

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	1	n.d.	Other Document	Document withdrawal record from the Richard Nixon Presidential Library. 1 pg.
27	1	n.d.	Other Document	Document control sheet. Entries 1-4. 4 pgs.
27	1	03/07/1972	Memo	To Larry re: small elephants for GOP leaders. 1 pg.
27	1	03/07/1972	Letter	Butterfield to William Rogers re: Navy's Quonset Point School of Indoctrination August-October 1942. 1 pg 4 copies.
27	1	03/01/1972	Memo	Butterfield to The President re: Reunions. 1 pg.
27	1	n.d.	Other Document	Document control sheet. Entries 5-7. 3 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	1	11/13/1972	Memo	Roland Elliott to The President re: Post Election Acknowledgements. 16 pgs with attachments.
27	1	11/16/1972	Memo	Roland Elliott to H.R. Haldeman re: Post election acknowledgements. 2 pgs. 5 copies.
27	1	11/29/1972	Report	Critique of the 1972 Campaign from Jeb Magruder. 17 pgs.
27	1	08/03/1972	Memo	Stephen Bull to Rob Odle re: Gold Four Leaf Clovers. 2 pgs.
27	1	08/02/1972	Memo	Robert Odle to Clark MacGregor re: Gold Leaf Clover. 1 pg.
27	1	07/19/1972	Memo	Bull to Odle re: Gold Four Leaf Clovers. 1 pg
27	1	08/02/1972	Memo	Patrick O'Donnell to Larry Higby. Re: John Eisenhower. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	1	09/05/1972	Memo	Dean to Haldeman re: Exemption Application for the Irrevocable Trust. 1 pg.
27	1	09/07/1972	Memo	Strachan to Haldeman re: President's Estate Plan. 1 pg.
27	1	12/20/1973	Newsletter	From the Internal Revenue Service re: Federal Income Tax Treatment of Political Parties. 3 pgs.
27	1	n.d.	Financial Records	Tax forms from the Republican National Committee. 2 pgs. 2 copies.
27	1	04/24/1974	Memo	Jerry Jones to Al Haig re: Payment of bill from Hugo Drumm. 3 pgs with attachments.
27	1	01/28/1972	Memo	Ehrlichman to The President : Estate Plan. 5 pgs.
27	1	09/14/1972	Memo	RN to Sammy Davis Jr. re: Rally in Miami Beach. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	1	09/02/1972	Letter	RN to Henry Maier re: Republican National Convention. 1 pg.
27	1	09/02/1972	Letter	RN to John McCarrell re: Republican National Convention. 1 pg.
27	1	09/20/1972	Memo	Stans to The President re: Election Night Party. 1 pg.
27	1	10/18/1972	Letter	RN to Sam Yorty re: Offer of Assistance with the Campaign. 2 pgs.
27	1	12/15/1972	Letter	RN to Donald Sundquist re: Young Republican National Federation. 2 pgs.
27	1	09/07/1972	Letter	RN to Anne Armstrong re: Republican National Convention. 3 pgs.
27	1	n.d.	Letter	RN to Fred Scribner re: Resignation as General Counsel of the Republican National Committee. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	1	n.d.	Letter	RN to Nelson Rockefeller re: Dinner with George Bush. 1 pg.
27	1	11/02/1970	Letter	Billy Graham to RN re: Tuesday's Election. 1 pg.
27	1	01/09/1971	Letter	Telegram from Bob Finch to The President re: Happy Birthday. 1 pg.
27	1	08/10/1972	Letter	Walter Hickel to The President re: Campaign Discussion. 1 pg.
27	1	05/14/1969	Letter	John Brown to Frank Marshburn re: Yorba Linda Friends Church. 1 pg.
27	1	04/19/1969	Letter	John Brown to Carl Edgington re: Edna Nixon. 1 pg.
27	1	10/20/1972	Memo	Bruce Kehrlie to David Parker re: Phone Call Program for Tricia Nixon Cox. 3 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	1	11/04/1972	Memo	Bruce Kehrli to David Parker re: Phone Call Program for Tricia Nixon Cox. 3 pgs.
27	1	08/15/1973	Memo	Kehrli to Len Garment re: Sale of San Clemente Property. 1 pg.
27	1	11/20/1971	Memo	Huntsman to Haldeman re: New Hampshire Primary. 1 pg.
27	1	06/23/1972	Memo	Kehrli to Colson re: Labor. 1 pg.
27	1	10/16/1972	Memo	Kehrli to Price re: Presidential Letters. 1 pg.

**RICHARD NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD**

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
1	Memo	Ehrlichman to The President re: Sale of Florida Properties. 3 pgs with attachments.	12/12/1972	G
2	Memo	Butterfield to Ehrlichman re: Sale of Florida Properties. 1 pg	12/14/1972	G
3	Memo	Ehrlichman to The President re: Sale of Florida Properties. 1 pg	12/19/1972	G
4	Memo	Hoopes to Haig re: Royalties Due Alvin Moscow. 1 pg	03/19/1974	G
5	Memo	Butterfield to Ehrlichman re: Your Dec. 19 th Memo to the President on the Sale of Florida Properties. 1 pg	12/27/1972	G
6	Memo	Butterfield to Ehrlichman re: Sale of Florida Properties. 1 pg	12/14/1972	G
7	Memo	To The President re: Uncle Russell Harrison. 1 pg	07/03/1972	G

COLLECTION TITLE

Nixon Presidential Returned Materials: White House Special Files

BOX NUMBER

27

FOLDER TITLE

Staff Secretary

PRMPA RESTRICTION CODES:

A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.
 B. National security classified information.
 C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.
 D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.

E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.
 F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.
 G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
 H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

DEED OF GIFT RESTRICTION CODES:

D-DOG Personal privacy under deed of gift

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

March 7, 1972
8:30 a.m.

Larry:

As it turned out, the small elephants did arrive in time. Steve had one of them at each of the GOP Leader's place this morning ... and the President was briefed beforehand.

A

March 7, 1972

PERSONAL

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am attaching to this note two lists of names of persons who were at the Navy's Quonset Point School of Indoctrination during the period August-October 1942 -- when you and the President were there. The first list (Tab A -- one page only) names those who were assigned as instructors; the second list (Tab B -- 31 pages) names the students.

Because the President is thinking seriously about scheduling in late April a reunion of his "World War II pals", I would like to ask you to leaf through these pages and identify the individuals you remember as having had some acquaintance and/or association at that time with the President. On several occasions, the President has mentioned Platoon 17 and, if I recall correctly, he said that both of you were members of that element of the student group. If you can pick out the Platoon 17 members, I will be miles ahead in preparing for the reunion.

Meanwhile, Carl Fleps and Paul Williams (in New York) -- and several others -- are pulling together the names of those who served with the President, and knew him fairly well, on Bougainville and Green Island.

My thanks in advance for whatever names or other information you can give me by Friday, March 17th.

Sincerely,

Alexander P. Butterfield
Deputy Assistant to the President

Attachment

Honorable William P. Rogers
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

(S)

March 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALEXANDER P. BUTTERFIELD

SUBJECT: Reunions

This is just a quick note to assure you that everything is on track for the two planned reunions -- the SCAT and Quonset Plateon 17 group on Tuesday, April 25th, and the law school group on Tuesday, June 13th.

I have been working closely with Carl Fleps and Charlie Rhyne and they, in a very low key manner, have been in touch with the other persons you suggested in your initial memorandum on this subject (Paul Williams, Dick Kiefer, Mack Holland, et al). No one other than these trusted friends has been advised of the plans.

Charlie Rhyne's list of those who might be included in the "35th Reunion of the Law School Class of 1937" is completed and attached hereto... but the much longer SCAT-Quonset list will not be ready for your review until early next week.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject : Post Election Acknowledgments

Attached are suggested draft letters to the different categories of people. The suggested certificate if approved, would be prepared by Sandy Fox. The acknowledgment card was recommended by Mrs. Nixon for response to letters and wires of congratulations from the general public. The text was edited and approved by her.

Presidential Letters with gift to:

1. Major Contributors
2. Top CRP Staff, Surrogates and Volunteers
3. Top RNC Staff and Volunteers
4. State CRP Chairmen
5. State GOP Chairmen
6. Top Dems for Nixon Staff and Volunteers
7. National Committee Men and Women
8. Key White House Staff
9. ~~Major Vendors~~

*Don - Best
in a special
sentence
in the
general form*

Presidential letters without gift to:

1. Local CRP and GOP staff
2. Selected Lower Level Volunteers
3. Advancemen
4. Smaller Contributors

Presidential Certificates to:

1. All of the above
2. White House Staff
3. Miscellaneous Volunteers

Send to

Acknowledgment Card to:

1. General public writing or wiring their congratulations following the election.

This card was requested by Mrs. Nixon and would be signed by her and the President. The attached draft language was edited and approved by her.

Roland L. Elliott

Major Contributors

Dear //:

The splendid results of November 7 now give us the opportunity to finish the work we have begun -- to win a lasting peace abroad and to gain a new prosperity and progress here at home.

But this opportunity would not have been possible without your generous support in helping us to bring our message to the American people. For this, I am of course deeply grateful, and I pledge to you that I shall do everything possible to make the next four years the very best in America's history.

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,

RN

Enc: Gift

RN:MBS:RLE:

Top CRP Staff and Volunteers

Dear //://://:

The splendid results of November 7 are outstanding tributes to your dedicated work in the 1972 campaign. Such an overwhelming victory confirms my belief that the vast majority of Americans across the land wants us to finish the work we have begun -- to win a lasting peace and to gain a new prosperity and progress here at home.

Our success last week would not have been possible, ~~of course,~~ without your superb help and, needless to say, I am deeply grateful. As a token of my deep appreciation for your efforts, I want you to have the enclosed memento which comes with my special thanks and kindest good wishes.

Sincerely,

RN

RN:MBS:RLE:

Enc: Gift

State CRP Staff

Dear //://://:

As I said on Election Night, no one knows before the votes are counted how it is going to come out. But we do know for certain that for an election victory as substantial as ours, there had to have been a first-rate campaign organization to bring about such a success.

