote by itself will not elect McGovern. What

gives the South Dakota senator a fighting chance in November are the fierce passions and disgusts that divide so many voters.

In city after city—New York, Los Angeles, Denver, Buffalo, Rochester, Indianapolis, Detroit—one finds people denouncing both Nixon and McGovern.

The same voter who will explode against McGovern as "a gutless coward" or "a defeatist who'd sell out to the communists" will go on to attack Nixon as "a tool of big business", or complain, "Nixon froze my wages, but let prices go up" and "He's letting these companies send too much work overseas.

McGovern may also be helped by a "tell me more" curiosity that still prevails, "I'd like to vote Democratic but what could someone from South Dakota know about our problems?"

But the difficulties McGovern has to overcome run deeper than his own controversial views or personality. The real key to the elections, in fact, lies in one astonishing yet almost forgotten fact.

'... And Stay There'

Exactly a year ago Nixon seemed certain to be defeated.

Even among Republicans, the comments voiced most frequently about him then were, "He's too slow" and "He takes too long." In some precincts a third of the Republicans interviewed were ready to vote against him. So turned out were most voters that even his announcement that he

would visit Red China was shrugged off.

One typical comment given me was, "He should go there and stay there." Not until he instituted the wage-price freeze did the voters tune him back in.

How the mood of the electorate was altered with such blitzkrieg speed in a single year remains the great untold story of the 1972 election.

The effects of that year of decision will dominate the remainder of the campaign and shape much of the future of our country after the voting is over.

Between the summers of 1971 and 1972, there were three happenings:

First, the whole election was turned into a gigantic psychological contest—more accurately a psychological war—with the voters themselves serving as the terrain of battle, rigged for emotional booby traps and economic ambushes.

Second, in the course of waging his end of this psyche war, Richard Nixon transformed the presidential election process, probably for good.

Nothing Untouched

Specifically, he organized and pushed through what can be described best as our first total election—total in the precise sense that virtually nothing was overlooked that might change or sway voter feeling.

Other Presidents— notably Franklin Roosevelt— employed every power at their command to gain re-election, but the process has never been carried through with such skill and totality as under Nixon.

From reducing war resist-

ance by easing draft calls, and selling feed grains to the Soviets, racial actions and inactions, wage-price controls and scattered tax subsidies through the economy—no aspect of American life has been untouched.

Third, during this year of total psychological war, several critical battles of opinion were fought out, pitting Americans against Americans, and bringing dramatic changes.

A year ago the national mood was dominated by two desires—to "pull out of Vietnam" and "get to work on our own domestic problems." Even avowed hawks declared, "if we're not going to win, let's come home."

In recent weeks, though, the public temper has been swinging against quick withdrawal from South Vietnam. The dominant urge now is to "bomb North Vietnam until they come around." In fact, my interviews indicate that Nixon has won public support for staying on in Indochina after the election, despite any end-of-the-war Senate vote, and until a settlement "with honor" can be forced.

Slack In Jobs

During the past year as well, unemployment, supposedly the strongest of all Democratic political guns, has misfired and become a Nixon political asset.

Thoughts that the war may be ending are intensifying arguments that the economy needs a war to prosper. Some echo the protest of a school janitor in York, Pa., "Why hasn't the President made any

preparations for the jobs we'll need when the war ends?"

Along with such grumbling, support is rising to "step up defense spending" as a means of taking up the slack in jobs.

Among workers in defense-sensitive areas, who feel threatened by defense budget cuts, quite heavy voting shifts to Nixon are taking place.

The new Defense budget could provide much the same political yield for Nixon as WPA did for Franklin Roosevelt in his 1936 landslide.

The pressures for increased defense spending seem also to be intensifying voter demands to "cut back how welfare is dished out" and "make them work and not depend on the middle class."

These heavier assaults on welfare could be particularly damaging to McGovern. A number of voters have been arguing, "McGovern wants to cut defense just to have more money to blow on welfare."

For McGovern to hold to his \$1,000 income distribution plan seems like planting a flag on quicksand.

Reviewing this whole eventful year, one conclusion stands out: By now no campaign issue stands alone. All have become packaged together into totalities of voters' emotions. Some voters remain torn by the pull of conflicting feelings on different issues.

But my interviews indicate that a majority of the electorate may be linking the same feeling—about sticking it out in Indochina, expanding defense, cutting welfare, ending school busing—into one whole, which could become the basis for a lasting coalition of Republican power.

Can McGovern's campaigning break apart these linkages? To answer that let us examine the more critical battles of voter opinion still being fought, beginning with the war and why "getting out of Vietnam" has become a phrase that means nothing and anything to everyone.

VOTERS AND JOBS

Self-Interest First

This is the second of five articles by Samuel Lubell, a public opinion researcher whose methods of surveying key districts in carefully selected areas has yielded remarkably accurate predictions and analysis of election patterns and returns since 1925.

By SAMUEL LUBELL

Special to The Star-News

"It's a hell of a thing to say but our economy needs a war. Defense spending should be increased to make more jobs for people."

That comment, voiced by a utilities worker in Fredericksburg, Va., points to one of the more striking psychological changes in the thinking of many voters over the past year.

Last summer, when Nixon seemed a sure loser, this utilities worker was an angry presidential critic. He wanted to "cut defense and all foreign aid" to "spend the money over here." Currently he favors Nixon's re-election and, along with other voters across the country, is eager to expand defense spending into the equivalent of a Works Progress Administration (WPA) that would make jobs.

Up to now the political battling over the defense budget has been pictured primarily in terms of the drastic cuts proposed by Sen. George S. McGovern. But my interviews in 17 states suggest that the statistics themselves are not too important.

What is at stake is a deeper, more agonizing issue — is it possible to vote out of office a military-industrial complex that provides more than six million jobs and spends more than \$80 billion a year?

That question is not raised with any sinister undertone.

Americans have always been encouraged to use their vote to protect and advance their self-interest. Usually individuals take for granted that their own personal interest coincides with the best interests of the country.

In a total election, though, this means that anything that already exists becomes a force that fights for its own continu-

ance. "Restructure the nation's economy" may roll on one's tongue. In real life the effort becomes an agonizing psychological ordeal.

But the election could actually strengthen our dependence on defense jobs.

McGovern starts under the added disadvantage that the Nixon administration is proving far more adept at manipulating the nation's sense of self-interest.

With ironic timing, McGovern is pressing for defense reductions just when the Defense Department, its cutbacks ended, is pumping three to four billions more a year in new contracts to communities and companies still suffering from the withdrawal symptoms of previous defense addiction.

To many voters, McGovern seems to be resurrecting fears of a new unemployment while Nixon appears as a maker or protector of jobs.

A 50-year-old ordnance mechanic at Indian Head, Md., talked proudly of how "I worked on those guns that are sitting on our ship 42 miles from Hanoi."

"I had no use for Nixon when they were going to close us down a year ago. We lost a hundred people who weren't replaced.

"Now it looks like they'll keep us open," he continued. "We got five new contracts to build guns for Vietnam. They're hiring 800 more men."

In York, Pa., a Navy purchasing clerk was voting Republican for the first time in his life. He explained, "McGovern will knock out the defense picture and that means jobs. He says he intends to find some other way to have work for people but I don't think he'll be able to do it."

"We've had our layoffs over at the defense depot," he went on. "They're about over with now. McGovern would start them up again."

