

August 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR TOM EVANS
Vice-Chairman/Republican National Committee

FROM Rose Mary Woods
Secretary to the President

Sometime when you have a few minutes after we return from California the first part of September, I would like to talk with you about the ideas Charlie Barr has given to the National Committee and to me concerning the absentee voters both here in the U. S. and abroad.

Thanks.

August 11, 1971

Dear Charlie:

Only the pressure of a busy schedule here and traveling has kept me from replying before this to your letter of June 3rd following our most interesting lunch.

While I have not written, I did have the tape transcribed and think it is excellent and have passed it along with the hope that our people will push the National Committee people into having this program put into motion so that we not lose these votes.

I hope I will have the pleasure of seeing you again soon.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Rose Mary Woods
Secretary to the President

Mr. Charles R. Barr
Standard Oil of Indiana
910 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Charles R. Barr

910 S. Michigan Ave.

Chicago, Illinois 60605



VICTOR L. SMITH, *Chairman*
 WILLIAM F. SCANNELL, *Secretary*
 WILLIAM D. STIEHL, *Treasurer*

RAYMOND H. SCHUMACHER, *Sergeant at Arms*
 GWEN SHERRICK, *Chairman, Women's Division*
 JAYNE PRICE, *Asst. Chairman, Women's Division*
 ROBERT E. BRADFORD, *Executive Director*

June 3, 1971

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Vice Chairman
 Chicago

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22nd District
 LYLE C. VAN HORN
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23rd District
 VICTOR L. SMITH
 Robinson

24th District
 WILLIAM D. STIEHL
 Belleville

Miss Rose Mary Woods
 Secretary to the President
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Rose Mary:

I enjoyed our lunch last week more than any experience that I have had in a long time. As you may have noticed, when anyone gets me talking about vote fraud and/or absentee voting, I get carried away. I have very strong feelings on these subjects, as I know you also do.

I am sending along a tape recording which I made extemporaneously for John Rowe of the Republican National Committee when he was in my office recently. You might find it worthwhile listening to.

You will recall, I told you I became interested in absentee voting in 1940 when I was working my way through law school in the office of the Governor of the State of Kansas. On the day after Election, 1940, we found that we had been defeated by 1600 votes, yet we ultimately won by 430 votes out of approximately 9,000 votes that were cast absentee in Kansas that year. Thus, my interest in absentee votes was created and I have since observed many instances, in nearly every election, in which one or more races were decided by the absentee votes, usually in favor of Republicans.

Having been substantially involved in the Absentee Vote Program in behalf of the Republican Party in both 1964 and '68, both domestically and abroad, I can say categorically that the absentee votes tend to favor Republicans throughout the country. In the early 60's I did some research in this area and found there are very few states in which you can get anything very specific. However, I did find enough evidence in 8 states to give me the conclusive idea that in these states, absentee votes favored Democrats very narrowly in only Alaska and Arkansas.

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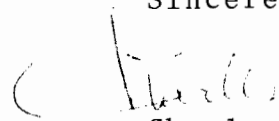
The person who is likely to be traveling and away from home in early November, is usually out on business or in the pursuit of his profession. He therefore tends to be conservative, and if he votes, he tends to vote Republican. The trend toward voting Republican is even more pronounced among Americans living overseas.

Until we began Republican operations overseas in 1964, the Democrats had the field pretty much to themselves. I believe I can say with pardonable pride, that in 1968 we significantly outdistanced them -- we were better organized, did a better job in getting out our vote, and raised more money than they did.

I was distressed to learn a few months ago at the Republican National Committee, that apparently someone in the Administration has taken a dim view of our absentee vote programs. I hope this is a misunderstanding. I am sure the Democrats will have a good program. The Armed Forces already have in being a very comprehensive program to get out their vote, and if we leave a vacuum by doing nothing, or by not doing the job vigorously, it could be costly to us in states with a close vote.

In conclusion, as stated above, it is my opinion, based on my own experience and study, that the absentee vote tends to run heavily in favor of the Republicans and that everything that needs doing should be being done now.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Charles R. Barr", with a large, stylized initial "C" to the left.