I want to tell you how deeply grateful I am for the leadership you gave to our campaign efforts in //://://, and as a token of my admiration for the work you did, I would like you to have the enclosed memento. It comes with my thanks for making my last campaign the best of all and, of course, with my best wishes in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

RN

RN:AVH:MBS:RLE:

Enc: Gift

State GOP Chairmen

Dear //////////////-

Anyone who has been active in political affairs knows it is the State Chairman who carries a major share of the burden in an election year. Your hard work and splendid cooperation did much to assure our success in _____, and I am deeply grateful.

As a token of my appreciation, I wanted you to have the enclosed memento which comes, of course, with my thanks for making my last campaign the very best one of all!

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,

RN

RN:AVH:MBS:RLE:

Enc: Gift

Top Dems for Nixon Staff and Volunteers

Dear //://://://://:

On Election Night, I said to those who had gathered to celebrate our victory that we win elections not simply for the purpose of beating the other party or the other person, but to obtain the chance to do good things for our country.

No group involved in our successful campaign knows the meaning of this more than the Democrats for Nixon. Valuing as I have your superb help in making this victory for America possible, I want you to have the enclosed memento as a token of my appreciation for all you did. Needless to say, it comes with my thanks and kindest good wishes in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

RN

RN:AVH:MBS:RLE:

Enc: Gift

National Committeeman/Committeewoman

Dear //////////////:

Without your leadership and hard work in //////////////, the November 7 victory would not have been possible. (It was especially encouraging to note that our margin in /////// exceeded the 1968 results) The Republican Party is indeed fortunate to have you in one of its key positions, and I want you to know of my deep gratitude for your outstanding efforts which contributed so much to our success in bringing ////////////// into the winning column.

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,

RN:MAF:MBS:RLE:

Enclosure: Gift

Key White House Staff

Dear /////
:

In thanking all those who contributed so much to our victory on November 7, I want you to know how grateful I am for your splendid efforts throughout the entire campaign.

I am well aware of the long hours which the dedicated men and women of the White House Staff spent in the months prior to Election Day, and I am especially grateful to you for _____.

It means a great deal to have such outstanding members on the team, and I look forward to working with you as we build a better America in the years ahead.

With warm good wishes,

Sincerely,

RN

RN:MAF:MBS:RLE

Enc: Gift

Major Vendors (Option 1)

Dear //://:

While credit for our November 7 success belongs to many people, I did want you to know how deeply I appreciated your own special contribution to that splendid victory. Your help meant a very great deal, and as a token of my gratitude, I wanted you to have the enclosed memento which comes, of course, with my thanks and very best wishes.

Sincerely,

RN

RN:MAF:MBS:RLE

Enc: Gift

Major Vendors (Option 2)

Dear //:

While credit for our November 7 success belongs to many people, I did want you to know how deeply I appreciated your own special contribution to that splendid victory. Your //meant a very great deal, and as a token of my gratitude, I wanted you to have the enclosed memento which comes, of course, with my thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

RN:MAF:MBS:RLE:

Enclosure: Gift

Local CRP and GOP Staff

Dear ///////////////:

As Anyone who has stood for public office knows, the success of his candidacy depends in good measure on the dedication and sheer hard work of his supporters at the local level. Such was certainly the case for this year's Presidential elections, and our success on November 7 was made possible because of your personal contributions to our cause. Needless to say, I am very grateful, and this note comes with my warmest thanks and kindest good wishes.

Sincerely,

RN

RN:DH:MBS:RLE

Lower Level Volunteers

Dear ///////////////:

Anyone who has stood for public office knows that the success of his candidacy depends in large measure on the dedication of his workers at the grass-roots level. Certainly, this was the case on November 7, and I am deeply grateful for your outstanding volunteer efforts which made my last campaign the very best one of all.

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,

RN

RN:DH:MBS:RLE

Advancemen

Dear //://://:

As it has so many times in the past, the Advance Team did an outstanding job throughout the entire campaign. Our victory on November 7 was in large measure due to their dedicated and effective work, and I am deeply grateful to you for your contributions of energy, time, and talent as a member of that team.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

RN

RN:DH:MBS:RLE

Smaller Contributors

Dear ///////////////:

As anyone who has stood for public office knows, the success of his candidacy depends in good measure on the generosity of his supporters at every level. Certainly, this was the case with our splendid victory on November 7, and this note is just to thank you for your contribution which helped to make Election Day -- and my last campaign -- the very best one of all.

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,

RN

RN:MBS:RLE

*Presidential
Certificate*

(CRP LOGO)

or

(SEAL)

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Presents This

CERTIFICATE OF APPRECIATION

To

For Outstanding Contributions to the 1972
Presidential Election Campaign, and for
Helping to Build a New American Majority.

November, 1972
The White House

S/
Richard Nixon

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: ROLAND ELLIOTT
SUBJECT: Post-Election Acknowledgements

We have received from Rose Mary all the letters dictated by the President to go to the groups of people listed below. We have in hand or will receive by November 17, all the names and addresses of these groups, and are ready to begin immediate preparation and dispatch.

HOUSE, SENATE & GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATES

1. Winners -- Incumbents on a first-name basis after careful check with Timmons -- Non-incumbents on last name basis unless previously known.
2. Losers -- Closing salutation, "Pat joins me in sending our best wishes to you and _____" will be decided by Timmons.

CAMPAIGN STAFF AND VOLUNTEERS

1. Major Contributors -- Special personalized line to be inserted in each letter as provided by Stans.

2. Labor -- Lists to be provided by Colson. ~~DD~~

3. Democrats for Nixon -- ~~Lists to be provided~~ by Colson.

4. Top CRP & RNC Staff and Volunteers, National Committeemen, Business Committee, and Surrogates -- Special personalized line to be inserted for Surrogates.

5. Advancemen -- Lists to be provided by Walker.

6. Celebrities -- Lists to be provided by Odle.

FOREIGN CONGRATULATIONS

1. Heads of Government
2. Chiefs of State and Other Foreign Leaders

CONGRATULATIONS FROM THE GENERAL PUBLIC

The method of reply to this category needs to be clarified as two means have been proposed, and a third should be considered.

~~CARD~~ ~~1. The President dictated a letter which would go to the general public.~~ → ~~OK~~ ~~OK~~ ✓

2. Mrs. Nixon recommended that a card signed by her and the President be used for acknowledgment. ~~()~~

3. A color family photo with the printed inscription, "With appreciation for your kind message of congratulations on the 1972 Presidential election, s/ PN/RN"

I recommend that we use the inscribed photo. It is a warmer, more personal expression of thanks than the card, and only slightly more expensive (the photo would run about 25¢ per unit vs. about 10¢ per unit for the card.) Presidential letters cost about \$3.00 each.

EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS

1. The President has dictated a letter to be sent to about 540 newspapers that have not already been thanked.

(25) (25) →

300,000 CAMPAIGN VOLUNTEERS

~~1. It is recommended that a color Presidential photo with the printed inscription, "With deep appreciation and best wishes for your outstanding contributions to the 1972 Presidential Campaign, s/RN." be sent to the 300,000 campaign volunteers. In this quantity, the cost would run about 15¢ per unit.~~

Committee for the Re-election of the President

Handwritten initials and a circled 'E' in the top right corner.

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

November 29, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By js NARS, Date 1/3/83

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FREDERIC V. MALEK

Handwritten signature/initials over the 'FROM' field.

SUBJECT: Critique of the 1972 Campaign

The attached report is an overview of the 1972 campaign. It is divided into several sections, reflecting the chronological development of the campaign:

1. Basic Assumptions at the Start - the assumptions which set the direction of the campaign strategy.
2. Early Strategy - the concepts incorporated in the initial planning phase, beginning in May, 1971.
3. Conduct of the Campaign - I: The Primaries - earliest application of the planned campaign programs.
4. Conduct of the Campaign - II: Between the Primaries and Labor Day - critique of program activities during the summer lead-time before the active campaigning began.
5. Conduct of the Campaign - III: After Labor Day - description and critique of the implementation of campaign programs during the final two months of the campaign.
6. Overall Review - general comments on the conduct of the campaign.

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

CRITIQUE OF THE 1972 CAMPAIGN

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS AT THE START

The Re-election Committee began in May of 1971. With the nomination assumed not to be in doubt, there was a unique opportunity to plan carefully for the general campaign and begin early on long lead time programs. During the next six months, basic plans and budgets were developed for all major program areas. Program directors were added to the Committee staff as their activities became operational.

The early concepts of the campaign were based on four assumptions:

1. The election would be close, with less than 4% separating the top two candidates. Both of President Nixon's prior national campaigns had been very close. The polls showed leading Democratic hopefuls within striking distance. Governor Wallace's plans were uncertain. Finally, the President was seen as a partisan leader of a minority party, particularly after the 1970 Congressional elections.

2. There were some fundamental shifts occurring in the attitudes of the electorate. Certain elements of the New Deal coalition were showing signs of reduced support for the national Democratic Party. In particular, southern whites, blue-collar urban ethnics and Jews had the greatest potential to increase their vote for the President in 1972.

3. The President was well-known by all segments of the electorate. Unlike almost all of the Democratic hopefuls, with the possible exception of Kennedy and Humphrey, he faced the problem of avoiding over-exposure to the public as a candidate in a long campaign.

4. The greatest campaign asset to the President was his incumbency.

EARLY STRATEGY

From the basic assumptions, several strategic decisions were made on key elements for the campaign.

Comprehensive System of Voter Contact. In 1968, the President used television extensively to gain voter support. In 1972, because of his high visibility and familiarity to the electorate, other means had to be found to take his campaign to the people. The decision was made to develop a system of individual voter contact more sophisticated than had ever been used in previous national campaigns. Door to door canvassing, telephone canvassing and targeted direct mail would be carried out on a large scale in the key states. They

would all be coordinated by the use of one common list of registered voters on a computerized data bank. In target areas, selected households, whose demographic characteristics were included in the data bank, would receive persuasive, issue-oriented direct mail in late September. They would also be telephoned or visited door-to-door in September or October. If they were favorable to the President, that information would be transmitted back to the computer center. At the end of the campaign, all favorable voters would receive a get-out-the-vote telegram-letter to augment the turnout activities in the field. It was intended particularly to target and identify Democrats who supported the President. In the remaining states, computer lists and telephone centers were not provided from Washington. They relied more heavily on door-to-door canvassing, using local lists, augmented by more informal telephone centers, where they were established. In all states, the strategy was to identify favorable supporters, rather than to persuade undecided voters by personal contact.