A similar reaction was voiced by a Navy wife in Fredericksburg, who also was shifting to Nixon. She worked as a secretary at Ft. Belvoir; her husband did research on ocean currents for the Navy:

"There have been several RIFs (reduction in force) in the past year," she recalled. "And we still have our fingers crossed. I don't trust McGovern. He says he'll pull out of Vietnam in 30 days. I don't think he can do it. "His tax proposals will cut out our jobs."

'War Creates Jobs'

In contrast, Nixon has been passing out reassuring contracts. Last April a Goodyear worker in Akron, Ohio complained, "I don't get overtime anymore. We have men on layoff. When people retire they don't replace them."

Reinterviewed in August he reported, "we won a prime government contract. If we hadn't received it, 600 salaried employes would have been laid off."

In every community sampled the argument rages. "Do we need a war to prosper?" Often one finds McGovern supporters who oppose defense cuts. Typical comments are: "War creates lots of jobs" or "Once we get out of Vietnam, unemployment will be worse."

In Warren, Mich., a 19-year-old auto worker remarked, "I'd cut back defense a little. . ."

His wife interrupted, "keep it where it is. If we cut back people will lose their jobs."

My father's a tool and diemaker and he's been out of work for a year. The auto companies aren't changing parts. Who knows when my father will be called back? We need that defense spending for jobs."

On the same street, the wife of a 25-year-old unemployed diemaker complained, "My husband's only worked a month this year. People tell me you have to have a war or there wouldn't be jobs for anybody. Still, there must be some other work. It's not that we need war, but what would people do if there was no war?"

So deeply torn are some normally Democratic workers in conflict that they talk of not voting. A 29-year-old Ford worker said, "I don't want Nixon but McGovern doesn't turn me on."

Still this argument over whether more defense spending is needed to make work is not entirely one-sided. Fair numbers of Republicans share the indignation of an engineer's wife in Kenosha, Wis., who declared, "If this country didn't have a war the economy would fall apart. Why can't we do like the government did in the depression? Provide jobs to build dams and piers? My father planted trees."

The hunger for more work opportunity shows up in repeated demands to "bring back WPA" and "make jobs like Roosevelt did with the CCC."

Partly this is tied to a desire to "get people off welfare." But it also reflects the fact that in communities which have lost defense contracts workers complain of losing factories to the South or to foreign countries. A machinist's wife in Philadelphia expressed a typical protest when she said, "We're having layoffs because they're sending our work to Japan."

Withdrawal symptoms can be remarkably persistent. In one Rochester, N.Y., precinct, for example, a fourth of the voters interviewed had been hurt in some way when General Dynamics closed out the F-111 airplane. Nearly all of those who had been hurt were opposed to a reduction in defense spending.

A total election splashes all issues one upon another.

The strongest resentments to arguments that the economy needs a war are voiced by families with draft-aged sons. "I don't see why our young people have to go and die just to keep the economy going."

A fireman's wife in Rochester, N.Y., started the interview by saying, "we must stick with the President on the war. But I don't think we can bomb those people into submission. I have a brother who is 16. How long will the war go on?"

"My parents are Republicans," she continued. "Mother argues with father, 'Dump Nixon and get this war ended.' But when I tell this to my husband he says if we pulled out now the unemployment would be terrible."

NEXT: Why getting out of the war means nothing to everybody.

WHAT THE PUBLIC IS SAYING

Pullout Fading as Issue

This is the third of five articles by Samuel Lubell, a public opinion researcher whose methods of surveying key districts in carefully selected areas have yielded remarkably accurate predictions and analyses of election patterns and returns since 1952.

By SAMUEL LUBELL
Special to The Star-News

Of all the psychological victories scored by Richard Nixon this year, none has been more far-reaching than his gaining a free hand to resist pressures for quick withdrawal from Vietnam.

Congress may continue to debate and even pass resolutions demanding withdrawal by some date. In living rooms across the nation families with young sons will continue to argue intensely over "how can we get out?"

Still, if I read correctly my interviews of recent months, the public in the main is ready to:

- Chalk off expectations that we will be out by election time.
- Continue to "bomb them into giving up."
- Stay in Vietnam past the election to give Nixon time for a settlement which many voters say openly will "save face."

The war issue may still boomerang before November. It is more likely, though, that the mining of North Vietnam's harbors will have settled the election and marked the birth of what may become known as the Nixon coalition.

Ironically, Nixon's psychological triumph was precipitated by North Vietnam's Easter offensive, particularly its early successes. In my interviewing at the time I was struck by how many persons reacted to the headlines of defeat by exploding in profanity and remarks like, "Don't crawl out on our bellies," or, "We can't run like a whipped dog."

A Denver housewife urged: "Ask for volunteers to go over and invade North Vietnam. Level the place and pull out."

High praise of Harry Truman began to pepper my notes. What people liked, it turned out, was that "he had the courage to drop the big bomb on those orientals."

My interviews show that it was the President's Haiphong action, and the Russian inaction, that started the big swing of Democrats and northern Wallaceites to Nixon.

"He stood up to Russia and that took guts" was the general reaction. The rankling sense of a humiliating defeat was replaced by pride of vindication in what many voters, particularly the George Wallace supporters, had contended for years — fight it like a war, go in with everything.

Since then the dominant mood has been one of "Show them whos boss," and "Don't let up until we bring them to their knees."

Many of the impassioned attacks on Sen. George McGovern reflect the anger that "he wants to back down when we have them on the run" or "he'd pull out just when we're winning."

Much of the pro-Nixon sentiment is anything but hawkish. His supporters say he inherited the war, or he's doing a good job getting the troops out, or "No one could do better."

His Vietnam policy is also gaining favor because of spreading fears that "pulling out everything will bust the economy."

Will this pro-Nixon tide be reversed before the election?

Two factors are worth noting.

First, much of Nixon's current war support reflects a demand for a military victory and even to destroy the ene-

my. A conciliatory election-eve settlement might be resented as a cynical sellout.

An FBI agent in the Cheverly suburb and a security guard at the Bethlehem shipyards at Baltimore expressed this thought:

"I don't think Nixon would go that low and political."

Second, more significant, is what may happen if, despite all the bombing, the North Vietnamese simply refuse to yield.

This is the great intangible that troubles much of the country. Today, many who support Nixon's tough policy do so with misgivings. Some complain "we'll be pouring billions into Vietnam when we should be feeding our own, or that "We shouldn't be bombing dikes and killing civilians."

But the keenest anxieties are voiced by parents who fear that the war may be lengthened — or even that we may be forced back in — so it would entrap their young sons.

In almost every precinct sampled the same familiar argument goes on. "My husband calls me a quitter," said one mother in Rock Island, Ill., "but I don't see why we can't bring everybody home. I have three boys, and with what women's lib is saying about equal rights my girls will have to go too."

Basic Differences

In West York, Pa., a grinder's wife, always Republican until now, said, "I'm becoming more and more concerned about the war. Our oldest son is 17 and we have four more coming up. The South Vietnamese are relying on us too much and not trying hard enough on their own. McGovern's war stand is his one good issue."

Often this war cleavage involves basic differences in life in the Union Turnpike section of Queens, N.Y. A sanitation worker's wife explained, "I'm a good Catholic. We have to stop communism. We can't let up. Bomb them until they give in."

Her husband shook his head. "They'll never give in. We'll have to compromise."

