Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	No Date	Subject	Document Type	Document Description
31	2		☑	Campaign	Newsletter	A newsletter from the Committee for the Re-election of the President. RE: The citizens of Pennsylvania, and the Democratic Senators making headlines in that state. 2 pgs.
31	2		☑	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Harry S. Flemming to Staff receiving state chairman list. RE: The attached update sheets for the State Chairman List. 5 pgs.
31	2	4/18/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Herbert L. Porter to John N. Mitchell. RE: Invitation to the Vice President for Fund Raising Dinners in Missouri. 1 pg.
31	2	4/18/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Rick Fore to Curt Herge. RE: Vice President Agnew's Trip to Missouri. 1 pg.

Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	No Date	Subject	Document Type	Document Description
31	2	4/11/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Letter	From Alfred J. Fleischer to Curt Herge. RE: The Vice President's attendence in Missouri for a fund raiser, in exchange for 15% of the funds going to the Committee for the Re-election of the President. 1 pg.
31	2	4/18/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Herbert L. Porter to John N. Mitchell. RE: Invitation to the Vice President. 1 pg.
31	2	4/18/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert P. Odell, Jr. to Curt Herge. RE: Lloyd Waring, the Massachusetts Nixon Finance Chairman, requests the Vice President attend a fund raising event in Boston. 1 pg.
31	2	4/20/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Herbert L. Porter to John N. Mitchell. RE: The Proposed Appearance by a Member of the First Family in Maine. 1 pg.
31	2	4/14/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Peter H. Dailey to John N. Mitchell. RE: Message that reads: "Attached is the 'Competitive Analysis Report' number 7, covering the period 4/8/72-4/14/72." 24 pgs.

Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	No Date	Subject	Document Type	Document Description
31	2	4/10/1972	☐	Campaign	Newspaper	An article from the New York Times. RE: Edward Kennedy's pledge to not run for the office of president in the upcoming election. 2 pgs.
31	2		☑	Campaign	Newspaper	A chart displayed in the Milwaukee Journal. RE: The Presidential Preference in the Wisconsin Primary. 1 pg.
31	2		☑	Campaign	Newspaper	An article in the Milwaukee Journal that displays the "Wisconsin Presidential Vote by County." 1 pg.
31	2	4/9/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Newspaper	An article from the New York Times entitled: "New Law Expected to Curb Politicians' Use of TV." 1 pg.
31	2	4/10/1972	☐	Economy	Newspaper	An article from the Wall Street Journal entitled: "When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt? Not Right Now, Pal." 1 pg.

Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	No Date	Subject	Document Type	Document Description
31	2	4/26/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Campaign Meetings. 1 pg.
31	2	4/26/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to John Mitchell. RE: A suggested meeting between: Magruder, Miller, LaRue, Marik, Dailey, Teeter, and Finkelstein to work on campaign strategy. 1 pg.
31	2	4/18/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder and Cliff Miller to John N. Mitchell. RE: Strategy Planning for the Campaign. 2 pgs.
31	2	4/13/1972	☐	Personal	Memo	From Fred Malek to Alex Armendariz, Tony DeFalco, Larry Goldberg, Paul Jones, Paul Kayser, Frank Naylor, Ken Rietz, etc. RE: Congratulatory Letters to Appointees. 1 pg.
31	2		☑	Campaign	Letter	Unknown sender to Black Nixon Supporters. RE: Paul Jones' plan for what he calls "The largest Black fund-raising event ever held for any President." 4 pgs.

Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	No Date	Subject	Document Type	Document Description
31	2	4/26/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to The President. RE: The victory of McGovern and Humphrey in the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries. *Document repeated twice. 4 pgs.
31	2		☑	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note labeled, "CBS." 1 pg.
31	2		☑	Campaign	Other Document	Typed notes that list the reported precincts in the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts primaries. 1 pg.
31	2		☑	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.
31	2	4/25/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Massachusetts and Pennsylvania Primary Returns. * Two copies. 2 pgs.

Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	No Date	Subject	Document Type	Document Description
31	2	4/25/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From DeVan L. Shumway to John N. Mitchell. RE: Election Night, and key facts about the primaries in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. 2 pgs.
31	2	4/28/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb Magruder to John Mitchell. RE: Meetings with Cabinet Staffs. 1 pg.
31	2	4/26/1972	☐	White House Staff	Memo	From Jon A. Foust to Jeb Magruder. RE: Meetings with Cabinet Staffs, and subsequent reports on their success. 1 pg.
31	2	4/25/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Susan A. Davis to Jon A. Foust. RE: HEW Strategy Meeting. 1 pg.
31	2	4/25/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Ed Cowling to Jon A. Foust. RE: Meeting with George Pantos, Secretary Peterson's Scheduler (attended by Pantos, SD, JF, and EC April 25). 1 pg.

Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	No Date	Subject	Document Type	Document Description
31	2	4/26/1972	☐	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Ed Cowling to Jon A. Foust. RE: April 26 Meeting with Secretary Romney's Staff (attended by Dot Babcock, Judy Bryant, Jack Woolley, SD, JF, and EC). 1 pg.
31	2	4/27/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to John N. Mitchell. RE: The attached weekly report. 7 pgs.
31	2	4/28/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From Glenn J. Spam, Jr. to John N. Mitchell. RE: The AIP filing to put Wallace on the general election ballot in New Jersey. 1 pg.
31	2	3/17/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to John N. Mitchell. RE: The attached weekly report giving details on where the candidates stand with various issues. 9 pgs.
31	2	3/29/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Direct Mail in Pennsylvania. 1 pg.

Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	No Date	Subject	Document Type	Document Description
31	2	3/29/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From Robert Morgan to Dr. Robert Marik. RE: Mayor Rizzo of Philadelphia who is choosing to remain neutral in the election. 1 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 311

Folder: Campaign 19 Part II March 29-May 17

Document	Disposition		
13	Return	Private/Political	CREEP Press Release #4-15(19), n.d.
14	Retain	Open	
15	Retain	Open	
16	Retain	Open	
17	Retain	Open	
18	Retain	Open	
19	Retain	Open	
20	Retain	Open	
21	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Flemming to Staff..., n.d.
22	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Porter to Mitchell, 4-18-72
23	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Porter to Mitchell, 4-18-72
24	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Porter to Mitchell, 4-20-72
25	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Dailey to Mitchell, 4-14-72
26	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to HRH, 4-26-72
27	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder & Miller to Mitchell, 4-18-72
28	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Malek to Armendariz, et al, 4-13-72
29	Retain	Open	
30	Return	Private/Political	CREEP Press Release, #4-18(24), 4-24-72
31	Retain	Open	
32	Retain	Open	
33	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Dent to the President, 4-26-72
34	Retain	Open	
35	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to Mitchell, 4-28-72
36	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Odle to Mitchell, 4-27-72

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 311

37	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Sedam to Mitchell, 4-28-72
38	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Odle to Mitchell, 3-17-72
39	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Magruder to Mitchell, 3-29-72

News from the Committee for the Re-election of the President 1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0920

FOR RELEASE AT 12 NOON

CONTACT: Mike Willman
(215) 985-1972

#4-15(19)

PHILADELPHIA, April 19 -- Francis L. Dale, Chairman of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, released the following statement here today:

For the past two weeks, the people of Pennsylvania have been subjected to a crescendo of criticism of their country which has no precedent in American history. In particular, they have been inundated with irresponsible rhetoric by three Democratic Senators fighting to one-up each other and make headlines.

Senator Humphrey, who recently took three different positions in one week on the invasion of South Vietnam by the Communists from the North, contributed perhaps the single most irresponsible statement of the campaign to date when he told the Steelworkers that he is going to wage a "labor versus big business campaign." That is precisely what the people of Pennsylvania -- and indeed of the country -- do not need: a class war.

Senator Muskie told Pennsylvanians last night that he believes we are farther away from peace than ever before in Vietnam. Such a knee-jerk panic is almost expected from the Senator these days. It has not occurred to the Senator, I am sure, that his steadily escalating calls for the U.S. government to abandon the South Vietnamese in the midst of an armed invasion of their country may have in fact emboldened the Communists. But I am sure it has

(more)

occurred to many Pennsylvanians.

Senator McGovern, the first of this trio to call for appeasement in Southeast Asia, cannot find it in himself to utter one word against the North Vietnamese for their invasion. Not one single, solitary word in condemnation of this murderous blitzkrieg leveled against a people whose only desire is self-determination.

I believe that the events in Vietnam confirm the President's brilliant analysis of the situation from the beginning: that a precipitate withdrawal as advocated by Humphrey, Muskie and McGovern would lead to a mass invasion of the South. The lack of success which the invasion has produced for the Communists, in turn, confirms the President's analysis that Vietnamization would enable the South Vietnamese to take over all ground combat operations in their country.

I, for one, thank God that we have a President who was able to foresee the risks of invasion from the North and deliberately retained enough air power to protect our withdrawing soldiers as well as the civilian population of South Vietnam and to bargain for our prisoners of war.

But instead of praising the South Vietnamese and the President for their success, Humphrey, Muskie and McGovern are berating them for it. Their frustration mounts as the South Vietnamese refuse to cave in. This is a strange, hard-to-understand position. They should be hailing the success of Vietnamization; instead they seek to condemn it.

My conclusion from reviewing the performance of this traveling trio of candidates is that not one of them has demonstrated a fitness for the Presidency. After four primaries that have left their party in a shambles, these gentlemen now are making a mockery of the electoral process in Pennsylvania by spouting halftruths and inuendos. But let me predict that tactic won't work with the voters of this state next Tuesday or of the country next fall.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: Staff Receiving State Chairman List

FROM: Harry S. Flemming

Attached are the latest update sheets for your State Chairman list. Please remove old sheets and insert those attached. Any inquiries regarding this listing should be made to Betsy Callaway of my staff (Ext. 397).

*indicates entry not in previous listing, or change

Announcement date: March 6, 1972

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE:		MICHIGAN COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT SUITE 1200, Industrial Building Grand River and Washington Blvd. Detroit, Michigan 48226	* (313) 964-2850

* * * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN:	office:	John A. (Jack) Gibbs c/o BBDO 211 West Fort Street Detroit, Michigan 48226	(313) 965-0620 or * (313) 964-0470 (direct line)
	home:	2755 Sommerset Blvd. Troy, Michigan 48084	(313) 646-2326

* * * * * *

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:	office:	G. Doyle Dodge Teledyne Continental Motors 30500 Van Dyke Avenue Warren, Michigan 48009	(313) 751-7000
	home:	1293 Maryland Blvd. Birmingham, Michigan 48009	(313) 642-7658

* * * * * *

CO-CHAIRMAN:	Mrs. Edwin (Jean) Deer 467 Bonnie Brier Birmingham, Michigan 48009	(313) 646-5136

* * * * * *

*indicates entry not in previous listing, or change

Announcement date: March 15, 1972

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE:		NEW MEXICO COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT 3908 Central Avenue SE Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108	* (505) 266-7761

* * * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN:	office:	Ed Hartman Suite 100, Merrill Bldg. 131 Adams, NE Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108	(505) 256-9848
	home:		(505) 265-0021

* * * * * *

NIXON CAMPAIGN MANAGER:	Willard Lewis Santa Teresa Corporation 965 First National Tower Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001	(505) 523-7527
	P.O. Box 209 Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001	(505) 526-6387

* * * * * *

*indicates entry not in previous listing, or change

Announcement date: January 7, 1972

* HEADQUARTERS OFFICE:	* NEBRASKA COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT * P.O. Box 5577 Lincoln, Nebraska 68505	(402) 475-0511
* Street address:	127 North 13th Street Lincoln, Nebraska 68505	

* * * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN:	George Cook c/o HEADQUARTERS	
office:	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Bankers Life of Nebraska Lincoln, Nebraska	(402) 467-1122
home:	3070 Sheridan Blvd. Lincoln, Nebraska	(402) 423-6272
* Secretary:	Kay Fusselman	home: (402) 477-9075

* * * * * *

* CO-COORDINATORS:	* Mr. Richard P. Day Bankers Life Nebraska P.O. Box 81889 Lincoln, Nebraska 68501	(402) 467-1122
	* Mrs. Kay Orr 1610 Brent Lincoln, Nebraska 68520	(402) 488-0648

* * * * * *

CO-CHAIRMAN:	Mrs. Jo Ann Kimball 5405 Ellendale Road Lincoln, Nebraska 68510	(402) 488-6927
	Mrs. Virginia Schmid 625 North 69th Omaha, Nebraska 68505	(402) 553-8517
	Mrs. Virginia Smith 782 Third Street Chappell, Nebraska 69129	(308) 874-3292

* * * * * *

*indicates entry not in previous listing, or change

Announcement date: February 14, 1972

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE:		PENNSYLVANIA COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT 1822 Spruce Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103	(215) 985-1972

* * * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN:	*	Mr. Arlen Specter c/o HEADQUARTERS	
	office:	District Attorney's office Room 666, City Hall Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107	
	home:	3417 Warden Drive Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19129	(215) GE8-2622
	CONTACT:	Mr. John Steinberg	(215) MU6-3964

* * * * * *

ASSISTANT CHAIRMAN:	Office, home and temporary headquarters:	Mr. Herman Bloom 1822 Spruce Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103	(215) 985-1972

* * * * * *

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER

SUBJECT: Invitation to the Vice President for Fund Raising Dinners in Missouri

Mr. Alfred J. Fleischer, Chairman of the Missouri Republican Finance Committee, has written to us, inviting the Vice President to appear at fund raising dinners in the following cities in Missouri:

1. Kansas City, during the period June 12-20. Estimated attendance: 1,000

2. St. Louis, during the period June 20-30. Estimated attendance: 1,000-1,600

The Missouri Republican Finance Committee has agreed to remit 15% of the gross proceeds of each dinner to this Committee. In addition, the sponsor will pay the expenses associated with the Vice President's appearance. The Missouri Committee for the Re-election of the President is aware of this invitation and approves.

We recommend that the Vice President appear at one dinner in Missouri prior to the Republican National Convention and that the dinner be held in St. Louis. (Dr. Marik's rationale for this recommendation is contained in the attached memorandum.)

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Attachment.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM April 18, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: CURT HERGE

FROM: RICK FORE

SUBJECT: Vice President Agnew's Trip to Missouri

It is our recommendation that Vice President Agnew give consideration to speaking in St. Louis, Missouri for the following reasons:

1. St. Louis City and St. Louis County contain over 1/3 of the voters in Missouri.

2. The peripheral urban area of St. Louis has a high degree of ethnic concentration. These ethnic voters should be receptive toward the Vice President.

3. The media market in St. Louis is the largest in the state. Furthermore, the media - coverage also takes in an area of Illinois.

The Vice President's speech would have maximum political impact if he were to take a positive populist stance on cutting inflation and lowering taxes. The "pocketbook" issues should be the main topics. Issues concerning bussing, race, Democrats, and the news media need to be avoided.

We also recommend a side trip during the day to a rural area near Springfield or Joplin. President Nixon needs to improve his image with the older American in the rural areas of Missouri. If Vice President Agnew could meet with such a group and discuss the economic problems of the elderly, it might improve the President's position with Missouri's senior citizens.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MISSOURI REPUBLICAN FINANCE COMMITTEE

130 South Bemiston - Clayton, Missouri 63105 - (314) 862-2460

FRED J. FLEISCHER
hairman

April 11, 1972

Mr. Curt Herge
Committee for the Re-Election of the President
1701 Pennsylvania NW
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Curt:

This confirms our telephone conversation in which we asked the presence of the Vice President in Missouri on two occasions in June.

We formally extend an invitation for Mr. Agnew in period June 12-20 in Kansas City, Missouri, for the western part of our State. This function will be held at the new Hallmark Plaza Hotel, opening immediately prior to that date. It will seat approximately 1000 people at dinner.

We formally request Mr. Agnew in St. Louis during period June 20-30. We have made no precise reservations in the St. Louis area at this time. We would have the function either at the new Marriott or at Stouffers in St. Louis. The former seats approximately 1000, it has just opened, while Stouffers seats approximately 1600.

In each instance the Committee for the Re-election of the President will receive 15% of the gross income. The remainder will stay in Missouri and be used effectively by distribution to both the State Finance Committee and the local counties on the western and eastern side of the State. All of these funds will be used in the campaign for the Re-election of the President and our state-wide officers.