Surrogate Program. The surrogate speaker program was developed as another means of reaching the voters while controlling the exposure of the candidate. Thirty-five public figures, including Cabinet Officers, Senators, Congressmen, Governors, one Mayor and members of the White House Staff, were brought into the program. Schedules of speaking events would be developed so as to give appropriate coverage to media markets of key states over the duration of the campaign. The speakers would be advanced by the Tour Office and provided with speech materials by several sources in the Committee and the White House. As the campaign progressed, these surrogates proved to be effective in presenting the President's record and in attacking McGovern. They received wide media coverage, thus allowing the President to remain above the day-to-day campaign. McGovern made the mistake of taking on the surrogates, further reinforcing his image as a second-level political figure. Later in the campaign, a women's surrogate program, involving Cabinet and White House wives and high women appointees would be implemented to augment the program described above.

Voter Bloc Programs. Because of the potential loosening of the New Deal coalition, special attention was given to several segments of the voting population which have historically supported Democratic candidates. In addition, for the first time young voters represented a new force in the electorate, and were widely believed to be strongly in the Democratic camp. Some normally Republican groups were also deemed to merit special attention, particularly older voters and farmers.

Ultimately, organizations were established to focus on the following demographic voter groups:

Agriculture
Black
Elderly
Jewish
Nationalities
Spanish-Speaking
Youth

At the same time, several groups were formed to focus on specific occupational groups such as lawyers and educators.

The purpose of the voter blocs was two-fold:

a. Persuasion: to focus attention on segments of voters with common characteristics and to gain support for the President from those voters on the basis of their identity with a given group.

b. Provision of Volunteers: to draw on the membership of the voter groups for volunteers to work in organizational activities such as canvassing and "Get-Out-The-Vote".

Advertising. It was decided at the outset to form an in-house advertising group, rather than to use an outside agency. This strategy had several objectives:

- ° To assure that all persons involved in developing the advertising were loyal to the candidate.
- ° To assure that the key persons involved did not have conflicting obligations to commercial accounts which would limit their time available for the campaign.
- ° To bring together the best talent available to focus on the Presidential campaign.
- ° To reduce the cost of advertising.

The advertising campaign would be designed to:

- ° Emphasize the competence and incumbency of the President.
- ° Raise doubts about the competence of McGovern and the soundness of his policies.
- ° Legitimize, in the minds of the Democrats, the idea of voting for a Republican President. During the campaign, this was done through the vehicle of Democrats for Nixon.

Polling and Demographics. A comprehensive plan for polling was developed to give a continuing evaluation of the state of mind of the electorate throughout the campaign. Polls were to be taken in key states, as well as nationally. The first survey would go to the field in January, before the primaries; the second in June, between the California Primary and the Democratic Convention; and the third immediately after Labor Day. Finally, daily telephone polls were scheduled from September 25 through October 30. In the early development of campaign strategy, the polls were instrumental in identifying the target states. As the campaign unfolded in September and October, they were useful in decision-making on allocation of resources among the states, particularly speakers, media and funds. Throughout, they served to identify the important issues and show how the voters perceived the strengths and weaknesses of the candidates. In particular, they gave tangible data to evaluate potential points of vulnerability for both attack and defense.

During the campaign, demographic data was combined with polling information to a greater degree than ever before. Several new demographic tools were available:

- ° The 1970 Census data. Not since 1952 had a Presidential Campaign been conducted so soon after completion of a census, when the information on social characteristics was so current. With the high mobility of the American population, such demographic data rapidly depreciates in value. The 1960 Census, for example, was becoming obsolete by 1964.
- ° Large-capacity computers and sophisticated techniques in direct mail targeting. Mailing lists are now correlated to demographic characteristics within Census tracts. For example, if Mr. Jones lives in a Census tract whose median housing value is \$35,000, he is considered to be of that income group. Other factors, such as number, type and age of automobiles owned, are known to correlate with important demographic characteristics such as age, income, children living at home, etc. With the capability of assigning demographic characteristics to individual voters, by name and address, a powerful method was introduced for targeting direct mail, selecting priority precincts, and many other campaign techniques. This was done for the first time in 1972 in the ten key states (see below).

- ° Computer Maps. Computers now have the ability to print out shaded maps which present census data, such as concentration of the blue collar workers, on a geographical format. Such maps were produced for major metropolitan areas in several key states. By overlaying several characteristics, such as income, race, occupation and age, target areas could be sharply distinguished.

This refined demographic data, when combined with polls showing the attitudes of various voter groups, allowed very precise targeting of key precincts. These methods were particularly useful in the selection of precincts where Democratic voters were to receive issue-oriented mail from Democrats for Nixon.

These combined polling and demographic techniques were also important in developing the strategy toward "Peripheral Urban Ethnics". The computer maps showed that in almost every metropolitan area there is a black ghetto, surrounded by a ring of blue collar, middle income, Democratic voters, of European ethnic background. Past voting data showed that these voters had given Wallace much of his support in 1968 and in the 1972 primaries. Polls showed that they were close to the President on the issues, particularly the social issues (crime, drugs, busing) and foreign policy. Accordingly, a strategy was developed to give high priority to the ethnic precincts and to target them for the voter contact program, as well as for appropriate issue-oriented material to them through advertising and direct mail. On the basis of the election returns, that strategy was effective.

One shortcoming was that the demographic data was not used extensively by the Political Division or the states. That might have been corrected by better liaison within the Washington Committee and earlier planning for the state campaigns (to be discussed later in this report).

Targeting of Key States. An ongoing analysis of polling and demographic data and electoral strategy yielded a list of ten projected "battleground" states. Relative priorities varied somewhat through the campaign, as updated polls showed large leads for the President in several states; however, the basic list remained the same. The states were as follows (in order of electoral votes):

California
New York
Pennsylvania
Texas

Illinois
Ohio
Michigan
New Jersey
Maryland
Connecticut

The significance of the target states was that they received the full voter identification system, with telephone centers, door-to-door canvass, direct mail and computerized lists of voters. In general, the state re-election committees had more financial resources at their disposal. The target states also had the heaviest scheduling of speakers, most intense local advertising and greatest scrutiny in public opinion surveys. Other campaign programs also gave them top priority.

CONDUCT OF THE CAMPAIGN - I: THE PRIMARIES.

As 1972 approached, the President was challenged on the left by Representative McCloskey, and later on the right by Representative Ashbrook. That made it necessary to enter contested primaries, starting with New Hampshire in early March. It also created an opportunity to test some of the programs which had been planned for the general campaign, and to test the abilities of the Committee's organization. In retrospect, the experience was beneficial, because mistakes were made and corrected in the primaries, leading to a much sounder national campaign in the summer and fall.

The objective in the primaries was to overwhelmingly defeat the opposition so as to firmly establish the President's political strength in his own party. That was accomplished by winning New Hampshire with 69% of the vote, at a time when the heavily-favored Muskie was unable to reach 50% on the Democratic side. That campaign was run mainly on voter contact through telephone and direct mail. Every Republican voter in the state was called and sent at least two letters. Subsequent results in Florida, Wisconsin and California, as well as other states, conclusively demonstrated that the President had the strong allegiance of Republicans throughout the nation. In California, the names of over 30,000 potential volunteers were obtained through a mailing to all registered Republicans.

The campaign programs which benefitted the most during the primaries were advertising, direct mail, telephone centers, surrogates, communications and the political division.

CONDUCT OF THE CAMPAIGN - II. BETWEEN THE PRIMARIES AND LABOR DAY.

During the early months of the campaign the Political Division was concerned chiefly with designation of state chairmen. By July, the polls began to show a substantial lead for the President. Therefore, the decision was made to concentrate the remainder of the field campaign on the fundamental premise that the President had sufficient support to win the election. Efforts were aimed at identifying favorable voters rather than persuading undecided voters and guaranteeing that the support was translated into votes on election day. Emphasis was shifted to the development in every state of a strong field organization, capable of implementing an extensive program of favorable voter identification, registration and turnout.

An evaluation in July indicated that only half of the states had approved budgets and that there was not enough money in those budgets to finance storefront headquarters and the voter contact program. Likewise, there appeared to be shortages for other activities, such as the absentee ballot and ballot security efforts. In late July and early August, substantial time and effort were devoted to correcting these deficiencies and bringing the state organizations up to speed.

Another serious problem facing the campaign as of the first of July was the absence of a specific plan of action in the states. A State Chairman's Organization Manual had been prepared and distributed in early June to local leadership, but there was no agreement on how to implement its contents, or the amount of emphasis to be given to the program. In July, a standard plan for voter identification, registration and turnout was launched immediately with a series of orientation and training conferences in Washington to give state leaders a clear concept of the campaign and the responsibilities which they were expected to meet.

The delay in establishing state budgets and developing a standard plan for the state campaigns set back the lead time in several key programs. In the absence of specific guidance from Washington, some of the states had begun to implement their own plans. In most states it was not possible to accomplish adequate organizational staffing and training in time to conduct the voter identification program to the full extent desired.

Many of the voter blocs had developed their programs to the point of implementation before state plans were in place. In some cases, they had begun activities in the states before other programs were finalized. The result was a distortion of priorities and misallocation of resources all of which had to be re-oriented in July and August. That re-orientation was never fully accomplished. The fault here was not with the voter blocs, whose directors were moving ahead with their specific areas of the campaign, but in the belated completion of the other state plans.

During the late spring and summer, extensive preparations were also made for the other elements of the voter identification system. Lists of registered voters were acquired from local officials in target states. Computer systems were designed to process the names so that they could be printed out on precinct canvass lists and on direct mail. This was the first time that a national campaign had attempted to purchase such lists for target states. The lists were scheduled to be sent to the local storefronts and telephone centers by Labor Day. Because of the long lead times required to obtain and process the lists, many locations did not receive them until later than anticipated. That delay was costly in lost campaign momentum after the Convention. In addition, there were technical problems with the computer lists in several localities. Some had to be discarded and reproduced in corrected form. In future campaigns, the computer data system should be started as early as January prior to the election, rather than in May. The present system can be used again, if it receives minimum maintenance during the intervening years.