Charles R. Barr

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS PROJECT
AUDIOVISUAL COLLECTION

Withdrawal Sheet

MEDIUM/CATEGORY		PA NUMBER	ITEM NUMBER
☐ Motion Picture Film ☐ Sound Recording ☒ Video Recording ☐ Still Photograph		PA 72-3-90	
ORIGINAL LOCATION:			
File Group		WHSE	
Subgroup		PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL FILES	
Series		RMW ALPH. NUM. FILES	
Folder Title		Charles Baker - Absentee Voting	
ITEM DESCRIPTION		Box Number	95
SUPPLEMENTAL DATA: (Provide whatever information is known about the item.) Event/Title <u>Remarks of Art. Baker regarding absentee voting</u> Participants <u>(l. to r.) Liner, between John Baker & the Political Division</u> <u>24 Ave. - 1000 in National Committee and Mr. Baker's A</u> <u>Box of Standard Oil 100 absentee voting. Transcript in folder 1</u> Geographical Location _____ Date(s) <u>May 17, 1971</u> Other Identifying Marks/Title <u>Recorded by WHSE</u> Classification: ☐ Yes ☒ No <u>For Mary Baker full transcript 70 ips</u> Level: <u>1200 P 1000 1000</u>			
PRESERVATION:		Preservation Copy/Copies Made	☐ Yes ☐ No



PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL

CHARLIE BARR
STANDARD OIL
(INDIANA)

Schedule of Events

Roundtable for Public Affairs Officers
the Hotel Sonesta May 25-27, 1971

Tuesday, May 25

5:00 p.m. REGISTRATION
INFORMAL RECEPTION
6:00 Remarks: JAMES J. KILPATRICK

Wednesday, May 26

8:00 a.m. Coffee
8:30 Welcome: GERALD W. VAUGHAN
8:45 Address: HON. JAMES L. BUCKLEY
9:30 Panel: HON. ROBERT J. DOLE
HON. PETER H. DOMINICK
HON. BOB WILSON
10:30 Address: HON. HAROLD E. HUGHES
11:15 Break
11:30 Address: HON. LAWRENCE F. O'BRIEN
12:15 p.m. Luncheon
1:30-4:45 Special Briefings on Foreign Affairs
Dolf M. Droge
Dr. F. G. A. Kraemer
6:00 Reception

see reverse side

CONFIDENTIAL

Thursday, May 27

8:45 a.m.	Address: HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE
9:45	Address: STANLEY E. COHEN
10:45	Break
11:00	Remarks: BRYCE N. HARLOW
12:15 p.m.	Luncheon
1:15	Commentary: MARK RUSSELL
2:00	Roundtable Adjourns

Remarks of C. A. Barr regarding absentee voting

An interview on May 17, 1971 between John Rowe of the Political Division of the Republican National Committee and Mr. Charlie Barr of Standard Oil.

Mr. Rowe: Mr. Barr is going to relate to us some of the experiences he has had, some of the things he learned, particularly during 1964, on the absentee ballot project that he headed up, and also in 1968.

Mr. Barr: In 1964 there was the first organized effort to obtain a Republican absentee vote in an organized way in Europe. A gentleman from Chicago offered to fund it; and somebody said, "who wants to do it -- " and things weren't going so well in the campaign as you may recall -- I held up my hand as a volunteer, and that's the way I happened to become involved in absentee voting.

I went to Europe with Col. Leon Mandel of Chicago, and there we met Clare Boothe Luce, and later on Mrs. Coleen Moore Hargrave, who had been a movie star in the silent days and who was the widow of a prominent Chicago broker. We went to Paris and set up an office, hired a tri-lingual secretary and organized a headquarters there just like one would organize the headquarters of a state.

We had previously been in contact with people that had been writing the Republican National Committee or the Goldwater Committee, or what have you, saying they wanted to become active in behalf of the Republican Party or its candidate; and so we had individuals lined up in countries like Spain, Italy, France, Germany, the lowland countries. After we were there a few days we had a meeting in Paris which was extremely well attended -- I think most of them came because of Clare Boothe Luce and people like that -- not because of Col. Mandel or what Charlie Barr might have to say -- so we got along extremely well. We set up an organization and, believe it or not, we were able to raise considerable money; the operation became self-financing, and we took advertising in such magazines as the Overseas Publications of the American magazines; the Tribune -- I believe there were two daily newspapers over there; and there were letters to the editor; people were interviewed by the local radios and TV; there were clubs set up; and a real nucleus for the Republican Party was begun in Europe.

In 1967 the Party began to have some very serious talks with me about setting up an operation, not only in Europe but domestically and world-wide, including the Asiatic area with special emphasis on the troops in Vietnam.

This operation in 1968 is what I want to talk about because it was a rather quiet operation; it was amazingly successful; very little publicity was given to it.

So when I talk about the absentee vote campaign in 1968 I'll be talking about three different segments. I'll talk about the one that received the most publicity first -- although not necessarily the most successful -- and that's the one in Europe.