We will appreciate your most prompt call-back on this in order that we firm up the dates with the hotels. At the same time we will begin immediately the organizing for the dinners themselves.

Per Mr. Fleischer over the telephone on 4/17. To be confirmed

Cordially,

Alfred J. Fleischer

Alfred J. Fleischer
State Finance Chairman

AJF:ns

Committee for the Re-election of the President

April 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER

SUBJECT: Invitation to the Vice President

The Finance Committee has recommended that the Vice President address a fund raising dinner in Boston in early June. The dinner chairman would be Mr. Lloyd Waring, Chairman of the Massachusetts Finance Committee for the Re-election of the President.

Fifty percent of the gross proceeds of the dinner would be remitted to the Finance Committee for the Re-election of the President in Washington. After expenses, the remaining portion of the proceeds would be divided among the participating state and county organizations.

This proposal has Mr. Stans' endorsement. (See attachment)

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Attachment.

FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

April 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR CURT HERGE

Lloyd Waring is the Massachusetts Nixon Finance Chairman. He is an effective and long time fund-raiser and in particular for President Nixon.

He has requested through our office that consideration be given to having the Vice President participate in a fund-raising dinner in early June in Boston. Lloyd Waring would be chairman and has committments for substantial support from a number of generous contributors in the New England area.

50% of the gross proceeds will be sent to the Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President in Washington. After expenses, the remaining portion of the proceeds will be used by participating state and county organizations. Secretary Stans has talked to Bart Porter about this request and it has the Secretary's enthusiastic endorsement.

Waring is anxious to have an early decision so that he may begin his planning and solicitation programs.

I would appreciate very much your checking this for me as soon as possible so that I may get back to Mr. Waring.

Many thanks.

Bob Odell

Robert P. Odell, Jr.

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER

SUBJECT: Proposed Appearance by a Member of the First Family in Maine

You have recommended that a member of the First Family not appear at a forthcoming event in Maine for the benefit of Senator Margaret Chase Smith.

We communicated your recommendation to Mr. David Parker, at the White House. Mr. Parker stated that this placed him in a difficult position, because the President had requested that a member of the First Family do the event. Mr. Parker suggested that, if you approve, you might add this subject to your agenda for discussion with the President.

Mr. H. R. Haldeman

NOVEMBER
GROUP
INC.

April 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: PETER H. DAILEY

Attached is the "Competitive Analysis Report," number 7, covering the period 4/8/72 - 4/14/72.

909 THIRD AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022
(212) 752-3500

COMPETITIVE ANALYSIS, REPORT #7

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Prepared and Submitted by Sandy Woodson

Competitive Analysis
Report #7

Section I.	SUMMARY
McGOVERN	Spurred on by his Wisconsin win, McGovern is concentrating on winning in Massachusetts where his only real opponent is Muskie.
HUMPHREY	Never one to say "die," Humphrey is going all-out in Pennsylvania where he enjoys the support and backing of labor and party leaders. A win here will give him the steam necessary to continue and if McGovern beats Muskie in Massachusetts, the primaries may shortly become a one-to-one contest between the Minnesotan and the South Dakotan.
MUSKIE	Concentrating on Pennsylvania, but still considering something in Massachusetts, Muskie is about to fall prey to his desires to be all things to all men and in every place at once. If he loses in both states, he may have to drop out; a win over Humphrey, however, would keep him going regardless of how well McGovern does.
WALLACE	Off and running, Wallace plans heavy campaigns in Indiana, Maryland, Michigan (where busing is a BIG issue), North Carolina and Tennessee - for starters. If he does well in these important primaries, he'll try his hand in others.
JACKSON	No longer a major contender (if, indeed, he ever was) Jackson still clings to the hope that he will win a primary. Party leaders think the minor contenders (like Jackson) should drop out and stop splitting the Democratic vote.
MILLS	After a quick swing through Kansas, Mills is campaigning in Massachusetts where he hopes to pick up some delegate support.
KENNEDY	The busiest (non)candidate of all, Kennedy has embarked on a month-long speaking tour of labor groups.

Section II.

NEWS ITEMS

Potential Delegates
(Boston Globe 4/9)

A recent survey conducted by the National Observer (the Dow-Jones weekly newspaper) of potential delegate votes at the Democratic Convention shows "a deep and dramatic collapse" of Muskie's potential delegate strength. Results of a survey taken on March 25, showed Muskie leading the field with a vote potential of 1282.5; the more recent survey places Muskie with only 773.5 potential votes. McGovern, on the other hand, has jumped from 287.5 to 490.5 potential votes. A great portion of Muskie's loss appears to have gone to the "uncommitted" category. The count now is estimated at:

Muskie	773.5 potential votes
McGovern	490.5
Humphrey	468
Wallace	291
Jackson	80
Uncommitted	913

Democratic Telethon
(Wall St. Journal 4/10
& Chicago Sun-Time 4/11)

The Democrat's planned 18-hour fund-raising telethon, to be televised the weekend before their convention, will feature such stars as Alan King and Lorne Greene. Democratic National Committee Treasurer, Robert Strauss, sees the telethon as a "major entertainment and political spectacular." He says it will "tell the story of the American political process, the two-party system, and how it is everyone's responsibility to get a piece of the action." In other words: contribute to the Democratic Party because it's broke. Democratic estimates of the amounts they'll raise range as high as $35 million. Not all of those 18 hours have been filled, and planners talk vaguely of a segment from Las Vegas, of tapes of old FDR speeches, of general razzle-dazzle. Arrangements are being made so that viewers wishing to pledge money can simply give the operator a credit-card number for automatic billing.