In the telephone campaign, the lessons of the primaries were incorporated into the program for the general election. This was the first time that a national campaign designed and provided complete instructions, forms, procedures and materials for telephone center operation. The program was carefully refined so that volunteers could operate the local centers effectively with very little training or supervision by state or national telephone leaders. A center in Westchester, New York was run just like one in Sacramento, California, and their results could be compared against the same standard. A system of reporting and accountability allowed continuous management review at the state and national levels. Here, again, the required lead-times for design and production of materials were underestimated, and the national staff had to work under heavy pressure of deadlines. That effort should have started in April, rather than in June, after the California primary.

The telephone campaign proved to be a highly efficient means of contacting voters. In a campaign such as this one, where identification rather than persuasion is the purpose of the voter contact, the telephone is ideally suited. In retrospect, an even larger program, covering more states, might have been a wise use of resources. In Texas and Michigan, where the Senatorial candidates were included on the telephone identification canvass, the Republicans ran well against strong opposition.

Other parts of the Committee also prepared for the fall campaign. The November Group developed the theme and slogan for the advertising and promotional materials. A system of distribution was set up for the buttons, brochures, bumper strips, etc., which was designed to avoid the failures of the past. By Labor Day, however, it was clear that

stocks were inadequate and that orders by the states could not be filled promptly. Those delays and back-orders caused a great deal of ill-will and resentment in the field and seriously hampered the implementation of other important campaign programs at the local level. In any future campaign, the materials distribution problem must be given the highest priority and be organized with plenty of lead time to spare.

CONDUCT OF THE CAMPAIGN - III: AFTER LABOR DAY.

By the kickoff of the fall campaign, the operating pattern had become one of intense activity in the field, backed up by national programs which kept the President and his record before the American public without over-exposing the candidate.

A nationwide Canvass Kick-Off was held on September 16, to intensify the push for all-out effort by state organizations on door-to-door canvassing. Surrogates participated in fifty local headquarters throughout the country and received wide media coverage. This event highlighted the grass-roots campaign and motivated the state organizations to push their canvassing efforts.

The people-to-people programs sought to generate increased activity at the local level to offset over confidence in the state leadership. Gradually abandoning the "trickle-down" approach, with its extensive reliance on official state campaign leadership, the Committee moved toward greater direct contact and activity at the local level, through mailings and telephone calls to county leadership and increased numbers of national personnel working in the field to assure effective implementation of the core organization programs.

Local storefronts were used in the programs of voter identification, registration and turnout. Approximately 2,000 such headquarters were open for the final eight to ten weeks of the campaign.

Meanwhile, other national programs were also being activated as the campaign progressed. The telephone campaign established 250 centers in the ten key states. Contrary to the experience of several primaries in the spring, it became difficult to recruit volunteers for telephoning in many areas after Labor Day. The President's large lead in the polls had created considerable apathy among his supporters. Other potential volunteers had turned their attention to state-wide or local races. In this scarce market of volunteers, the telephone program found itself in competition with the door-to-door canvass effort.

In the original Washington Committee organizational structure, the Political Division, responsible for the conduct of the campaign in the states, had been placed under one Deputy Campaign Director. National programs, including the telephone program, had been placed under the other Deputy Campaign Director. The Political Division had direct responsibility for the door-to-door canvass, and they tended to press the states to give that top priority over other volunteer-oriented activities. The telephone centers thereby suffered, not being a part of that Division. Later in the Campaign, the two programs acquired a better balance and both did well. In a future campaign, it would be better to have the telephone program as a part of the organization which is responsible for the field activity in the states. That would encourage more cooperation between the various canvass programs leading to a more effective overall effort.

In general, the voter identification canvass was most successful. On the basis of an average of two voters per household contacted, some 45 million voters were reached through this activity. The two central purposes of the canvass were clearly fulfilled: (1) identification of a sufficient number of the President's supporters to fuel an effective voter turnout effort; and (2) development during the canvass in September and October of a field organization capable of delivering a strong Election Day effort. While all states did not perform as well as they might have, the key and battleground states, where canvassing could have meant the difference, performed well beyond early expectations. The final results are summarized in Tab A.

The Surrogate program required more time than anticipated from the staffs of the state re-election committees. The arrangements for speaking appearances, advance work and coordination with Washington often demanded time which had to be taken from other important activities. In future campaigns, if an extensive surrogate program is used, the state committees should be better staffed to fulfill their responsibilities. It seems clear, however, that the surrogate program was extremely worthwhile and proved to be one of the most effective weapons for keeping McGovern on the defensive.

The Advertising program succeeded in reinforcing the President's image of competence, while creating doubts about McGovern's ability to meet the demands of the Presidency. In the latter effort, John Connally and the Democrats for Nixon were particularly effective.

In July, when the decisions were made to give top priority to programs in the field, major cuts were made in the advertising budget. As a result, it was not possible to conduct a strong media campaign until the last week of the campaign. There should have been more financial reserves kept for advertising; the campaign was vulnerable if McGovern had begun to gather momentum in September.

The television advertising was delayed until late in September. From then on, a pattern of gradually increased media exposure was implemented. The President's radio and television appearances were a part of the pattern and served to project him into the campaign arena just enough to keep McGovern on the defensive. Throughout the campaign, the Presidential strategy of limited campaign appearances and maximum use of his office left McGovern no target and no opportunity to close the great gap in public support.

To keep McGovern on the defensive and to coordinate public relations efforts against him, the Attack Group met each morning to plan tactics for the day. This group orchestrated the attack plans of the Communications Division, the surrogate speakers, the White House Staff, the Vice President and the RNC. The Communications Division prepared press releases, speech materials, audio feeds for radio, and television film service to aid in implementing the attack plans, as well as to publicize the positive side of the President's record.

Throughout the campaign, one consistent game-plan was followed. That was to keep McGovern identified with his earlier statements and never to let him get off the defensive. At the same time, the President's strengths were constantly reinforced. McGovern, on the other hand, never did adopt a consistent strategy, except possibly to keep attacking on Watergate. He was never able to position himself firmly on the right side of a policy issue.

The final pre-election day organizational activity of the national campaign was the October 28 Get-Out-The-Vote (GOTV) Kick-Off. This event was held in 44 areas in 22 key and battleground states. Surrogates visited storefronts and telephone centers in these areas to emphasize the importance of GOTV and to participate in the actual work of preparing for Election Day. For the most part, the GOTV Kick-Off accomplished its main purposes:

1. It forced the end of the voter identification effort and oriented field organizations for the coming get-out-the-vote activity.
2. It demonstrated the high priority to be placed on GOTV and publicized the need for, and importance of, volunteers.

Early experiences demonstrated the necessity of deploying more national staff to the field in areas where the core program was being inadequately implemented. Beginning with preparation of the September 16 Canvass Kick-Off, the Political Division and the Telephone Campaign, in coordination with the RNC, dispatched an increasing number of Washington staff members to assure necessary local performance.

By mid-October, most voter bloc activity was concentrated in direct assistance with the voter turnout program in the priority areas, and substantial numbers of voter bloc staff were assigned to the field to assist with the final effort. By the end of October, almost 100 national Committee staff members and another 25 from the RNC were in these states helping to implement GOTV activity. This strong performance at the local level by so many Washington staff members was a high point of the campaign. In retrospect, the deployment would have been even more effective if it had been started a few weeks earlier.

OVERALL REVIEW.

In large measure, the campaign succeeded in its objectives. The voter contact programs of door-to-door canvass, telephone canvass, direct mail and get-out-the-vote were particularly successful. Frank Mankiewicz has said,

"To sum it all up: When we talk about the McGovern campaign, we ought to look at the Nixon campaign, which was a model. It spent an inordinate amount of time and money that originally was ticketed for television and ended up on the street in one of the best get-out-the-vote operations in terms of direct mail and telephoning that many of us have ever seen. I have a feeling that the time we spent on election day getting out the vote was in part responsible for turning out so large a Nixon vote.

"I would think the figures will show that the Nixon campaign beat us at what we do best--getting out the vote. It's probably the first time a Republican campaign has ever done that so successfully. It was a remarkable job."

On the other hand, several improvements could have been made. Generally, the campaign could have been run better if the states had had less autonomy. Comments have been made previously relating to the timing of state budget approvals and completion of plans for the field programs. Some of that planning should have been started early in the life of the Committee, in 1971. One of the original staff members should have been experienced in precinct politics, and charged with the planning of that program. The detailed program should have been completed by August or September of 1971, well before the state organizations became active.

Many new procedures had to be developed to meet the requirements of the new campaign spending act. Although it did create several new layers of record-keeping and administration, it also gave Washington far greater control over the state committees. That factor was very instrumental in the unprecedented success of the nationwide grass-roots programs of telephone and door-to-door canvass and get-out-the-vote. Even more control could have been exercised, however. The extraordinary leverage of an incumbent Administration, heavily favored to be re-elected, with patronage and programs to administer, was not used to its maximum advantage. Better performance could have been required and achieved from the states.

Another means of improvement in the state campaigns would have been to have had a larger field staff at the national level, which could have been deployed early. Valuable time sometimes passed before Washington was able to determine that a local organization needed help and then to provide it. This field presence would have been particularly useful in interfacing with target Senate campaigns.

Throughout the campaign there was a massive cash flow through the Committee. Frequently, long delays occurred in processing and writing checks for expenditures previously approved in the budget. It might have been better to have had the disbursement side of the Finance Committee as a function of the Campaign Committee, where it could have been more responsive to the time requirements of the various divisions. The total cash flow could still have been controlled by the Finance Committee.

It is too early to analyze completely the performance of the Voter Blocs and Citizens Groups. However, it can be said as of now that the persuasive campaign was successful. The activities of the Voter Blocs, such as Youth, Jewish, Ethnics, Older Americans and Spanish Speaking Americans, received excellent coverage in national publications such as Time, Life, etc. In addition, results indicate that the percentage of the vote received by the President in various Voter Blocs increased considerably over 1968. One of the most dramatic increases was in the Jewish Community where the President received approximately 40% of the vote in 1972.