Two of their sons were free of the draft but the youngest one, now 17, worried them because "he has such free ideas."

As long as North Vietnam holds, both Republican and Democratic families will continue to be agitated by fears that "this war will get our sons."

Still my own net judgment is that no dramatic anti-Nixon reversal of the current war mood is likely. That conclusion reflects the response given to the question, "What does pulling out of the war mean to you?"

'Stay in Thailand'

A Kenosha bartender replied, "it means pull out period."

Other persons who start by replying, "we have to get out altogether," go on to add "but" — "leave an air force . . . have a base nearby so we can hold things under control . . ."

"Until the prisoners are released—keep our Navy there . . . stay in Thailand."

Perhaps these inhibitions against complete withdrawal are leftover effects of the psychological war over Vietnam that has raged in this country since at least 1964.

I have interviewed about the war through all those years but never have found so much confusion about what "getting out" means as today. The phrase no longer has any clear meaning. Its use should be dropped if we are to stop fooling each other.

TOMORROW: What everyone should know about psych war.

Voters Sense

Choice a Basic One

This is the fourth of five articles by Samuel Lubell, a public opinion researcher whose methods of surveying key districts in carefully selected areas have yielded remarkably accurate predictions and analysis of election patterns and returns since 1952.

By SAMUEL LUBELL
Special to The Star-News

While interviewing across the country this year, I often felt that I was being forced to become a new kind of war correspondent, trying to make sense of an election that has become a gigantic psychological war for the nation's voters.

Repeatedly, I scribbled into my notebook this message: "Write what psych-war really means, not as seen by politicians in Washington, but which manipulations actually change votes."

My over-all conclusion may startle those political experts and commentators who believe that elections are settled by inspiring speeches, great debates or image-making tricks.

Neither words nor theatricals are too important. What does have a decisive impact is the power to commit the country's future.

These commitments take varied forms. Sometimes the fish hook of commitment becomes lodged in a nation's throat, voter opinion will thrash about furiously, like a powerful but helpless sailfish.

Vietnam Fish Hook

This, of course, is the story of the Vietnam war. By sending bombers over North Vietnam in 1965, Lyndon Johnson committed the United States to a vast escalation of a war that has thrashed on for more than seven years, even though most Americans say, "It was

a mistake to ever get in it."

President Nixon's mining of Haiphong Harbor in May gained him the sweeping voter support he needed to exercise a free hand in Indochina until after the election, my interviews indicate.

Millions of Americans are still fighting to dislodge the Vietnam fish hook from their craws. But many of the new Nixon supporters, while talking of "getting out," are really searching for some way of staying in Indochina indefinitely, if it can be done without losing American lives.

Some justifications offered for keeping an American base in Indochina are amusing. A stationery store owner in New York city explained, "Look how close Vietnam is to Hawaii." Asked how close Vietnam was, he conceded, "I've never looked at the map."

Ratify or Reject

To retain the presidency, Nixon has taken a succession of actions which have already restructured economic and political power in the country. Any campaign the Republicans wage will be like the tip of an iceberg compared to the largest aspect which represents the future of America, both at home and abroad.

The voters sense this fact, that they really are being asked to ratify or reject these changes which, I believe, explains the special intensity of voter feeling that now prevails.

Political writers like to say that "the American people vote against, not for, candidates." In this year's election, Americans are voting against other Americans.

What are they fighting about? Jobs, for one thing—who is to make them and who

is to get them? How are taxes to be paid—or, more accurately, to be evaded?

Here my interviews indicate two commitments are shaping the battle that divides the voters:

First, the priorities of Nixon's uneven economic recovery which strengthened the job-making powers of both business and the military-industrial complex.

Second, the acceptance by both political parties of continued inflation on some scale for years to come.

Scramble for Himself

How does one report the political effects of a general expectation that one's earnings and savings will continue to lose real value by several percentage points each year?

Sometimes I have pictured continued inflation as a siege or blockade, sometimes as having lost air control over one's own country, exposing the people to constant bombardment from every side, unable to tell whether the bombs come from friends or enemies.

Whichever it is, siege or fragmentation bombs, the effect is much the same: To drive everyone to scramble for himself, avoiding hurt as best as he can while trying to push off the cost onto someone else.

Even enthusiastic supporters of the war don't seem to think they should pay their share of its cost.

This past year has brought an impressive surge in the anxieties being voiced about retirement plans. No one's home seems to have enough shelter against the rain of bombs from the inflationary skies.

The wife of a 43-year-old machinist at the Rock Island,

Ill., arsenal complained, "We get \$300 a month on retirement, but by that time \$300 won't be worth anything."

On a nearby street a fireman employed by the city of Rock Island protested, "The teachers have a better plan than the firefighters. We get no cost-of-living increases in our retirement."

Tensions Are Tightening

This has become a nearly universal complaint, of working for different departments complaining that other city workers have better benefits. Factory workers point to the preferences government workers enjoy and vice-versa.

My interviews suggest a great desire in the country for equality in pension and hospitalization.

In Bancroft, Iowa, a post office clerk complained, "They reduced the retirement age to cut down on their employes. But then you find your pension is reduced. They want me to get out, but I have a 15-year-old son to put through college."

How these economic tensions are tightening can be seen in the responses to the question: "What government spending would you want to cut? What would you want to increase?"

Before the North Vietnamese offensive, the general run of replies was to urge reductions in spending on space, military and defense. Wallace supporters recorded a different pattern, preferring to slash welfare and foreign aid first.

My last interviews reveal a marked surge in demands to cut off welfare: Pressures to lower defense spending have dropped since the mining of Hanoi's harbors, and the strategic arms limitations agree-

ment was reached. Pro Nixon voters, in fact, now oppose any defense cuts by 2 to 1; the McGovern voters interviewed so far divide evenly.

Nixon's higher military commitments, along with continued inflation, tighten the noose on meeting budgeted costs without tax increases.

This also means that the public's tax-cutting emotions are being forced into a narrow pass, with insurmountable hills on each side, and which brings them out with one visible target against which to expend their wrath — the cost of welfare.

For many people, "welfare" is another side of the anti-busing issue.

McGovern's \$1,000 income distribution talk is being criticized as "a giveaway to people who won't work."

A hostile reaction could also be expected to the welfare program that Nixon has proposed, with its provision for a minimum family income. If Congress were to pass the President's plan, it could cost him votes.

Tomorrow: Does McGovern have a strategy?

Entrenched Ins, Angry Outs Vie for Vote

By SAMUEL LUBELL

Special to The Star-News

In summing up the nature of the unusual contest that lies ahead between Richard Nixon and George McGovern, one might draw an artist's sketch captioned "Castles of Power and Plains of Anger."

On the plains, the scene would be one of tumultuous commotion amid many tents, as McGovern and his aides move among the new outpourings of the young, blacks, chicanos and other elements of discontent, exhorting them with visions of a victorious assault upon the castles.

Inside the main castle the scene would be like the quiet operation of a medieval board chairman, with President Nixon nailing down every piece of available political power within reach.

Orders would be going out to allied castles to search for registered voters by repairing drawbridges and filling empty moats.

Telephone calls would check the progress of arrangements with hitherto hostile baronies of labor and castles in the South still flying Democratic flags.

If McGovern is to win, goodly numbers of castle supporters must be persuaded to join his forces, no matter how prodigious his youthful levies may prove to be.