Section II. con't

McCarthy (NYT 4/9)	Although former Senator McCarthy's name will appear on the California primary ballot, he will not campaign there. As for his forming a new political party, he said that even if the Democrats move far to the right, he was not sure there would be "any spirit" left after the convention for forming a new party.
Nixon (NYT 4/10)	President Nixon won the endorsement of California's oldest and largest volunteer Republican organization, the California Republican Assembly, but was urged to change his policies on welfare, deficit spending and revenue sharing.
Massachusetts (NYT 4/9)	The statewide winner of the Massachusetts Presidential Preference contest will receive 20 delegates who will be pledged to him for the first ballot at the convention. An additional 82 delegates will be elected in the primary from the state's 12 Congressional districts and the candidates receiving the most votes in each district will receive those delegate-votes on the first ballot at the convention.
Pennsylvania (NYT 4/7)	Of the 182 delegates alloted to Pennsylvania, 137 of them will be elected in the April 25 primary. In May, these 137 delegates will elect an additional 27 delegates favoring candidates in the same proportion as those selected by the voters in the primary. A final 18 at-large delegates will be named by a new Democratic State Committee also to be elected on April 25. The 137 primary delegates will be committed to their candidates for the first ballot only at the convention.

Section III.

POLLS AND SURVEYS

Gallup Poll: Nixon
(NYT 4/13)

According to a Gallup Poll conducted March 24-27, 53% of the Americans say they APPROVE of President Nixon's performance in office, while 37% disapprove and 10% have no opinion. Nixon's ratings are down 3 percentage points from a survey taken shortly after his China trip:

	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
March 24-27	53%	37%	10%
March 3-5	56%	32%	12%
Feb. 4-7	53%	36%	11%
Jan. 7-9	49%	39%	12%

In the same poll, a race between Nixon and Humphrey and Wallace (running as a third party candidate) showed:

Nixon	46%
Humphrey	35%
Wallace	15%
Undecided	4%

In a race between Nixon, Muskie and Wallace:

Nixon	46%
Muskie	36%
Wallace	14%
Undecided	4%

In a poll taken between February 4-7, both Muskie (42% versus Nixon's 43%) and Humphrey (39% versus Nixon's 46%) fared much better. The change in the latest poll largely reflects Wallace's improved position after the Florida primary. In the previous poll, Wallace had received only 10% in both heats.

Gallup Poll: Contenders
(NYT & Boston Globe 4/9)

A Gallup Poll conducted March 31-April 3, showed McGovern lagging with only 5% despite his primary showings.

Humphrey	31%
Muskie	22%
Wallace	17%
Lindsay	5%
McGovern	5%
Jackson	5%
McCarthy	4%
Chisholm	4%
Mills	1%
Hartke	.10%
No Preference	6%

Section III. con't

Gallup Poll, con't

When compared with the results of a poll conducted on March 8, the new poll shows almost no change. Humphrey has stayed at exactly the same level, Muskie lost a point, Wallace gained two points, and McGovern lost one point. Surprisingly enough, the events of the past month seemed to have no impact on the thinking of ordinary Democrats. According to John Davies, Editor of the Gallup Poll, experience has shown that primary results have little impact on poll results: "as far as the country as a whole is concerned, McGovern hasn't emerged from his shell yet."

A redistribution of Lindsay and Hartke support (based on second choices of respondents) to the other candidates shows little change:

Humphrey	33%
Muskie	23%
Wallace	18%
McGovern	5%
Chisholm	5%
Jackson	5%
McCarthy	4%
Mills	1%
No preference	6%

Harris Survey: Nixon
(Boston Globe 4/13)

A special analysis by the Harris Survey (no date given) shows:

school busing issue is helping both President Nixon and George Wallace in about equal proportions, but is definitely hurting the leading Democratic contenders;

economy issue and public concern over its slow recovery is hurting Nixon and helping the Democrats, but not Wallace;

Vietnam issue in terms of public impatience over the rate at which U.S. troops are being brought back is hurting Nixon and helping the Democratic contenders.

Section III. con't

Harris Survey: Nixon con't
(Boston Globe 4/13)

On the busing issue, the survey indicated that by 73 to 20 percent, people are opposed to busing "to achieve racial balance." Those in favor of busing are heavily Democratic, while those opposed vote for Nixon or Wallace. The significant fact is that both the Nixon and Wallace gains on the busing issue are taken directly from the Democratic candidates.

By 49 to 34 percent, most people think the country is still in a recession. Among the 34% who are convinced the economic recession is over, Nixon is an easy winner. But among the larger 49% who think there still is a recession, Nixon runs 6 to 8 points behind the leading Democratic opponents.

The survey shows that 43% think the rate of troop withdrawal from Vietnam is "too slow." An almost identical 44% see the rate as "about right." The results clearly demonstrate how much President Nixon has to gain or lose by his ability to resolve American involvement in Vietnam by election time.

Section IV. THE CANDIDATES

McGOVERN

A. ISSUES

No perceptible change from Wisconsin.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

Not available yet for Massachusetts where McGovern will concentrate. Plans no media expenditures in Pennsylvania.

Creative

Not available.