The success of the second objective of the Voter Blocs/Citizens Groups campaign, volunteer recruitment, varied from state to state. On the national level, it was not particularly successful.

Some of the voter blocs performed well and meshed their own programs well with those of the overall campaign. Others persisted in fragmentary efforts among their constituencies which competed with other programs and drained limited management resources in the states. It would have been more productive if the voter bloc leadership had directed greater

effort toward mobilizing volunteers from their constituencies for the basic voter identification programs in the field.

This election was different from most in that the candidate had two major organizations involved in the campaign. The White House staff was responsible for speeches, policy on issues, the candidate's personal travel, etc. The Committee had charge of the programs relating to the conduct of the campaign. In general, the liaison and coordination between the two was good. There were some cases of conflict where both organizations sought to develop strategy or operating guidelines, but these were generally resolved satisfactorily. The dual structure did necessitate lengthy review and approval procedures which sometimes made it impossible to meet desired deadlines.

Another important area of coordination was with the RNC. Generally good liaison was established during the early planning phase of 1971. Some friction developed, however, as the campaign became operational during the 1972 spring primaries and the months leading up to the Republican Convention. Strong efforts at that point by the Committee's Political Division restored a good working relationship for the remainder of the Campaign. The RNC made significant contributions with its Answer Desk on political issues, in providing extensive demographic data for the campaign, in working with the Political Division in the development of plans for the campaign in the states, in the work of their field organization in helping to implement the grass-roots program, and with the publication of Monday.

An area of disappointment in the campaign was the poor showing of many statewide and local Republican candidates in the wake of the Nixon landslide. As discussed earlier, the President's campaign extended beyond the normal Republican constituency to other voter segments which had historically voted Democrat. Moreover, these groups had been propelled toward him by their active opposition to McGovern. Candidates who successfully positioned themselves close to the President, or their opposition close to McGovern, were generally successful. Tower of Texas and Griffin of Michigan merged part of their campaigns with the President's, as has been mentioned. Helms in North Carolina created coattails for himself by running very closely to the President in his own campaign, and invoking the President's name frequently.

From the beginning, it had been determined that the President's campaign would not give priority attention to concurrent statewide and Congressional races. Accordingly, mechanisms were not set up for liaison with local campaigns for monitoring the standings of

the various Republican candidates, or for providing technical and campaign management advice. It was not until very late in the campaign that active concern was turned toward these races. By that time, it was difficult to get reliable intelligence on the races and quite late to reverse negative trends. Some close Senate losses might have been averted if one of the early Committee objectives had been to work closely with the state-wide contests.

In summary, the campaign had considerable room for improvement, as all campaigns do. On the other hand, it was probably superior in every element to that of the opposition; moreover, it helped sustain and then deliver to the ballot box the full measure of support that its candidate had gained from the voters.

FINAL CANVASSING RESULTS

The final results of the door-to-door and telephone voter identification canvass are as follows:

Total households in the U.S.	63,316,000
Total households in priority counties	48,149,000
Total households contacted door-to-door	16,075,000
Percentage of priority households canvassed door-to-door	33%
Total households contacted by telephone	6,543,000
Total households contacted door-to-door and by telephone	22,618,000
Percentage of total households contacted	36%
Percentage of households in priority counties contacted	47%

As shown below, key state results are particularly good:

Number of households in priority counties	25,924,000
Households canvassed door-to-door	8,284,000
Percentage of priority county households canvassed door-to-door	32%
Households canvassed by telephone	6,543,000
Percentage of priority county households canvassed by telephone	25.9%
Total households canvassed	14,827,000
Percentage of priority county households canvassed	57%

ADMINISTRATIVELY
CONFIDENTIAL

*for
compro*
August 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM

FOR: ROB ODLE
FROM: STEPHEN BULL
RE: Gold Four Leaf Clovers

I hesitate to be so blunt, but your proposal for use of the four leaf clovers just won't work. In speaking with Bebe Rebozo today on an entirely different subject, he reemphasized that "the President wants these items to go to County Chairmen". He does not want them to be given out indiscriminately.

I am convinced that Bebe has indeed discussed this entire matter with the President and that we are practically obligated to distribute these four leaf clovers as follows:

English Language Four Leaf Clovers: Nixon State Chairmen, Co-Chairmen, National Committee Members, and County Chairmen with a cover letter from Clark MacGregor.

I explained to Bebe, incidentally, that some County Chairmen would not be selected until after the Convention. The response was "Fine, we'll just have to wait until then but let's be sure they get them".

Spanish Language Four Leaf Clovers: Of the 500 four leaf clovers with Spanish writing, Bebe has indicated that he will distribute 400 and send us the remaining 100. It will be acceptable to give this quantity to Alex Armendaris for use in the Spanish-speaking community and in the field, provided they are distributed judiciously.

DECLASSIFIED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD
BY: [illegible]
By DG NARA, Dec 8/10/94

Additional Four Leaf Clovers: Mr. Rebozo suggested that we have additional mementos printed in Polish, Italian, etc. for use with other ethnic groups.

Mr. Rebozo will be spending this week-end with the President and, since this is something very much on his mind, you can be sure that he will tell the President that we are in the process of distributing these items in the manner outlined above. I think we had best comply.

cc: B. Kehrl
G. Strachan

Committee for the Re-election of the President

②

MEMORANDUM

August 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

In the attached memo, Steve Bull describes the Presidential gold leaf clover which Bebe Rebozo has purchased for use by 1701.

It is proposed that the 1500 English language and 500 Spanish language gifts be distributed as follows:

500 English to Nixon state chairmen, co-chairmen, executive directors, GOP state chairmen, co-chairmen, and national committee members, with a cover letter from Clark MacGregor;

500 Spanish language to Alex Armendaris for his use in the Spanish speaking community and in the field;

1000 English to be divided up among 1701's division directors for their use between now and November. These would be used in much the same way as White House staff members use Presidential pens, cufflinks, etc.: to give to visitors to their offices, in the field, as a reward for special favors, etc.

Approve  Disapprove _____ Comment _____

bcc: Mr. Frederic V. Malek
Mr. Gordon C. Strachan
~~Mr. Bruce A. Kehrli~~
Mr. Mike Scott
Mr. Stephen Bull
Mr. Harry S. Flemming

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 19, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12356, Section 1.1
By RTP NARS, Date 3/20/87

FOR: ROB ODLE
FROM: STEPHEN BULL *AB*
RE: Gold Four Leaf Clovers

Accompanying this memorandum is a mailing box containing a gold four leaf clover inscribed with the words "Good Luck" and bearing the President's signature. The original intent was to send these items to State Nixon Chairmen and Co-Chairmen, the total being approximately 120. The details of this were worked out with Mike Scott, Harry Flemming and Jeb Magruder.

As I explained to you on the telephone today, I have discovered that the source of these gold four leaf clovers is Bebe Rebozo, and he has told the President that these items are being sent by the Committee to all State, County, and local Nixon Chairmen. He has purchased approximately 2000 of these items, 500 of which are in Spanish. Apparently the President is quite enthusiastic about sending these items out.

As I explained to Mr. Rebozo last week in California, it is my opinion that these items are good devices for Clark MacGregor to establish contact with all of the Chairmen with whom he will be working between now and November. It is my thought that the paperweights should go out along with an accompanying letter from Clark MacGregor with wording along the lines of "The President has asked me to send to you...." Signed Clark MacGregor. Mr. Rebozo offered the thought that they should go out from the President, but I think there is a general agreement that we should adhere to the original plan when we were talking about 120 of having them go out from the campaign chairman. (Originally we were talking about having the letter signed by John Mitchell.)

You indicated on the telephone today that you were in agreement with this idea and that you would work out the details. If you will give me the quantities that you require, I will insure that the appropriate number is sent to you.

Thank you.

cc: B. Kehrli
G. Strachan

1972

August 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: PATRICK E. O'DONNELL
SUBJECT: John Eisenhower

I met personally with John Eisenhower this date to discuss the possibility of using him as a surrogate speaker. He was generally receptive but insisted that he will speak only as John Q. Citizen, a concerned taxpayer. He will not profess to have inside information or take strongly dogmatic positions on issues upon which he has little background. As for your suggestion of areas he might best cover, Mr. Eisenhower really doesn't feel that he could be awfully effective with national defense or foreign policy but will look more closely at these subjects after he has studied briefing books, fact sheets and other related materials which we are supplying him.

John will not be available until September 18 but indicated he was ready to roll up his sleeves and go to work at that time. Noel Koch is going to work up a couple standard speeches which he can use and he prefers to treat the invitations we advance on an ad hoc, one-by-one, basis.

I suggested the possibility of radio and TV in conjunction with speaking engagements and Mr. Eisenhower responded by saying he did not feel he could stand up well under sharp cross examination. However, he left this proposition open for consideration.

I will immediately submit several proposed engagements for his consideration commencing September 18.

cc: Charles Colson
Bruce Kehrli ✓

September 5, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL/
EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: JOHN DEAN

SUBJECT: Exemption Application for the
Irrevocable Literary Trust

Attached for your signature are an original and one copy of the Exemption Application for the Richard M. Nixon Irrevocable Literary Trust prepared by the Mudge Rose firm.

Everything looks in order, and I urge you to sign both Application forms in the space provided for on the back side (red check mark). I would appreciate having them returned to me as soon as they are signed so that I may forward them, together with the Power of Attorney, to John Alexander, who will then proceed to file the Application with IRS.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD
L.O. 123456789
By JDG NARA, DDC 8/10/94

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL



September 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

S

SUBJECT:

President's Estate Plan

John Dean told me today that conformed copies of all of the materials executed in connection with the President's Estate Plan will be sent from New York early next week. At that time I will review the documents with John Dean. The discussion will focus on matters that concern you personally as a Trustee. In addition, I will cover with Dean any changes that may have occurred in the basic Plan from the time I was removed from the project by John Ehrlichman.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD
E.O. 12958, 12959
By CA NARA, DATE 8/10/94

News Release

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

Washington, DC 20224

Tel. (202) 964-4021 12/20/73

Release: Immediate

IR-1344

Washington, D.C.--The Internal Revenue Service today announced three revenue rulings dealing with the Federal income tax treatment of political parties, unexpended campaign contributions transferred to the U.S. Government by political committees, and the receipt and disbursement of funds by political candidates.