Election Overkill

But will these castle supporters be coaxed over or scared away?

If they are scared away, the South Dakota senator might find that his crusade has only entrenched more deeply the powers and changes he has been fighting.

This threat of an election overkill seems inherent in a power struggle that is being fought with such totality as is this year's election.

This is the last of five articles by Samuel Lubell, a public opinion researcher whose methods of surveying key districts carefully selected areas have yielded remarkably accurate predictions and analyses of election patterns and returns since 1952.

At present McGovern still lacks a strategy for a total election. Nor will his needs be met by his much-publicized intention to personalize the contest into the question—Whom do you trust, McGovern or Nixon?

Some wavering Democrats can be won back to their party by anti-Nixon trumpeting. But my "psych war" reports on what is changing votes reveals one unusual feature about this year's presidential battle:

Americans are voting against other Americans over how the country's future is being restructured.

In such an election no candidate can register any political identity with the voters that is separate from where he stands on the conflicts of war, economics and race.

Special Sensitivity

The emotional turmoil being generated is particularly strong among those young people who will be casting their first presidential vote in November and who currently are backing McGovern 3 to 2.

Labels such as "radical" or "left-wing" do not describe accurately these youths interviewed in 17 states. While not so different from older voters, these youths do share a special sensitivity to two needs that dominate their lives—to get out of the war, and to get into peaceful work.

Often in their voting they are carrying with them at least one parent—usually the mother—although one 63-year-old investment banker who lives in the Chicago suburb of Wheaton confessed, "I was

always an ultra-conservative Republican but my two children gave me a second education."

Roughly a fourth of the pro-McGovern first voters interviewed so far are breaking politically with pro-Nixon parents.

In Lancaster, Pa., one young couple who had graduated from college this year remarked, "We've gotten into so many fights with our parents. They say McGovern sticks up for the bad guys—the radicals and hippies and pot smokers."

'Change Our Priorities'

"Republicans are trying to convince people they'd be better for the country," the wife went on. "But to us, getting out of Vietnam is the best thing for our country."

In South Philadelphia two first voters, both Italian-Americans, living only a block apart, personified many of the emotional conflicts dividing the nation.

"They just eliminated a thousand teaching jobs here in Philadelphia," protested one Villanova senior. "I've had to apply for a job in the Virgin Islands."

"We need to change our priorities," he urged. "Cut military spending and increase expenditures for education. We could turn defense workers into social workers."

His father, also a McGovern supporter, is "very sour on the economy. He had his own business until he went bankrupt last year."

But on nearby Emily Street a 22-year-old mechanical designer, a Nixon voter, was "better off financially than a year ago."

He thought: "We've got to keep on top of defense. You can't just let the Communists take over, but unless we stay there forever they will. Really we have no choice. We got involved so we have to stay and patch up the mistake we made getting in."

Agonizing Ordeal

"My father and four brothers, we're all going for Nixon," he added.

One brother was a Teamster. The castle arrangement with the Teamsters Union seems to be working. In seven different cities, every Teamster interviewed is voting for Nixon's re-election.

Nearly half of the young McGovernites interviewed so far are against cutting de-

fense spending. Their feelings point to another agonizing ordeal wracking our society.

Mainly factory workers and the sons of Democrats, they are troubled economically. Being young, they rank low in feudal seniority and remain most vulnerable to layoffs during a period of spotty recovery.

Some protest, "The Republicans always put you into hock." Others recall, "Last year people around here had to sell their houses and cars."

Jobs or war? Can the critical distinction be drawn between the defense spending that may provide the jobs these workers need and the war they want ended?

This same tendency for the more economically satisfied to favor Nixon also is evident among older as well as first voters. Among those who backed Hubert Humphrey in 1968 and are now for Nixon, only one in 15 is doing worse financially than a year ago. Of those sticking with McGovern a third say they are worse off.

Feelings Packaged

Among the 1968 supporters of George Wallace, Nixon fares worst with those dissatisfied economically. The big Wallaceite swing to the Republicans comes from those who are either satisfied economically or who say,

"Nixon's kept things quiet" or, "He hasn't given in to the colored like the Democrats did."

In concluding this series, two points might be made:

First, many voters are packaging their feelings about an entire range of issues — the war and defense spending, welfare and school busing, who is to make the jobs and who is to get them — into two clashing totalities.

At present the likely voting division points to the emergence of a new Nixon coalition, but McGovern still has a fighting chance to re-

verse this trend particularly if favored by changing events.

Second, in the course of the fight for the presidency, the structure of political, economic and governmental power in this country has already been transformed.

What is not yet clear is how far the change has swept — also whether the election will bring a basis for real political peace or serve as merely a cease-fire, marking off the positions for a continuing battle.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: FRED MALEK 
SUBJECT: Progress Report on Campaign
Activities

As we have discussed, it seems desirable to provide you with monthly progress reports on my campaign-related activities. Since this is the first report, it reviews overall progress and accomplishments for the first several months as well as highlighting activities of the past month. Particular focus is placed on major problems that we have encountered.

PROGRESS TO DATE

Initial Efforts

My initial efforts at 1701 were concentrated on developing an overall concept for Citizens and Voting Bloc operations. Briefly, the concept that I developed established two objectives for a 1701 Citizens group activity: (1) Developing a national public relations effort aimed at persuading members of a constituent group to vote for the President; and (2) Assisting the State Nixon organizations in the establishment of field organizations comprised of members of the particular constituent group. A Citizens group organization within a state, in turn, has two principal purposes: (1) To gain support for the President from the members of that constituency both from word-of-mouth and the conduct of special, persuasive programs; and (2) To provide workers for regular campaign activities (voter identification, registration, get-out-the vote, etc.). The concept is developed more fully in the copy of a memorandum to Mitchell at Tab A. Concurrently with the development of this concept, I focused on completing the recruiting of Citizens Directors, the development of plans and budgets, and the establishment of White House/1701 teamwork.

Recruiting. In the recruiting area, in addition to Directors already on board when I arrived, I have added the following:

- Chuck Shearer (Overall Citizens)
- Dick McAdoo (Special Ballots - Transients)
- Bill Stover (Physicians)
- Dan Piliero (Lawyers)
- Frank Naylor (Veterans)
- Tony De Falco (Ethnics)

In addition, due to the combined efforts of Chuck Colson and myself, Don Rodgers was brought on recently to cover the Labor constituency both for the White House and 1701.

Plans and Budgets. Comprehensive campaign plans for all groups except Ethnics and Labor have now been developed, and most of these have been reviewed and approved by John Mitchell. Budgets have also been developed and approved for all Citizens groups, as shown at Tab B.

Most of the groups are well into the implementation of their plans. At this point in time, the Citizens Directors have recruited fieldmen and other necessary staff, and are concentrating on working with the political coordinators and the States to develop functioning field organizations. Many of the Citizens group State Chairmen have already been selected. In a few key States, delay in the selection of the State Nixon Chairmen has held up final selection of the State Citizens group Chairmen. In those cases, I have told the Citizens Directors to proceed to set up tentative organizations, contingent on the final approval of the State Nixon Chairman, when he is chosen.

Teamwork. The area of fostering teamwork among the Voting Bloc Directors, the related White House people (Colson's staff, Domestic Council, Congressional Relations, etc.), and the RNC has been more difficult.