Comment

McGovern plans to concentrate all media expenditures in Massachusetts, by-passing Pennsylvania almost entirely. His Pennsylvania campaign will consist exclusively of three and a half days of personal appearances and most of the $50,000 to $75,000 he is expected to spend there will be used to pay for gasoline for volunteers canvassing the state, for literature and for telephone bills. (The Sunday Bulletin, Providence, Rhode Island, 4/9)

Following his win in Wisconsin, Mc Govern staffers placed full-page ads in several major newspapers, including the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune.
(Copy of one advertisement is attached)

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

New Fund-Raising Technique (NYT 4/10)

Gala concerts have become McGovern's latest fund-raising technique. The first concert, organized by Actor Warren Beatty , will take place in the 18,000 seat Los Angeles Forum on April 15. The star-studded cast includes Barbra Streisand, Carole King and James Taylor, while Raquel Welch, Julie Christie and Burt Lancaster will perform as ushers. The house will be scaled so that a sellout will bring the campaign about $300,000 net. A New York concert is being planned for either Madison Square Garden or the new Nassau County Coliseum.

Section IV. cont'd

McGOVERN cont'd

Pennsylvania (NYT 4/12)	President of a Steelworker's local, Raymond Andersen, praised McGovern as "the most honorable, honest and capable candidate" in the race. Another labor leader, Victor Reuther of the United Automobile Workers, will address a McGovern luncheon in Philadelphia.
Rhode Island (Providence Evening Bulletin 4/5)	It appears that McGovern will withdraw from the Rhode Island primary and support the uncommitted delegate slate there fielded by the New Democratic Coalition. At present, McGovern's name is scheduled to go on the ballot, but with no delegates. The New Democratic Coalition has filed an uncommitted slate pledged to give McGovern 13 votes at the national convention and he apparently does not want to split the primary vote by also appearing on the ballot.
Texas (Chicago Tribune 4/10)	Texas Lt. Governor Ben Barnes, in a bitter campaign for governor, asked the Democratic Presidential hopefuls to stay out until after the primaries. All agreed. But McGovern, sensing a Wisconsin coup, moved into Texas last month by sending in his Southwest organizer, Nat Chavira. Chavira, headquartered in San Antonio, vowed to push McGovern's candidacy from the precinct level up.
Virginia (NYT 4/10)	On the basis of the first round of Virginia's delegate selection process, a McGovern spokesman predicted that the Senator would receive 18 to 20 of the state's 53 delegates.
Kansas (NYT 4/10)	McGovern is expected to control at least 12 of the 35 Kansas delegates, according to incomplete tabulations of the voting caucuses held around the state of April 8.

Section IV. cont'd

McGOVERN cont'd

New York
(NYT 4/13)

McGovern's New York prospects were considerably heightened when Meade H. Esposito, probably the most powerful county leader in the state, declared that he was "extremely impressed" with McGovern. The Brooklyn leader's high praise of McGovern and his silence on the other major contenders was viewed as a prelude to a possible endorsement of McGovern and a coalition between the regular Democratic organization and McGovern's delegate slates in Brooklyn. Although Esposito said he was not ready to endorse McGovern yet, he added that he might have more to say after the Massachusetts primary. An endorsement from a power-house like Esposito could be crucial for McGovern here.

Massachusetts
(NYT 4/9)

McGovern's Massachusetts campaign is focusing on the blue-collar communities where he hopes to prove the broad appeal of his candidacy. He is making major efforts in such centers of declining industry as Lowell and Lawrence, where the rate of unemployment currently is 11%.

In Boston, his most intensive canvassing work is now going on in the Dorchester area, the heart of the most tenacious struggle against school busing in New England. A former Lindsay aide said McGovern should pick up most of the Lindsay support in the state.

D. ANALYSIS

Feeling his oats after his Wisconsin win, McGovern is predicting that the next set of primaries really will be a two-man race between Humphrey and the South Dakota Senator. His Wisconsin showing has not, however, gone to his head, for McGovern appears to be planning only a cautious courtship of the industrial heartland in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan. His major target now is Massachusetts where he believes he will be a winner. His strategy (like Humphrey's) is to let HHH take on Muskie in Pennsylvania while McGovern does ol' Muskie in in Massachusetts. Muskie, torn between the desire to campaign in both primaries and the urgings of his backers that he concentrate only on Pennsylvania, presents a dandy target for both McGovern and the ebullient Minnesotan.

Section IV. cont'd

McGOVERN cont'd

D. ANALYSIS cont'd

Although McGovern aides think he has an excellent chance in Massachusetts, they are not quite so optimistic about Ohio and Michigan. Their game plan, apparently, is for McGovern to win the Nebraska and Oregon primaries in the hopes that those victories will carry him to a decisive win in both California and New York. The plan also includes picking up selected groups of delegates in Pennsylvania by campaigning solely in those areas in which he is best organized - the Philadelphia suburbs and parts of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh).

Massachusetts should provide a better sounding board than Wisconsin for judging McGovern's appeal to the blue-collar, youth, and "discontended" groups. Here there will be no Republican cross-over vote to muddy the water, and Wallace, while listed on the ballot, has more or less been banned in Boston. Thus, the Massachusetts primary more truly boils down to a one-to-one confrontation with Muskie. If McGovern can win here, it will add invaluable impetus to his efforts in Ohio, Michigan, Nebraska and Oregon. While McGovern's chances to grab the nomination at the convention still appear murky, he may well have the opportunity to roil the waters there if he continues to show the kind of grassroots strength that brought him in second in New Hampshire and first in Wisconsin.