IRS intention to act in the area of tax treatment of political parties was announced by Commissioner Donald C. Alexander on August 1, 1973. Mr. Alexander's statement, at that time, indicated that the Service would withhold such action "until it appears that Congress has had an opportunity to consider the problem specifically." The IRS statement also dealt with certain other tax aspects of political activities.

IRS said that these rulings are designed to provide a clear understanding of the rules that will be applicable if Congress does not choose to enact statutory provisions requiring different results. IRS noted that, in his testimony of April 30, 1973, Secretary of the Treasury Shultz had asked Congress to act in this area.

The first of the three rulings announced today, Rev. Rul. 74-21, provides that income tax returns for the year 1972 are due from political parties by April 15, 1974. In hardship cases, IRS will make appropriate arrangements for deferring payment of tax that may be due. IRS will also grant up to six-month extensions of time for filing 1973 returns and paying the tax that may be due on those returns.

(MORE)

The ruling holds that, for the type of political organization described in the ruling, a U.S. Corporation Income Tax Return, Form 1120, will be required. Other political organizations may, however, be able to show that they should be treated as trusts or partnerships.

In addition, Rev. Rul. 74-21 states that income to be reported includes interest and dividends, and net gains from the sale of contributed securities. Consistent with Mr. Alexander's statement of August 1, gains from sales of contributed securities before October 3, 1972, are not includible in income. The ruling also states that campaign contributions are not includible in income and campaign expenditures are not deductible.

In the second ruling, Rev. Rul. 74-22, the IRS holds that unexpended campaign contributions transferred to the U. S. Government by a committee organized to elect a candidate to Federal public office are not considered as income to the candidate, the committee, or any of its members. The ruling holds that neither the candidate, the committee, any committee member, nor any contributor to the committee is entitled to a charitable contribution deduction as a result of the transfer, and that the transfer is not subject to gift tax.

The third ruling, Rev. Rul. 74-23, provides that political campaign contributions received by a candidate for public office and used for campaign purposes are not taxable to the candidate and campaign expenses are not deductible. However, income earned from the contributions, such as interest on bank deposits, dividends on contributed securities, and net gains on the sale of contributed securities, is taxable. As in Rev. Rul. 74-21, gains on sales of contributed securities prior to October 3, 1972, are not taxable.

(MORE)

Rev. Rul. 74-23 also provides that taxable earnings from campaign contributions, as well as deductible expenses, must be reported by the candidate on a U.S. Fiduciary Income Tax Return, Form 1041.

If returns were not filed for 1972, delinquency and failure to pay penalties will not be asserted if the return is filed and the tax paid by April 15, 1974. Also, as in Rev. Rul. 74-21, in hardship cases, IRS will make appropriate arrangements for deferring payment of tax that may be due, and up to six-month extensions of time will be granted for filing 1973 returns and paying the tax that may be due.

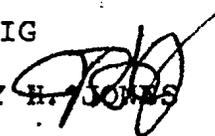
The texts of the three rulings, which are attached, will be published in Internal Revenue Bulletin No. 1974-2, dated January 14, 1974.

#

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 4/24/74

TO: AL HAIG
FROM: JERRY H. JONES 

Should the attached bill
be paid by the President.

Yes _____ No _____

Other _____

LAW OFFICES OF
DECHERT PRICE & RHOADS
1600 THREE PENN CENTER
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19102
(215) LOCUST 8-1600

CABLE BARDEP • TELEX 84 5324

KENNETH W. GEMMILL

April 15, 1974

General Alexander Haig
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Al:

Enclosed is the bill for Mr. Drumm's analysis
of the San Clemente appraisal. This appears reasonable
to me and should be paid.

Sincerely yours,



Kenneth W. Gemmill

KWG:is
Encl.

BOWDLE, BOOTH & DRUMM

Real Estate Appraisers and Consultants

RALPH S. BOWDLE, MAI
Retired
JOHN W. BOOTH, MAI
HUGO C. DRUMM, MAI
Members
American Institute of
Real Estate Appraisers

3811 LONG BEACH BOULEVARD

LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA 90807

Telephones: LONG BEACH - (213) 424-4349
LOS ANGELES - (213) 636-6696
ORANGE CO. - (714) 821-6350

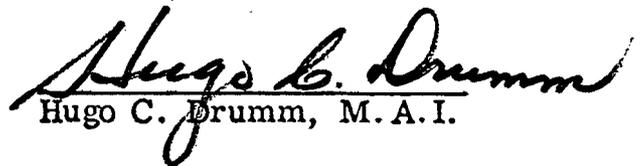
April 8, 1974

President Richard M. Nixon
c/o Kenneth Gemmill, Esquire
Attorney At Law
1600 Three Penn Center
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Re: 25± Acre Estate - La Casa Pacifica
4100 Calle Isabella
San Clemente, California

Consulting Services Rendered:

April 4, 1974	Pick up Sando Report	2.00 hours
	Pick up V. T. N. Report	2.00 "
	Preliminary Analysis	4.00 "
	Letter Analysis	5.00 "
April 5, 1974	Letter Analysis	4.00 "
		<hr/>
		17.00 hours
17.00 hours @ \$40/hour		\$680.00


Hugo C. Drumm, M. A. I.

HCD:rtk

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 28, 1972

READING

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM JOHN EHRLICHMAN
SUBJECT ESTATE PLAN

Attached for your review is a copy of Frank DeMarco's estate plan.

I recommend that you review it at your convenience.

OPTION NO. 1

(Limited control over wife's trust - maximum tax benefits)

One single Inter Vivos Trust into which husband and wife place all presently existing assets, including hard assets and papers. Trust instrument to recite that all property is community property and contain clause in accordance with California Civil Code Section 5113.5 so as to eliminate any gifts or gift taxes on creation of trust.

1. Revocable during joint lives of husband and wife by their joint action only.

2. Virtual ownership of all assets during lives of husband and wife. All income to them during lifetime; can make gifts and transfers out of trust.

3. Trust becomes irrevocable on death of husband but not on death of wife.

4. On death of husband, specific gifts to friends and/or associates and/or children may be made.

5. On death of husband, trustee marshals all property in trust including both the hard assets and the paper assets and separates them into two separate trusts:

(a) Marital trust. This trust to contain all of the hard assets and so many of the papers (of the nonsensitive character) as may be needed in order to equal the wife's half of the community property and any possible marital deduction property using a pecuniary formula.

(b) Residuary trust. To contain nothing but papers and literary materials and to be given in its entirety to charity and a maximum charitable deduction claimed on the estate tax return.

6. Marital trust to provide that wife will have all income for her life, together with power in trustee to invade corpus for wife's benefit if needed;

(a) At wife's death, she is to have testamentary power of appointment over the remaining corpus of the marital trust, not a general power of appointment. A testamentary power will permit the marital deduction trust to qualify under IRC 2041 as a power included in her gross estate, and hence not a terminable interest under IRC 2056.

(b) Absent a specific exercise of this power in wife's will, property in marital trust to be held for benefit of children, as income beneficiaries only, during their respective lives, and then at the death of the children, the corpus of the trust can be distributed free of trust to the husband's grandchildren.

7. Advantages:

(a) No tax on creation of the trust.

(b) No tax on husband's death because marital trust will consist of wife's half of community property together with any additional property qualifying for marital deduction.

(c) Tax at wife's death on the then value of her one-half of the marital trust.

(d) No tax on death of children as they have only a life interest with corpus to their children.

(e) Can have business-management trustee to administer hard assets as trustee for benefit of wife, and at the same time have trust instrument provide that the papers and materials in the residuary trust can have different trustees as respects decisions on release and publication of materials.

8. Disadvantages: On wife's death, if she does exercise her testamentary power of appointment over corpus of the marital trust, she could possibly appoint directly to children or third persons and thus circumvent husband's testamentary plan to provide income only to children for their lives with corpus to grandchildren.

9. If wife dies first:

(a) Trust becomes revocable by husband acting alone (per terms of trust agreement).

(b) Trustees still segregate papers into remainder trust for charity.

(c) Hard assets still segregated into husband's trust.

(d) Tax consequences same as when husband dies first.

10. Wills for both husband and wife with "pour-over" provisions, pouring over into the previously created Inter Vivos Trust will be necessary to pick up all property acquired after creation of original trust and not previously transferred into the trust.

OPTION NO. 2

(Substantial Control Over Wife's Trust - No tax benefits)

One single Inter Vivos Trust structured exactly the same as the trust referred to in Option No. 1, except:

1. In marital trust for wife, she is given income for her life only, but with liberal powers of invasion of corpus to take care of her needs during her lifetime with income over to children during their lifetimes after death of wife, with corpus to grandchildren outright free of trust.

2. Wife's marital trust contains no testamentary power of appointment. Wife has no right to dispose of any of the assets of the marital trust at her death, by will or otherwise.

3. Disadvantages:

(a) A gift tax is payable at husband's death, payable by the trustee of the trust out of corpus of the trust, equal to the fair market value of the wife's then actuarially determined remainder interest in the marital deduction trust.

(b) This is so because at moment of husband's death, wife is giving up the absolute right of use and enjoyment of her marital trust corpus.

(c) Example of tax: Assume at this point there is \$1,000,000 in hard assets, and wife is 57 years old. Tax would be the equivalent of a gift tax on \$326,800, or a tax due of \$67,707.

Example: \$2,000,000 in hard assets and wife is 60 years old. Tax would be equal to gift tax on \$735,480, or a tax due and payable of \$171,087.