To minimize unproductive competitive efforts (such as accusatory memo writing), I have held regular meetings of each constituent group "team", and tried to discuss problems openly. I feel we are making progress here, although there will always be some bickering. The meeting at Camp David (discussed later) was a particularly effective way of getting the individuals to talk out mutual problems.

I feel for the most part that we now have fairly harmonious and effective team efforts, although we are hampered by some personnel weaknesses as will be discussed later. The most effective teams seem to be in Spanish-Speaking, Older Americans, Veterans, and Agriculture.

Developments in May

Specific highlights of the past month include: (a) Viet Nam response efforts; (b) Development of guidelines for State Chairmen; (c) Camp David conference; (d) Campaign control system development; and (e) Coordination of schedule proposals.

Viet Nam. The work of the Citizens/Voting Bloc groups in generating a favorable response to the President's Viet Nam initiatives has been well documented to you in other reports. The Citizens/Voting Bloc directors and their staffs spent most of their time for a full week generating telegrams and letters to the President, letters to key Congressmen, and in organizing events (vigils, petitions, etc.) to demonstrate support for the President.

While these efforts set regular activities back a bit, the results appear to have been more than worthwhile. Evidence of regional media coverage of the various events continues to come in, even at this late date.

Guidelines. The purpose and content of the various programs offered at 1701 (Citizens/Voting Bloc groups, telephone, direct mail, etc.) have never been adequately communicated to the State organizations by the political division. To alleviate the confusion that exists in the field, we are developing a set of guidelines describing each of the programs, its national organization, a suggested State organization, and how the State and national operations should relate. This set of guidelines will be completed next week and sent to each State Chairman. Then, beginning in the middle of June, each State Chairman will be brought to Washington to discuss the programs that apply to his State, and to develop a final plan for State re-election activities.

To date, the Voter Blocs and other 1701 programs have always been at a more advanced stage of development than the political division. Hopefully, the planning procedure will force the States to catch up.

Camp David Conference. As you know, I had the Voting Bloc Directors and their counterparts from Colson's staff to Camp David for a one and one-half day meeting last week. The conference was successful beyond my expectations, both from a substantive and a morale/camaraderie standpoint. A full report on the meeting is on its way to you.

Campaign Control System. Jerry Jones, now on my staff at 1701 as Campaign Controller, spent most of May in California, developing a reporting and control system by which campaign management will be able to plan and control essential activities such as voter identification and registration. I am currently in the process of reviewing the system, and it is being pilot-tested in Orange County during the California Primary. Bill Horton has provided considerable help on this and will continue as part of Nofziger's staff (part-time) when he returns to California next month.

We should have a finished product in the next couple of weeks, at which time we will provide you with a complete description of the system.

Schedule Proposals. Schedule proposal packages for the President and First Family have been submitted for almost all of the voter blocs. Labor is the sole exception, and now that Don Rodgers is on board, we will work with him to develop proposals in this area. The proposals cover 5 months and represent the combined efforts of 1701, Domestic Council, and White House communications staff. We will keep Dave Parker informed of any changes in priorities, and we look forward to receiving feedback on the proposals already submitted.

PROBLEMS

Naturally, the campaign operation is not without problems. Five areas that I consider to be of major concern are discussed below.

1. Ethnics. The ethnic constituent group will undoubtedly be critical to our success in November. Unfortunately, Tony De Falco, the individual we selected to head up the ethnic effort at 1701, turned out to be not suited to the managerial role required of a voting bloc director. He could not develop a plan for how we should attract the ethnic vote, nor was he capable of structuring the requisite national organization. The situation was compounded by the fact that Mike Balzano, the ethnic project manager on Colson's staff, is not a

planner or manager, either.

To solve the problem, I have relieved De Falco, and am in the process of recruiting for a new Director, with a target date of July 1. To ensure that we do not lose much time, we have already hired a Special Assistant to the Director (John Wirth) who will begin Monday to analyze the ethnic demographics and to develop a campaign strategy and plan. Hopefully, by the time the Director is on board, much of the planning work will be done, and he can turn his energies immediately to field organization.

2. Blacks. Though certainly less important than the ethnics, weakness in the 1701/White House/RNC Black team is also a matter of concern to me. The extent of the incompetence has become apparent in the poor planning of the June 10 Black \$100-a-plate fundraiser at the Statler Hilton. Hopefully, the dinner will be rescued from complete failure, but this will not alleviate my worries about a group that thinks that conducting registration drives in Bedford-Stuyvesant would be a good idea.

The primary long-range problem is lack of political experience, resulting in unsatisfactory progress in field organization. Our team just does not know how to organize Black leadership in key urban areas and shows no signs of being able to put together the strong organized efforts that we needed in the Black areas of these cities. I have concluded that Paul Jones (hired at 1701 last January) is simply the wrong man for the job, but we may be stuck with him at this time. Bob Brown has provided only limited support -- he seems to be all rhetoric but little action and follow up.

We are taking steps to rectify this, and John Clarke is helping me further analyze the situation and develop suggested courses of action. I hope to have this completely planned out by 6/10 with corrective actions beginning immediately. Even though the Blacks might not represent a significant vote, our effort to get this vote is highly visible, and there is certainly some potential there.

3. Business and Industry. The Director of the Business and Industry effort, Paul Kayser, was hired by the Committee before I arrived. He has been an irritation, and has shown consistent poor judgment in the development of programs and the use of resources. Kayser, a former Pepsico Vice President, feels that he is outside the campaign structure and can run around me to Don Kendall (the Chairman), which he has done with at least partial success on a couple of occasions.

This is a problem I will probably have to endure, although I hope to alleviate the programmatic weakness by working Cliff White into the Business and Industry area when he comes on board as a consultant next week.

4. PR Support. Lack of coordination of PR for some of the Viet Nam related events and slowness in development of communications plans for the Citizens groups have surfaced a weakness in the PR area at both 1701 and the White House.

At 1701, the problem seems to be lack of manpower -- only 1 1/2 persons are assigned to do the PR for all of the Citizens groups. This is simply not enough to accomplish all that needs to be done, and after discussion of this problem at Camp David, we have obtained Jeb's agreement to hire two more full-time people to concentrate on Citizens PR.

At the White House, the problem seems to be somewhat different. Several of the White House project managers (e. g. , Cohen, Evans, and Balzano) are incredibly weak on public relations and have not been doing the job. The problem is they are simply not experienced or able enough to handle the communications responsibility without support. Consequently, I intend to recommend to Colson that he have Bill Rhatican, who is one of his ablest people in this area, delegate his specific responsibility for Veterans, and instead work with all of the project managers on public relations and communications.

5. Organizational Relationships. A final major problem area involves development of the relationship between the Citizens/Voting Bloc groups and the State organizations. As discussed above, the basic concept is that the national Citizens organizations exist to serve the States. However, while recognizing the final authority of the Nixon State Chairman within his State, we must nevertheless ensure that he gives full consideration to programs developed by the Citizens Group directors for use within the States. Unfortunately, several State Chairmen have not cooperated with the Citizens Group directors, preferring instead to institute their own programs.

Unfortunately, the state organizations have suffered from weak leadership and lack of direction from Washington, and they are far behind all program activities. The reorganization of states under five political coordinators will help, but it will take time for them to really gain control. Until the political division was reorganized, the only appeal for a Citizens group Director was to Flemming, who was not very helpful, or through me to Mitchell, who obviously does not have the time to deal with such minor matters.