Section IV. con't

HUMPHREY

A. ISSUES

Pay Board (Wash. Post 4/10)	Speaking at a news conference in Ohio, HHH said if elected President, he would retain the Pay Board and Price Commission created by the Nixon Administration but would seek stricter enforcement of Price Commission regulations.
Labor (NYT 4/11)	Speaking before a Baton Rouge convention of AFL-CIO members, Humphrey attacked the Nixon Administration's economic policies, declaring that labor had become the scapegoat for the Administration's failures. "When everything goes wrong, it's your (labor's) fault. You're called an obstructionist force. You're the cause of inflation. They say the unions have not made a contribution to America."
Vietnam (Wash. Post 4/10)	HHH says Nixon should seek United Nations help in ending the fighting in Vietnam and that the main objective there should be the disengagement of U.S. forces despite the current North Vietnamese offensive.
Kennedy (Philadelphia Inquirer 4/9)	In an hour-long interview with Philadelphia editors and reporters, HHH said he really didn't think Kennedy will run this year, but "that does not mean if the pressure were put on him he wouldn't have some difficulty in resisting it." HHH also indicated he would be amenable to the idea of having Kennedy as his running mate.
Amnesty (Philadelphia Inquirer 4/9)	"You can't grant any amnesty to the 50,000 who died, (in Vietnam) and you can't grant it to the people who had their lives interrupted or to those who were wounded. I would like to see them (the draft dodgers) repatriated but I think they ought to be called on to do some sort of service for their country. I don't believe in unconditional amnesty."

Section IV. con't

HUMPHREY

B. MEDIA

Nothing available.

Comment

Humphrey says they will put on a very extensive media campaign in Pennsylvania because he doesn't have the time to campaign more fully there. He indicated that $200,000 is the bare minimum he should spend in the Keystone State but is not sure he will have that amount available.
(Philadelphia Inquirer 4/9)

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

HHH's Style
(Boston Globe 4/13)

Throughout his Pennsylvania campaign, so far, HHH has promised that he "won't say a bad word about another Democrat."

Raids Muskie Donors
(Boston Globe 4/9)

Eugene Wyman, the Beverly Hills lawyer who is one of the Democratic Party's most prodigious fund-raisers, is happily raiding some of Muskie's big New York backers. Wyman earlier had obtained substantial financial commitments from some of Muskie's New York financiers and recently collected between $50,000 and $100,000 cash from them with commitments for more should Humphrey best Muskie in Wisconsin.

Pennsylvania
(NYT 4/13)

On April 9, Humphrey dictated an apocalyptic memorandum to his Pennsylvania and national campaign staffs, asserting "There won't be any West Virginia, Indiana and elsewhere if we get knocked off in Pennsylvania." Since his arrival in Erie last Monday, HHH has geared his candidacy to the meeting halls and working places of the 1.5 million union members among the state's 4.7 million workers. Humphrey forces are also planning special appeals to black and elderly voters there.

Endorsement
(NYT 4/12)

I.W. Abel, International President of the United Steel Workers of America (by far the largest union in Pennsylvania) endorsed Humphrey.

Section IV. con't

HUMPHREY con't

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS con't

Massachusetts (NYT 4/13)	Although Humphrey's name will appear on the Massachusetts ballot, he will not campaign there.

D. ANALYSIS

Hiding his disappointment over Wisconsin, Humphrey has bounced into Pennsylvania determined to make this his first state primary win. With strong support among labor leaders, blacks, the elderly and the Jews, his Pennsylvania camp radiates confidence for his chances in the state where he was an easy winner over President Nixon in 1968. And no other candidate seems to be going after the working man's vote with the intensity or the gusto of the unsinkable Senator from Minnesota. Pennsylvania is the Big One for Humphrey; he wants to win and plans on winning. He will campaign for about 10 full days with some part-days here and will invest as much as he can in a strong media thrust to make up for the little campaigning time left to him.

His current battle plan apparently calls for an all-out effort in Pennsylvania, Indiana and Ohio. But everything would appear to hinge on how well he does in the Keystone State. He will face Wallace in what is shaping up as a head-to-head contest in West Virginia and the thinking is that if he wins there, he could bill himself as the man who stemmed the Wallace tide.

Humphrey's chances of winning in Pennsylvania appear bright but the big question is whether the labor leaders today can exert their traditional influence over labor voters. Muskie, Humphrey's only real opponent in Pennsylvania, has some strong endorsements here and it remains to be seen whether HHH can muster the same kind of grassroots support from the working man that swept McGovern to victory in Wisconsin.

Section IV. con't

MUSKIE

A. ISSUES

Environment (Wash. Post 4/9)	Campaigning in Erie, Pennsylvania, Muskie called on President Nixon not to sign the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement with Canada until tough limits on the amount of phosphorous in detergents are written into the pact.
Cape Canaveral (Wash. Post 4/8)	Charging that the Senate bill proposing to change the name of Florida's space center from Cape Kennedy back to Cape Canaveral might be viewed as a slap at the Kennedy Family, Muskie has moved to block action on the bill.
Unemployment (Philadelphia Inquirer 4/11)	Speaking before a group of labor officials in Pittsburgh, Muskie attacked Nixon's economic policies, charging that they have created unemployment and restrained wages while producing large profits for the privileged minority of big business. Muskie offered alternatives which he would support, if elected President: (1) disaster relief to areas in Pennsylvania and other states where the jobless rate is 50% higher than the national average; (2) guaranteed retraining "for every American who needed it to make his skills relevant;" (3) emergency aid "to places of chronic unemployment: (he did not specify what form the aid would take); and (4) legislation to increase the number of public service jobs in the nation and "make the American Government the employer of last resort."

B. MEDIA

Nothing available yet.