FLOW CHART

ALL PROPERTY OWNED
BY
PRESIDENT AND HIS WIFE

WILLS
To Pour Over Any
Other Property Into
Intervivos Trust
After Death of First
To Die

REVOCABLE INTERVIVOS
TRUST

All Property Now Owned
Or Later Contributed
By Provisions of Trust

DEATH OF FIRST SPOUSE (ASSUME HUSBAND)

POUR OVER

Trustee Assembles All
Assets, Values and Divides

Residuary Trust

Made up of assets
with a value equal to
husband's half of
community property
and remaining
nonmarital deduction
property

All sensitive materials
plus whatever nonsensitive
materials are required to
meet estate tax valuation
tests

Given Outright To Archivist
Under Intervivos Instructions
As To Access (44 USC 2109)

Wife To Receive Income For Life And
Wife Owns A Testamentary Power Of
Appointment But In Default Of A
Specific Exercise Will Go To
Children For Life Remainder To
Grandchildren

Marital
Deduction
Trust

Made up of assets
with a value
equal to wife's
half of community
and any marital
deduction
property

All fixed assets
plus whatever
nonsensitive
materials are
necessary to
meet the one-half
value

✓

September 14, 1972

Dear Sammy:

The rally at Marine Stadium in Miami Beach had to be one of the standouts of the Convention, especially for the young people who were working so hard. It certainly was one of the highlights for me, and I will always treasure the memories of that evening.

Since the enclosed photo captured a good deal of the spirit and enthusiasm of the rally and received such wide coverage in the press, I thought you might like to have a copy as a memento. Many thanks to you and Altovise for the great job you both did in helping to make the Convention the success it was.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Honorable Sammy Davis, Jr.
Suite 1212
9000 Sunset Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90069

P.S. Pat and I were sorry you couldn't be with us at the San Clemente reception, but we wanted you to have the cufflinks which were presented to the men who attended.

RN:AVH:RLE:RMW:ma

"Copy"

The Eastern White House
San Clemente

September 2, 1972

Dear Mrs. Maier:

Your role at the 1972 Republican National Convention in overcoming my nomination held special meaning for me, and I hope it on that, is more fully understood. It was conveyed to the American people as a sign of a renewed, patriotic individualism in the political process. Perhaps the best reward for your efforts will be victory on November 7, and in the meantime I would you to have the enclosed as a token of my deep appreciation and the heartfelt thanks of all the Nixons.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

Mrs. Henry W. Maier
c/o Honorable Henry W. Maier
Mayor of Milwaukee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 532 02

RN:MAA:EK:ms

Enclosure : WRISTWATCH

"Copy"

The Western White League
San Francisco

September 2, 1972

Dear John:

Your role at the 1972 Republican National Convention in assisting by nomination and special message for us, and also that, it also goes to the people we employed to the American people -- that of concerned, patriotic individuals engaged in the political process. Perhaps the best reward for your efforts will be victory on November 7, and in the meantime I wanted you to have the enclosed as a token of my deep appreciation and the heartfelt thanks of all the Nixons.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

Mr. John McCarroll
RPS Building
Maple and Richmond Avenue
Lancaster, Pennsylvania 15030

EN:MAA:RE:me

Enclosure / WRISTWATCH

RECORDED
SEP 11 1972
OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF THE
TREASURY

32

FINANCE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008 • (202) 333-0920

MAURICE H. STANS
CHAIRMAN

September 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MAURICE H. STANS

We are arranging to have a party on Election night at the Statler-Hilton Hotel for the purpose of inviting in a number of important supporters and workers in the Finance side of the campaign.

I hope that you can arrange your plans to drop in and shake hands with them on that occasion if you are in Washington.

Maurice H. Stans
Chairman

cc: H. R. Haldeman

October 18, 1972

Dear Sam:

You have been a friend we could count on many times in the past, and I just want you to know how pleased I am by your recent offer of assistance. I will remember your help in 1968 with the Oregonian. It is good to have you with us as we approach another election. With your support I am confident we will succeed.

With my appreciation and warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Honorable Sam Yorty
Mayor of Los Angeles
Los Angeles, California 90012

cc
RN:AVH:RLE:WCH:mg

*Not sent
to other Sam Yorty*



SAM YORTY
MAYOR

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90012

October 3, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 12356, Section 1.1
By RTP NARS, Date 9/20/87

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

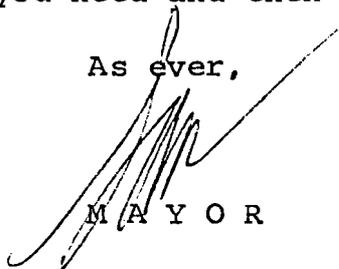
My dear Mr. President:

Congratulations on the Newhouse PLAIN DEALER. Four years ago when you needed his OREGONIAN you called me from Miami -- it was a wise call as it turned out.

I am sure you will not hesitate to call again if you need any help from me this year.

It certainly looks good for you at this juncture. You appear to have all the help you need and then some.

As ever,


MAYOR

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

December 15, 1972

Dear Don:

The Young Republicans have always had an important part in our national elections, and this year was no exception. Through your new programs and by organizing to help specific campaigns in the various states, you proved once again that YRs are an effective force in our Party. Certainly, I am pleased to have a copy of your report on "Youth Consultants" and in view of all you have done to help deliver the youth vote, I am more than ever confident of the future. The Republican Party will be in good hands and so will the nation.

With my appreciation and best wishes to you and your staff and the many thousands of YRs throughout the country,

Sincerely,

**Mr. Donald K. Sundquist
Chairman
Young Republican National
Federation
318 First Street, SE.
Washington, D. C. 20003**

RN:MAA:RLE:blh

R
Young
Republican
National
Federation

December 11, 1972

Donald K. Sundquist
Chairman

Donna Reddick
Co-Chairman

Thyllis McGrath
Secretary

Jack Smith
Treasurer

Margie Cooke
Assistant Secretary

Ray Morris
Auditor

Ben Cotten
General Counsel

Paul Washburn
Executive Director

President Richard M. Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20025

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a copy of the Young Republican National Federation campaign report on our "Youth Consultants" program of assistance for major Republican campaigns.

We feel that these activities by the Young Republican National Federation contributed significantly to the overall Republican effort in 1972. Of particular importance were the over two-million new voters registered by Young Republicans in over forty-four states.

Our "Youth Consultants" program for major Republican campaigns was a great success in assisting with the development of effective youth programs as the enclosed letters from the campaigns involved attest.

We hope that you will find these materials of interest. We would also be interested in any comments that you might have concerning them.

Respectfully,



Donald K. Sundquist
Chairman, Young Republican
National Federation

plus book

651

September 7, 1972

Dear Anne:

This is the first opportunity I have had to write you of my appreciation for the vitally important role you played at the 1972 Convention. Your distinguished service as Secretary and your outstanding keynote address added so much to our efforts in Miami. Perhaps the greatest reward for your many contributions in August will be victory in November, but in the meantime I wanted you to have the enclosed as a token of my heartfelt thanks.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Mrs. Tobin Armstrong
Executive Director Republican Center
310 First Street, SE.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Enclosure: Presidential Watch

RN:RLE:nmb

September 6, 1972

EXECUTIV
PL 1-1

Dear Anne:

Few people in American political life have been privileged to know the great sense of achievement we were able to share as participants in the Republican National Convention. What was accomplished in those few days reinforced our common devotion to the principles of our Party, set a positive course for the campaign, and reached out to citizens across the land to help form what I have termed "a new majority."

For these successes we are all deeply grateful, and I want to express my own heartfelt thanks to you for your special contributions as a Delegate to the 1972 Convention. Of course, the real task is still ahead of us. We must work as never before to carry our message to the voters, and it is good to know that we can count on the leadership you provided in August to help bring us to victory in November.

With my appreciation and best wishes,

Sincerely,

DN

Mrs. Anne Armstrong
ARMSTRONG SENIOR
ARMSTRONG, Texas 78338

RM:RLE:mya

March 20, 1972

Dear Anna:

So many people have commented to me about your extra effort at the National Committee in the last few months that I wanted to pass along those compliments to you and add my own hearty endorsement for the splendid job you are doing. All the hours you have logged in making speeches and appearances before our loyal Republican women and youth groups makes you one of our most effective surrogate candidates, and I am proud and pleased to be represented by so able and attractive a spokesman.

While the results are never immediately visible, I am confident that your devotion to our cause inspires countless others and will reap enormous benefits among these vital groups in the fall. Keep up the good work!

Sincerely,

RN.

Mrs. Tobin Armstrong
Executive Director
National Women's Political Committee
312 Constitution, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20003

cc: Herb Simpson

Mr. Fred C. Scribner, Jr.
One Monument Square
Portland, Maine 04111

Dear Fred:

George Bush told me of the very gracious way in which you stepped down as General Counsel of the Republican National Committee after your 14 years of service in that important post.

I want to congratulate you on those years of constructive and selfless leadership to our party.

In checking I find that no top official of the party in recent times has served for as many years in a top post as you did. This, to me, is clear evidence that you put the party first and that you managed to work constructively with a wide assortment of National Chairmen.

Please accept my sincere thanks for the great job you did for the party and for all Republicans.

I am pleased to know that you have told our new Chairman that you are willing to help him in the important job that lies ahead.

With best wishes, Sincerely,

PERSONAL

The Honorable
Nelson Rockefeller
Governor of New York
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

Dear Nelson:

George Bush told me about ^{the} supper you gave for him in New York. It was good of you to get your top people together to meet our new National Chairman. I wish all our states were as well organized for the Republican Party as New York is.

He also told me in confidence that you had expressed ^{some} private concern ~~over reports that the National Committee had not always been impartial towards some of our Republican officials.~~ I have told George that I want the National Committee to be totally fair and balanced in its ^{all} actions. ~~view.~~

^{also} I ~~just~~ want you to have my personal assurance on ~~this~~ that point. ^{and that he assured you that}

^{to know that you}
With best wishes,
Sincerely,

COPY OF TELEGRAM

November 2, 1970
10:04 a.m.

President Richard Nixon
Western White House
San Clemente, California

Following with prayerful interest Tuesday's Elections.
You have demonstrated tremendous courage and wisdom
in going among the people. I believe you will have a
great victory. God bless you.

Billy Graham

TELEGRAM

FULL RATE
(STRAIGHT TELEGRAM)
NIGHT LETTER

The White House
Washington

January 9, 1971

THE PRESIDENT
THE WESTERN WHITE HOUSE
SAN CLEMENTE, CALIFORNIA

MR. PRESIDENT,

HAPPY BIRTHDAY WITH EVEN HAPPIER DAYS AHEAD.