The reorganization of the political division should help to solve this problem. Mitchell has made it very clear to the political coordinators that they are expected to reinforce the position of the Citizens group Directors with the State Chairmen, and ensure that appropriate programs are implemented. Also, I imagine that some of our present problems result from Flemming not adequately communicating the Citizens group concept to the State Chairmen. This should be remedied by the Guidelines and planning sessions that were discussed above.

NEXT STEPS

While problems do exist, my overall impression is that the campaign organization is basically sound, and is reasonably on target. Jeb in my opinion is doing a good job with all the support activities, and he and I are working quite well together as a team. During the next month, in addition to day-to-day management of the Citizens Groups, I plan to focus on the following priority areas:

- Making certain that the ethnic effort is on track and the Black problems rectified.

-- Preparing for and participating in the discussions with
State Chairmen regarding the Citizens group guidelines.

-- Finalizing the campaign control system.

I will send you another overall progress report at the end of June.
In addition, I will pass on to you items of special interest, as they arise.

Attachments

Tab A

March 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL
FROM: FRED MALEK
SUBJECT: Preliminary Citizens Campaign Strategy

The purpose of this memorandum is to review my preliminary strategy and plans for the Citizens/Voting Bloc organizations. General campaign plans covering each voting bloc are being prepared and will be submitted to you over the next several weeks. I feel it is important, however, to have a unifying strategy that binds the individual plans together and provides a framework for operation.

OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY OF CITIZENS ACTIVITIES

Objectives. The most important objective is to gain the favor of broad blocs of voters by demonstrating convincingly the President's understanding of and interest in their problems and by publicizing his accomplishments and initiatives in areas of major concern to them. The secondary objective is to increase enthusiasm for and interest in the Nixon campaign among particular functional groups and to thereby provide manpower to assist in overall State campaign efforts. In many cases this will include canvassing, registration, and get-out-the-vote drives under the direction of the State Nixon Chairman.

Strategy. We should set priorities and devote the major part of our resources on those voting groups with the greatest pay-off potential. Consequently, groups are divided into two categories: a dozen major voting blocs (e.g., elderly, ethnics) and some fifty small functional groups (e.g., dentists and scientists). Our major emphasis will, of course, be on the major voting blocs in order to convince them to vote for the President and to enlist their support in the campaign. The effort expended on the functional groups will be focused on obtaining manpower support for the campaign.

Also, priorities should be set between major voting blocs in order to guide resource decisions, management attention, and White House and Presidential efforts. Top priority should be devoted to those groups:

- Which are large or important beyond their national average in key States.

-- Where the issues and accomplishments are favorable and a special effort can be instrumental in either attracting or retaining votes for the President.

Based on these criteria, the blocs singled out for top priority and second priority attention are outlined below. Of course, these are only general guidelines as the priority requirements in each State will vary (e.g., Spanish-speaking will be a top priority in Texas and California).

<u>Top Priority</u>		<u>Second Priority</u>	
<u>Group</u>	<u>Voters (millions)</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Voters (millions)</u>
Youth	25	Transients	6
Older Americans	20	Labor	26
Ethnic	40	Spanish-Speaking	6
Farm	5	Black	7.5
Women*		Jewish	3.5
		Business	3
		Veterans	28

Agree _____

Disagree _____

One additional voting bloc warrants your attention: Catholics, who are estimated to comprise nearly 30% of the expected voters. There are seemingly no commanding reasons for Catholics to vote against the President, and he is on the right side of the germane issues (e.g., aid to parochial schools and abortion). Yet, most polls show Catholics supporting the President's opponents. In past campaigns there has never been a separate effort to attract the Catholic vote as the Ethnic group usually encompasses it. This year, however, we may want to mount a distinct Catholic campaign under a different name. My recommendation is that I study this issue and present a proposal to you if I feel this group should also be singled out for top or secondary priority.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

*Women effort under Pat Hutar not an integral part of Citizens but is included here as there will be close coordination with this effort.

Most of the voting bloc and functional groups will have programs in all States. However, the degree of emphasis will vary so as to concentrate on the largest voting blocs in each State and on those most apt to be swayed. Also, a much greater proportional effort will be made in the large key States such as California and Illinois. This will range down to a minimal effort in the smallest States such as Rhode Island or Wyoming where the outcome is already fairly clear.

Planning. To effectively integrate Citizens into the campaign, it will be important to involve Voting Bloc Directors in the planning process. As pointed out earlier, general campaign plans are being prepared now for various voting blocs. Later, the Voting Bloc Director should participate with Bob Marik and the State Nixon Chairman in developing that part of the State Victory Plan pertaining to his area. These State plans would then govern his and his organization's activities for the remainder of the campaign.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

ORGANIZATION

National. As we have discussed, a National Citizens Director will be brought in to organize and ride herd on the many functional groups and to assist in managing voter bloc operations. In addition, I estimate 3 - 4 medium level Assistants will be needed to develop and control the 50 or so functional groups. Edward Nixon will function as a top level assistant to the National Director and me, undertaking key projects of sensitivity and counseling with National Chairmen and Committee members.

Each voting bloc group will have a full-time Director along with some support staff. Directors are already on board for 8 of these groups, and they are shown, along with target hiring dates for the remaining 4, at Tab A. Budgets are currently being prepared for each voting bloc group, and the size of staff for each group will vary with the size of target and complexity of mission. Overall, I intend to keep the staffs small with most added professionals devoted to field support.

A prominent National Citizens Chairman and broadly representative National Citizens Committee will be formed ostensibly to oversee all of the voting bloc and functional group activities. Of course, the Dale Committee will remain the major overall committee. Recommended names for the Citizens Committee will be submitted to you for approval. Similarly, Chairmen and Committees will be formed for all the Voting Bloc groups and most of the Citizens functional groups. We plan to maintain tight control over all Chairmen and their committees.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

State. In conjunction with the State Nixon Chairman, a Chairman and Committee will be formed in each State for most of the Voting Bloc and functional groups. Criteria for selection will be similar to that at the national level. In keeping with holding the State Nixon Chairman accountable for results in his State, the State Voting Bloc Chairmen (e.g., State Older Americans Chairman) would be selected jointly by the State Nixon Chairman and the National Voting Bloc Director. He would report directly to the State Nixon Chairman and receive functional/programmatic guidance from the National Director as long as this guidance is not inconsistent with the State Victory Plan. In some cases it may be necessary to hire a full-time State Director for a major voting bloc (e.g., Spanish-Speaking in California). This would be decided in conjunction with the State Nixon Chairman and would come out of his State budget.

Since Citizens is integrated into the Campaign, in most cases there will be no need for an overall Citizens Chairman at the State level. In some States, however, where the registration is largely Democratic and where the Nixon group is not broadly representative, we may consider an overall Citizens Chairman and Committee. In these cases the Citizens Chairman would report (although not visibly) to the State Nixon Chairman, would not have authority over the Voting Bloc Chairmen, and would be primarily oriented toward public relations. We are currently studying this concept further, and any specific decisions would be made in collaboration with the State Nixon Chairman.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

OPERATING TIMETABLE

More detailed operating plans are being developed for each voting bloc and will later be developed for each functional group. The following are the major general steps to be taken and the approximate time period for completion.

For Voting Bloc Groups

<u>Step</u>	<u>Time Period for Completion</u>
1. Complete staffing of National Directors	4/1 - 4/15
2. Complete General Campaign Plans for each Voting Bloc and begin operating programs*	3/15 - 5/1

*Youth program well underway. Some activity in other areas, but full programs not yet underway.