We began because we had a nucleus out of '64, with people who had gotten involved at that time, so we didn't have to start from scratch. We had some good people there. I had gone to Europe on other missions from time to time and kept up and developed my contacts in Europe with leading businessmen, such as Mr. Brown and others. Mr. Brown became and is now the chairman of the European committee. We had attended conferences and had been a member of panels with some of these people in Brussels and places like that, and each time I would go and take some time to meet, particularly in Paris, with Mr. Brown and his committee, etc., about the Republican operation. So finally by the time of the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach in 1968 we had a going operation, thanks to the preliminary work which we had been doing since March of 1967 before the Republican National Committee had ever put a dime in to it or had ever officially become involved in it. At that time they funded us with a little money, something like \$3,000, and we never used a dime of it. We did have headquarters and organizations set up by then in Spain, Italy, Zurich and several places in Germany, Belgium, as well as in England and in France; but the general headquarters, like a state headquarters, was in Paris under the Direction of Clem Brown that I have mentioned before.

They were like county offices in these other cities. Believe it or not there was estimated (some people said) as many as two million people in the European theatre, including that periphery of Africa and Asia Minor around the Mediterranean; military people, their dependents, American business people, retired people over there. An amazing number of people. And from all reports they tended to be Republican, and I think most of us agree to that to this day.

We then began considerable activity. I know that to attract people you have to have name people. So the first trip we made I took Shirley Temple Black and her husband and we made the rounds. We went throughout Europe, including Rome, Paris, Frankfurt, London and Brussels, etc., and spoke to large crowds, raised money, and generally talked up the Republican candidate.

We got along amazingly well. We had good crowds. Shirley Temple Black does an amazingly good job with the press. The press was not always friendly, but before we got through with them she had them eating out of her hand. She did a tremendously good job -- it made us a lot of friends -- and we ought to send her back in the 1972 campaign, in my opinion, just because of the friends she's already got over there, and because she was so well received in 1968.

We had other people, like Bill Buckley, who went over there. Clem Stone, an insurance man and friend of President Nixon from Chicago, went over at my request to cover a meeting where for some reason some other speaker couldn't go, and we were fortunate in getting Clem who went over and did a meeting for us in London.

So we had a going operation over there which accounted for considerable money coming in. Unfortunately, there got to be something of a dispute because some of it went direct to the Nixon headquarters and some of it came to the Republican Committee -- I never really got into that -- just so the money got here -- and I never got involved in that conflict about who was going to get the credit or anything like that -- but we did get a considerable amount of money and a big increase in the absentee votes from the European area as well as substantial monies one way or another from our enterprise over there.

Now I want to talk about the Asiatic area. This was a completely different operation because I didn't feel that we dared go to Saigon or to Bangkok and set up an operation in the same manner that we did in Europe for fear that we would be accused of campaigning or of bringing politics into a war zone. So we went about it in an entirely different way.

I didn't know just exactly how to proceed but one day I got a lengthy letter explaining an idea from a lady by the name of Dorothy Fancher who was at that time the Co-Chairman of the National Young Republican Federation. Mrs. Fancher was from Phoenix, Arizona and she had given a lot of thought to this sort of thing.

I asked her if she would come to Washington and run it and we made an arrangement whereby she came to Washington and ran what they called the Asiatic Operation.

I might say that we had also hired a fellow by the name of Richard McAdoo for the Republican National Committee. Interestingly enough, he was a grandson of the late President Wilson -- a son of Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury who married one of the Wilson girls -- and a grandson that was a Republican. I saw him last week in San Francisco at a seminar. Dick's job was to direct the overall operation that I am talking about, including the European and the Asiatic one, and the third one which is domestic, which I'll be talking about.

Dottie Fancher had an idea, and I hope that the members of the Committee will call in Dottie, because she is in Washington -- she is working for the State Department -- and hear from her in detail just how she put this operation of hers together.

This operation was so quiet, but basically involved getting literally thousands of Young Republicans and college people writing their friends who were in the service overseas, and sending literature over there by airmail, air freight, every way we could get it over there -- not just in bulk so much but having it come from some friend or some member of the family -- saying you ought to vote for Dick Nixon this year. It has an entirely different effect when a soldier gets something from somebody that he knows and respects or who is dear to him and asks him to do something specific -- to be sure and vote. Just getting a soldier to vote takes some doing because oftentimes he is not inclined to vote.

Well Dottie did a wonderful job, and we got a tremendous response from that area of the world, and we did it in a way that was ethical and legal.