CAROL AND BOB FINCH

APPROVED FOR DISPATCH

Walter J. Hickel

907-279-9401
935 THIRD AVENUE
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99501

August 10, 1972

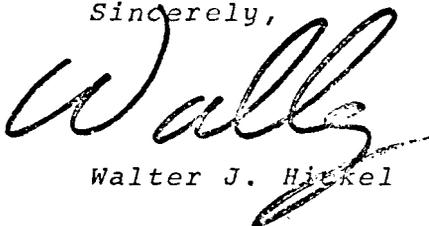
The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have spoken with Maury Stans two or three times during the past ten days. In the last conversation I mentioned the possibility of discussing with you the upcoming campaign. If this warrants your consideration, may I suggest we do this in a relaxed atmosphere, at your convenience.

I believe I can help. It is a matter of how and when.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Wally', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Walter J. Hickel

May 14, 1969

Dear Mrs. Marshburn:

The President has asked me to reply to your May 9 letter concerning the purchase of bonds for construction of the new Yorba Linda Friends Church. He and Mrs. Nixon want you to know how much they appreciate your thoughtfulness in inviting them to participate in the building of the new church, especially in view of the President's mother's active and faithful interest in the East Whittier church and of your close family ties.

I am sorry that this must be a disappointing answer to your appeal. The President and Mrs. Nixon give for charitable purposes to the extent of their means. Because of the great number of deserving requests they receive, it is impossible to give to all. They have therefore had to adopt a policy of declining all solicitations except those to which they are already committed. I am sure you will understand the fairness of this decision and will realize that it is in no way a judgment of the worthiness of your request.

The President and Mrs. Nixon join in sending their best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

John R. Brown III
Staff Assistant
to the President

Mrs. Frank Marshburn
17696 Yorba Linda Boulevard
Yorba Linda, California 92686

JRB:Melencamp:ltd

April 17, 1969

Dear Mrs. Edgington:

The President asked that I write and let you know that he had heard from friends of the family of the passing of Edna Nixon, and has written to Bert.

He appreciated your writing and asked that I express his sympathy to you in the loss of your sister.

Sincerely,

**John R. Brown III
Staff Assistant
to the President**

**Mrs. Carl Edgington
Route 1
Frankfort, Ohio 45628**

JRB:AVHiggins:com

OK

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MRS. TRICIA NIXON COX
THROUGH: DAVID N. PARKER
FROM: BRUCE A. KEHRLI *BAT*
SUBJECT: Phone Call Program

Attached are additional phone call recommendations for you. I will be sending the list of names and phone numbers to the operators so they will have them when you want to make the calls.

Thank you.

1. Martha Pritchard
Director of Special Groups and Activities
615 East Main St.
Richmond, Va.

Has done much hard work pulling together the volunteer groups in Virginia.

2. David Emery
Executive Director
Maine Committee For the Re-election
P. O. Box 110, 114 State St.
Augusta, Maine 04330

David Emery is the youngest Ex. Dir of a state Committee for the Re-election of the President in the nation. He has done an excellent job of managing the campaign there.

3. Mrs. Ellen Madeira
Co-Chairman
Rhode Island Committee for the Re-election
150 Dorrance Street
Providence, Rhode Island

Mrs. Madeira has worked tirelessly as a full time volunteer for seven months and has been instrumental in the fine work that has been done in the campaign in Rhode Island.

4. Mr. J. Brian Gaffney
GOP Chairman
410 Asylum St.
Hartford, Connecticut

Mr. Gaffney is the Republican State Committee Chairman and his cooperation and support of the Connecticut Committee for the Re-election of the President in Connecticut has been instrumental in building our organization there.

5. Carol Applequist
Volunteer
2245 S. Cederbrook
Springfield, Missouri

Carol was asked to get some of the local college students out to canvass door to door. She responded this past week by organizing a door to door canvass of 157 persons covering 3600 households. Her efforts have had quite an effect in building some enthusiasm in Springfield which was having morale problems.

6. Miss Jean Brumett
Southern Nevada Co-Chairman
1707 West Charleston Boulevard
Las Vegas, Nevada 89162

Imaginative, hard worker , instrumental in straightening out canvass reporting system.

7. Mr. Paul Gavora
State Chairman
Alaska Committee for the Re-election
P. O. Box 1364
Anchorage, Alaska

Has handled many delicate and trying problems. Has greatly assisted finance chairman and raised money for his own advertising and media placement.

8. Raymond D. Milici
State Chairman
Hawaii Committee for the Re-election
677 Ala Moana Boulevard
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

Has done an outstanding job in Hawaii. Directly responsible for building an organization and putting the state in the President's column.

9. Scott Caven
Executive Director
Texas Committee for the Re-election
P. O. Box 659
Dallas, Texas

A hard working, young, enthusiastic Democrat. Came into a very bad situation and took control. Made canvass program work.

10. W. E. (Obie) O'Brien
Chairman
South Dakota Committee for the Re-election of the President
113 North Egan Avenue
Madison, South Dakota

Obie has been handling the entire Presidential campaign virtually by himself with the exception of the Voter Canvassing GOTV program. He is presently recovering from a stroke and will be hospitalized indefinitely.

~~11/25/72~~
JKA

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MRS. TRICIA NIXON COX
THROUGH: DAVID N. PARKER
FROM: BRUCE A. KEHRLI
SUBJECT: Phone Call Program

Attached are additional phone call recommendations for you. I will be sending the list of names and phone numbers to the operators so they will have them when you want to make the calls.

Thank you.

1. Mrs. Maxine Smalley
Volunteer Chairman - Long Beach
Los Angeles CRP
3602 Atlantic Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Mrs. Smalley has put in more time than any volunteer in Los Angeles County. She has been the prime mover in putting together an effective organization in the county's second largest city, Long Beach.

2. Rosemary Ferraro
Volunteer
Downey CRP
12564 Downey Avenue
Downey, California

Responsible for building a strong effective precinct organization where none had existed before in a heavily Democratic area.

3. Mrs. Betty Reader
Women's Chairman
South Santa Clara County
538 South Murphy
Santa Clara, California

Key person - does everything - full time volunteer. Organized turnout for President's stop in Oakland.

4. Mrs. Sue Schwab
Regional Phone Bank Coordinator
San Francisco CRP
110 Waldo
Piedmont, California

Phone bank coordinator for 13 phone banks in San Francisco Bay area. Probably the best volunteer in this area.

5. Mrs. Edna Swindler
Volunteer
Orange County CRP

Works continuously without expectation of any recognition. Headquarters volunteer. Comes every day. If she misses part of a day, she arranges for a volunteer replacement.

6. Mrs. Ray G. Fischer (Chris)
Phone Center Coordinator
Sacramento CRP
3110 Ozzie Court
Carmichael, California

Best overall volunteer. Runs very successful phone center operation.

7. Mr. Jim Francis
Executive Director
South Carolina CRP
P. O. Box 1900
Columbia, South Carolina

Jim has held together the South Carolina organization through hard work and perseverance. This is the best of the Southern states at canvassing and GOTV efforts.

8. Mrs. Millie Rosso
Lorain Phone Center Chairman
2803 Oberlin Road
Lorain, Ohio

Millie has done a superhuman job with this phone center which got off to a very late start. She convinced her volunteers, not only to work long hours, but to take sheets home with them at night to continue their calling after their shifts at the center were finished.

9. Mr. Dave Engelhart
Cuyahoga Falls Phone Center Chairman
2115 Eighth Street
Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio

Dave has one of the three best centers in Ohio. The team spirit in this center, their efficient operation and their willingness to help other centers in the area are all attributable to Dave.

10. Mrs. Beverly Atkinson
Warren Phone Center Chairman
530 Oak Knoll, N. E.
Warren, Ohio

Beverly managed to complete the computer sheets for her phone center operation in record time with personal friends of hers manning the center every day of the week from daylight until dawn, making up for numerous personality and party conflicts within the county accounting for the centers late start.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 15, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LEN GARMENT

FROM:

BRUCE KEHRLI *BAS*

A call from a realtor in California was referred to this office and we feel it should be handled by the Counsel's office. The details are:

Mr. Gene Hornbeck
Laguna Nigel Realty Co.
714 496-2413

He has a client who is very interested in the San Clemente property -- money is absolutely no object. He wants to know if it would ever be possible to buy that property.

Thank you,

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 20, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12356, Section 1.1
By en NARS, Date 1-1-83

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: JON M. HUNTSMAN *JMH*
SUBJECT: New Hampshire Primary

The President noted in the November 20 News Summary that it was reported RN will be entered in the New Hampshire primary and the State's GOP Governor is urging him to campaign there in person GOP sources told AP.

It was suggested that Attorney General Mitchell must silence both the Governor and Senator Cotton on this immediately and in other primary states as well (referring to the President's need to campaign personally in those states).

Please submit your response to the Office of the Staff Secretary.

Thank you.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc: Alexander P. Butterfield

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 23, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHUCK COLSON
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI *BK*
SUBJECT: Labor

The June 23 News Summary contained the following note:

-- New York reports that NY Teamster Leader Joe Trerotola is backing RN and he predicts wide labor support for RN. "Joe T." is, says New York, universally acknowledged by his peers to be NYC's single most powerful labor leader (and) he can determine, virtually alone, the success or failure of almost every organizational effort in NY." New York says Teamster backing for RN, if realized, will mean lots of money and workers which usually only go to the Dems. --

Referring to the above, it was requested that you pass a word of thanks to Joe Trerotola on behalf of the President.

Thank you.

cc: H.R. Haldeman
Alexander P. Butterfield
Don Rodgers

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ACT
By *C D* NARA, Date 8/10/94

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 16, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. RAY PRICE
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI *BK*
SUBJECT: Presidential Letters

The October 16, 1972 News Summary contained the following note:

-- In what it calls "surprise moves," the Post reports Reynolds Metal Co. founder Richard Reynolds, who has supported Dems since FDR, and Cong. Watkins Abbit joined the Va. movement to re-elect RN.... And in DC, long-time Dem Joseph Danzansky of Giant Food announced support for RN. --

Referring to the above, it was requested that special letters from the President be sent to these three people, thanking them for their support.

Please forward these letters ready for signature to the Office of the Staff Secretary by October 18, 1972.

Thank you.

cc: H.R. Haldeman
Alexander P. Butterfield

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD
BY *CJ* DATE 8/10/94