- | | | |
|----|--|------------|
| 3. | Select California Chairman and complete plans for primary activity for selected groups** | 3/31 |
| 4. | Select National Citizens Chairman and Committee | 5/1 |
| 5. | Select National Chairman and Committee for each Voting Bloc | 5/1 - 5/15 |
| 6. | Select State Chairman and Committee for each Voting Bloc and begin State organization efforts | 5/1 - 5/15 |
| 7. | Begin mounting specific programs in selected areas of each State in conjunction with State organizations | 6/1 |

For Citizens Functional Groups***

- | | <u>Step</u> | <u>Time Period for Completion</u> |
|----|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | Bring on National Citizens Director | 3/17 |
| 2. | Designate States where overall Citizens Committee needed | 4/15 |
| 3. | Determine functional groups desired | 4/15 |
| 4. | Select National Chairman and Committee for each group | 5/1 - 6/1 |
| 5. | Develop plans for each group | 5/15 - 6/30 |
| 6. | Select overall Chairmen and Committee in States where desired | 6/1 - 6/15 |

**Part of tentative California primary plan includes certain amount of activity and testing by 3 - 4 voting bloc groups.

***Some groups such as lawyers and physicians are on an accelerated schedule.

- | | | |
|----|--|------------|
| 7. | Select State Chairmen and Committee for each group | 6/1 - 7/15 |
| 8. | Begin organizational efforts | 6/1 - 7/15 |

Attachment

Tab B

TENTATIVE BUDGET
VOTING BLOCS AND CITIZENS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Old</u> <u>Estimate (3/7)</u>	<u>New</u> <u>Estimate</u>
Youth	\$ 401,000	\$ 298,000
Business & Industry	199,000	184,000
Black Vote	153,000	137,000
Ethnics	106,000	119,000
Older Americans	118,000	114,000
Agriculture	117,000	134,000
Spanish Speaking	103,000	118,000
Veterans	101,000	107,000
Labor	93,000	100,000
Jewish	77,000	82,000
Transients	62,000	66,000
Lawyers	37,000	37,000
Physicians	26,000	26,000
Educators	0	35,000
Women	204,000	230,000
Voters Rights	109,000	109,000
Citizens General and Functional Groups	<u>350,000</u>	<u>319,000</u>
 Total	 \$2,461,000	 \$2,215,000

4/24/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
YOUTH DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Present Staff (per earlier schedule)			\$ 98,000
Wisc. Fieldman (Krueger)	- 4/7	10,500	6,200
Border States Fieldman (Davis)	- 4/7	10,000	5,800
Penn. Fieldman	- 5/15	12,000	6,000
Ohio Fieldman	- 5/15	12,000	6,000
Farm States Fieldman	- 6/1	12,000	5,500
Midwest Director	- 5/15	18,000	9,000
Rocky Mtn. & Northwest Fieldman (Wigger)	- 5/15	7,800	4,000
Convention staff man (Burkop)	- 5/1	7,800	4,400
Convention secretary	- 5/1	7,200	2,400
Convention staff man	- 5/1	7,200	1,800
Convention secretary	- 6/1	7,200	1,800
Convention staff man	- 7/1	7,200	1,200
4 Field secretaries	- 5/15	3,000	<u>12,000</u>
Total Staff			164,100
Payroll Burden			10,900
Staff Travel & Expenses			60,000
Rent & Supplies for State Hdqtrs.			10,000
Convention - Buses & Events			21,000
Special Brochures & Buttons			12,000
State Chmn Travel & Expenses			5,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Misc. Mailings & Promotional Items			<u>10,000</u>
 Total			 \$ 298,000

Notes to Youth Budget:

1. Calloway (South) or Davis (Border States) will be transferred to another area effective 6/15. The remaining man will cover the entire Southeast.
2. Wigger will remain in Oregon until the primary. He will then focus on Washington and all Rocky Mtn. States as well until the election.
3. N. Y. contingency - in event State does not add 2 full-time fieldmen as expected, we may want to add our own fieldman to assist in N. Y.
4. Burhop will stay on after the convention to fill in where needed.

TENTATIVE BUDGET
BLACK VOTE DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Jones)	- 4/7	\$ 32,000	
Secretary (Petross)	- 4/7	10,000	
Assistant Dir.	- 5/15	21,000	
Field Coordinator	- 5/15	18,000	
Field Coordinator	- 6/1	18,000	
Secretary	- 5/15	<u>8,400</u>	
Total Staff			56,500
Payroll Burden			4,200
Staff Travel & Expenses			15,000
Consultants/Surrogates - fees & expenses*			12,500
Organization Meetings			6,000
Formation of Citizens Committee (mailings & brochures)			12,000
Meeting of key Black Leaders			3,000
Brochures			15,000
Newsletter			3,000
Contingency			<u>10,000</u>
Total			\$ 137,200

* Consultants used in certain cities in place of field men - fees of \$10,000 and expenses of \$2,500.

4/21/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
ETHNICS DIVISION*

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (- 5/15	\$ 30,000	
Secretary	- 5/15	8,400	
Asst. to Director	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 7/15	18,000	
2 Secretaries	- 6/15	<u>16,800</u>	
Total Staff			62,200
Payroll Burden			4,700
Staff Travel & Expenses			28,000
Consultants & Surrogates Travel			6,000
Organization Meetings			6,000
Field Meetings/Expenses			7,000
Special Mailings/Promotions			<u>5,000</u>
Total			\$ 118,900

* Budget is highly tentative and will be finalized when campaign plan is completed.

4/21/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
AGRICULTURE DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Yeutter)	- 4/7	\$ 36,000	
Asst. Director (Foltz)	- 4/7	27,000	
Field Director (Madson)	- 4/7	20,000	
Secretary (Haggert)	- 4/7	7,600	
Secretary (Hill)	- 4/7	8,000	
Fieldman	- 5/15	18,000	
Fieldman*	- 6/1	<u>18,000</u>	
Total Staff		134,600	74,700
Payroll Burden			5,600
Staff Travel & Expenses			31,000
Surrogate Travel			5,000
Organization Meetings			3,200
Field Meetings & State Chairmen Expenses			10,000
Special Mailings			<u>4,000</u>
Total			\$ 133,500

4/21/73

TENTATIVE BUDGET
JEWISH DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Goldberg)	- 4/7	\$ 32,000	
Secretary (Peters)	- 4/17	10,000	
Asst. Dir. (Greenwald)	- 4/10	24,000	
Secretary (Cohen)	- 4/24	7,500	
Fieldman (Abrams)	- 5/15	<u>21,600</u>	
Total Staff		95,100	53,000
Payroll Burden			4,000
Staff Travel & Expenses			10,000
Consultant/Surrogates Travel			7,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Special Mailings			<u>3,000</u>
Total			\$ 82,000

4/21/71

TENTATIVE BUDGET
OLDER AMERICANS DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Todd)	- 4/7	\$ 36,000	
Secretary (Sadlak)	- 4/7	10,000	
Field Dir. (Mills)	- 4/7	14,000	
Fieldman (Todd)	- 4/7	12,500	
Fieldman (Groom)	- 5/1	12,000	
Secretary	- 5/1	<u>8,500</u>	
Total Staff		93,000	52,000
Field Director	- 6/15	18,000	7,500
Payroll Burden			4,500
Staff Travel & Expenses			30,000
Surrogate Travel			5,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/Dinners			5,000
Special Mailings/Promotion			<u>5,000</u>
 Total			 \$ 114,000