I don't know of anybody in the country that could have done as good a job of it as Mrs. Fancher did in this particular thing. She had been well-trained in the YRs and other things, and she knew so many people that were willing to help her just because of their previous experience with her.

The third phase was the domestic phase, which was at least as successful as the other two phases because we had so much help from other organizations who were trying to get out the vote, particularly the National Association of Manufacturers who had prepared wonderful kits which organizations could buy and distribute to people showing them how they could vote absentee.

To show you how important it is, the American Hotel and Restaurant Association had told us that something like a million, four hundred thousand people would be in hotels and motels on election night in 1968, and most of them would be people there on business, being sent away by their employer, or by themselves if they were self-employed, because not too many people are away on vacation the first week or two in November -- they have had their vacation. So it became imperative that we notify people well in advance that they ought to take advantage of the absentee vote.

The third person that was involved who did this domestic thing was a fellow by the name of Tom Novatny from Chicago. He is also in Washington, and works in one of the departments here. I would highly recommend that the Republican National Committee interview Tom to see what he did.

But I'll tell you here in a nutshell what he did because I was responsible for the direction and for the idea. We picked out the 500 top corporations -- the Fortune list -- and decided that we would hire a man and have him go to each of these corporations and ask them if on a non-partisan basis, using the NAM kits, they would send out a memorandum to their people asking them to be sure and vote absentee if they were going to be out of town. Tom Novatny had amazing success. I remember of the first 90 corporations he called on -- he had 88 acceptances -- people said, "yes, we will cooperate." One refusal was from a firm here in Chicago who had some internal problem, and another was an eastern firm that had a new President who wasn't quite sure what was legal; but the other 88 did it. The prize of all, we thought, was the General Motors Corporation where the top executive officer, we were told, sent out 180,000 letters over his personal signature urging General Motors' employees who might be away from home at the request of their corporation to be sure and cast their absentee ballots. Now, from our standpoint this was a wonderful thing because it is something that companies could legitimately do.

We were taking our chances on the arithmetic, because we felt that most of the people were going to vote for a Republican in 1968 and that the bigger the vote of these people who normally would be travelling in November, the more likely we were to get our share.

We were very gratified when we saw the election returns from Missouri and some other states, when we saw that the absentee votes did indeed make a difference for Mr. Nixon. They did make a difference in the Senate outcome in, for example, Oregon, and we can point out many, many other examples where you can make a case that the absentee votes very likely tipped the balance, generally in behalf of the Republicans, because we had by far and away the best operation on absentee votes in 1968. And I think that it was greatly to our advantage in state after state, not only for the Presidency but for some of the Governor races and lesser races, and at least one Senatorial race that I have just pointed out in the case of Oregon.

So I say in conclusion here that it is extremely important that the Republican National Committee, that Bob Dole and Mr. Evans and all of you, give a top priority in your thinking to what you are going to do in '72 with respect to the absentee vote, because you need to start a program at least a year in advance. You need, for example, to get everybody conscious of what they are going to do. It is a patriotic duty I think for people who are employers, who may influence people as far as being away from home, that they prepare programs that urge them to vote.

Interestingly enough I know there is some trepidation in some places about the absentee voting, I suppose because maybe they think that the youth will make a difference.

But one of the greatest drives there will be for absentee voting is going to be in the military. That is already decided. The Defense Department has a tremendous program, and I have participated with Mel Laird himself in this program, and with his staff members.

I have worked on an educational program to get more legislatures to improve the absentee voting program, and there has been substantial progress and will be more before several legislatures in 1971, so there will be a bigger absentee vote. And you can count that the other side is going to do a better job than they did in '68 and notwithstanding what some of the critics have said, I think we had better give this some very, very serious thought.

Somebody ought to be in charge. I think we have some people with a lot of good experience. I think that if you would go to Mr. Novatny, who did the domestic thing; and to Mr. McAdoo and Mrs. Fancher -- those were my three people when I headed this thing up as a civilian -- the whole project -- I think that you will find that these three

people can give you a great deal of detail, willingly so, and will be glad to come in and give you any kind of help that you think would be of worthwhile assistance.

In the meantime, I urge the Republican National Committee to do everything they can to enhance and improve the absentee vote campaign. You've got to remember this -- and I hope every politician happening to hear this tape or reading a transcript of it -- will just remember that the Census Bureau, if I remember correctly, says that one family in 6 moved in the 1960's and possibly one in 5 will move in the 1970's -- that we are a mobile society. The party that does the best job with this absentee vote program is going to win an awful lot of these close elections.

Thank you very much for the privilege of giving this interview.

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