4/21/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
VETERANS DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Naylor)	- 4/7	30,000	
Secretary	- 4/24	8,400	
Fieldman & Asst. Dir.	- 5/15	24,000	
Fieldman	- 6/1	18,000	
Fieldman	- 8/1	18,000	
Secretary	- 6/1	<u>7,200</u>	
Secretary (part time)			<u>1,200</u>
Total Staff			51,700
Payroll Burden			3,900
Staff Travel & Expenses			16,500
Consultants/Surrogates expenses			16,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/expenses			5,000
Promotional Items			6,000
Special Mailings			<u>3,000</u>
Total			\$ 107,100

4/21/71

TENTATIVE BUDGET
LABOR DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director	- 5/15	\$ 30,000	
Field Director	- 5/15	24,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Secretary	- 5/15	9,000	
Secretary	- 6/15	<u>8,000</u>	
Total Staff			50,000
Payroll Burden			3,300
Staff Travel & Expenses			18,500
Consultants/Surrogates expenses			10,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/expenses			5,000
Promotional Items			5,000
Special Mailings			<u>3,000</u>
Total			\$ 100,300

4/24/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
SPANISH SPEAKING DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Armendariz)	- 4/7	\$ 30,000	.
Secretary	- 4/7	8,000	
Field Director (Gar	- 5/1	20,000	
Fieldman (Mexican)	- 5/15	15,000	
Fieldman (PR)	- 5/15	15,000	
Asst. to Director	- 6/1	15,000	
2 Secretaries	5/5/15	<u>16,000</u>	
Total Staff			62,200
Payroll Burden			4,700
Staff Travel & Expenses			21,000
Consultants/Volunteer expenses			5,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/Expenses			5,000
Special Brochures & Mailings			5,000
Contingency			<u>10,000</u>
Total			\$ 117,900

5/2/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
TRANSIENTS (SPECIAL BALLOTS)

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (McAdoo)	- 4/15	\$ 25,000	\$ 14,500
Secretary	- 5/1	10,000	5,500
Western Field Man	- 6/15	18,000	7,500
Eastern Field Man	- 6/15	18,000	7,500
Total Staff			<u>35,000</u>
Staff Benefits/Overhead			2,600
Staff Travel & Expenses			18,000
Printing & Materials			<u>10,000</u>
Total			65,600

5/4/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

<u>Staff</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Kayser)	\$ 60,000	
Asst. Dir. (Fangboner)	30,000	
Asst. Dir. (Rocchio)	30,000	
Admin. Asst. (Harper)	9,600	
Secretary (Cochran)	9,600	
Secretary (Koob)	<u>8,000</u>	
Total Staff	147,200	90,000
Payroll Burden		6,800
Mailings		4,500
Field Kits		20,000
Staff Travel & Expenses		41,500
Organization Dinner		3,000
Regional Meetings		8,000
Visual Aids		<u>10,000</u>
 Total		 \$ 183,800

4/24/71

TENTATIVE BUDGET
CITIZENS - GENERAL & FUNCTIONAL GROUPS

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Citizens Director (Shearer)	- 5/8	\$ 36,000	
Secretary	- 5/8	9,000	
3 Asst. Directors	- 6/1	60,000	
4 Secretaries	- 6/1	32,000	
1 Executive Assistant	- 6/1	20,000	
4 Part time Secretaries	- 7/1		6,000
Total Staff			<u>73,500</u>
Payroll Burden			5,500
National Citizens Orientation Expenses			5,000
Travel & Expenses for National Committee			5,000
Staff Travel & Expenses			20,000
Travel & Expenses - Consultants & Volunteers			30,000
Expenses for each of estimated 30 groups			
Organization Dinners/meetings	- 1,000 x 30 =		30,000
Travel & Expenses for Chmn & Coms.	- 2,000 x 30 =		60,000
Mailings & Brochures	- 3,000 x 30 =		<u>90,000</u>
Total			\$ 319,000

5/5/70

TENTATIVE BUDGET
VOLUNTEERS/WOMEN

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Hutar)	- 4/7	\$ 25,000	\$15,000
Assistant (Steorts)	- 4/7	15,000	9,000
Assistant	- 6/1	18,000	8,300
PR Consultant	- 5/15	24,000	12,000
Secretary	- 4/7	8,400	5,500
Secretary	- 5/15	9,000	4,500
Secretary	- 9/1	8,400	1,500
3 Regional Field Dirs.	- 6/1	14,400	19,800
4 Regional Field Dirs.	- 7/1	14,400	<u>21,600</u>
Total Staff			97,200
Payroll Burden			7,300
Staff Travel & Expenses:			
Hdqts Staff			18,000
Regional Dirs.			37,000
Volunteer Manual			6,000
Training Manual			5,000
Speakers Bureau			10,000
Volunteer sign-up cards for hospitality suites			1,000
Hospitality Suites:			
Four regionals and June RNC meeting			3,000
Hospitality suite during RNC Leadership Conference			1,300
Salute to the President Luncheon (telephone hook-up to luncheon sites			10,000
Letterheads and envelopes			4,000
Re-Election Canvass Team and Victory Squad Kits			5,000
Special volunteer recognition pins, insignia for key leaders			10,000
Volunteer Newsletter			<u>15,000</u>
Total			\$ 230,300

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

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

September 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
THRU: CLARK MacGREGOR
FROM: FRED MALEK *FMM*
SUBJECT: Senior Advisors

You asked for a proposal for designating certain individuals to act as Senior Political Advisors for various states and regions.

The concept, simply stated, is to provide the President with a high-level contact in certain key states to give an objective and direct assessment of the campaign. The Advisor will be asked to constantly keep himself informed on political developments in his state and be prepared to brief the President if called upon to do so.

The Regional Directors will talk with these Advisors on a regular basis to keep them informed on developments. Finally, the Senior Advisors will be asked to be available to handle tough political problems that may arise before the election in their state(s). Clark or I will be in contact with the Advisors on these problems.

Following is a listing of the individuals we propose to be Senior Advisors followed by the state or region for which they will be responsible.

Clark MacGregor	Minnesota and Wisconsin
John Mitchell	New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut
Don Rumsfeld	Illinois
John Ehrlichman	Pennsylvania, Michigan, Washington, and Oregon
Bob Haldeman <i>NO E?</i>	California
Ray Bliss	Ohio
John Connally	Texas
Bob Dole	Farm States
Chuck Colson	Massachusetts
Cliff White	Mountain States
Rogers Morton	Maryland

All states and areas are not covered, but I feel the main contested areas are included. If you approve of this concept, we will contact each Advisor, brief him on the program, and put him in contact with the appropriate Regional Directors.

DECISION

You should be aware that there are some negatives to this project. First, liaison will be difficult to achieve because of other demands on the Advisors' time. It will also pose added time burdens on Clark, the Regional Directors, and me. Finally, I am not convinced that it will be used by the President or even by us due to the typical need for rapid response on problems that arise. Nevertheless, it is workable and can be implemented if you or the President so desire.

Please indicate your decision below:

Proceed with project	_____
Do not proceed	_____
Discuss	_____
Other	_____