Comment

Robert Squier, Muskie's media advisor, resigned on April 10, amid some harsh criticism of his radio and tv commercials. (NYT 4/10) His Pennsylvania campaign has shifted emphasis from television to radio spending and polling by the Muskie committee there is being sharply reduced. (NYT 4/10)

Ruth Jones, Media Director for Muskie

Section IV. con't

(formerly with the 1968 Nixon campaign) left the Muskie organization last week. Lack of funds and a general breakdown within the organization would seem to be the reasons, according to a reliable source. It is also apparent that only minimal expenditures will be made in upcoming primaries as the Muskie funds continue to wither away. Any media effort will probably be limited to radio and will be placed by local Democratic agencies as funds become available.

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

New Slogan (Philadelphia Inquirer 4/8)

Muskie opened his Pennsylvania campaign with a new slogan, "A People's Victory." Here he is striving to portray himself as the one Democratic candidate who can unify both party and country. He is running to achieve "a people's victory" in order to restore the "magic" of hope and purpose that he said once united Americans.

Ohio (NYT 4/12)

Ohio Governor John Gilligan is worried about Muskie's chances of pulling the party together. Gilligan, a liberal, was one of the first key Democrats to endorse the Maine Senator and did so because he hoped Muskie could unify the party and avoid a repeat of the 1968 convention Donnybrook. Now Gilligan finds himself confronted with the task of trying to rehabilitate Muskie's drooping candidacy by carrying him to victory in Ohio's May 2 primary. Said Gilligan, "Muskie is not getting to the guts of the voter."

Massachusetts (Boston Globe 4/11 & NYT 4/13)

Several staffers have admitted that Muskie's operation in Massachusetts is sagging, that organizational details were left too long to the allegedly indecisive Washington staff, and that more help than they are getting will be needed to save the Muskie candidacy here. George Mitchell, Muskie's national campaign manager, told some supporters privately that "things are very, very serious in Massachusetts." Mitchell reportedly told them that preliminary reports from a poll now in progress indicated that Mc Govern was even or a little ahead of

Section IV. con't

Muskie in the preferential primary race. On the other hand, the large reservoir of Humphrey supporters especially the workers and the blacks, may go to Muskie here since HHH is not planning to campaign in the Bay State.

Indiana
(NYT 4/8)

Muskie supporters have been told not to spend any money to set up a telephone bank in Indiana until a scheduling decision has been made.

Pennsylvania
(NYT 4/8, 4/10 & 4/12)

Muskie plans nine days of campaigning in Pennsylvania, where Governor Shapp is one of his most prominent backers. The Senator is relying heavily on the endorsements of Shapp and other party leaders, the vote-delivering machinery of the Democratic organization, and a strong appeal to the large ethnic elements in the blue-collar electorate of Pennsylvania's largest cities. Governor Shapp said the best assurance Muskie had of winning in Ohio would be a win in Pennsylvania, as a neighboring state with a similar constituency. Among the snags - Philadelphia's Mayor Frank Rizzo, the most powerful figure in the city Democratic organization, ignored a Muskie visit to his city and declared instead his support for President Nixon, saying: "Nixon is the greatest President this country ever had."

Probable Strategy
(NYT 4/10)

Muskie's current attempt to curtail primary campaigning in all but a few states having large delegate blocs, probably derives from his/his staffers recognition of the following:

(1) no candidate will be able to go to the convention with the nomination sewed up and Muskie must, therefore, attempt to eliminate either Humphrey or McGovern before then;

(2) a feeling among his supporters that Muskie would be better able to take on Humphrey in Pennsylvania than McGovern in Massachusetts. Victories over HHH could demolish the Minnesotan's candidacy; but the feeling is that "McGovern will never go away" no matter what happens in Massachusetts; and

Section IV. con't

(3) the necessity to sharply cut back on primary spending.

D. ANALYSIS

Responding to a brooding unhappiness among members of his national campaign staff, Muskie flew to his Washington headquarters to give a little pep talk in which he declared he was going to "work like hell" for the Democratic nomination "until the last delegate vote is counted in Miami Beach in July." (NYT 4/11) His game plan would appear to be to concentrate on Pennsylvania, Ohio, California and New York, all of which have tantalizingly large delegate offerings. Stating earlier that Massachusetts would have to get by almost without him, Muskie now, however, seems to want to do something there. He apparently ran into some harsh criticism from his Massachusetts backers who feel he was abandoning them. One of his pledged delegates there commented that Muskie's chances of success in Massachusetts without personal campaigning were "less than likely." Thus while his major thrust will be Pennsylvania, Muskie may once again fall prey to his weakness for trying to be everywhere at once.

Further compounding the Massachusetts situation is the fact that both ward and town committeemen will also be elected in the primary and these committeemen will then control the state convention in 1975 when at least three of Muskie's pledged delegates are expected to seek the gubernatorial nomination. Thus, there is little evidence that these men, struggling to maintain and secure their own power structures, are going to turn over their organizations to the Muskie campaign. And Muskie has been counting on their doing just that.

The harsh realities of the moment only seem to add fuel to Muskie's fire and strengthen his determination to run at full bore every chance he gets. If he tapers off his Pennsylvania drive in an effort to spend more time in Massachusetts, he may very well end up by losing both states and most of the delegates. One almost feels sorry for the man, he's like a squirrel in a cage running round and round but going nowhere.

Section IV. con't

WALLACE

A. ISSUES

No perceptible change.

B. MEDIA

Not available.

Comment

Wallace aides tell how they put their TV shows together much like a home movie, without any film-maker or Madison Avenue image-builder, and deliberately edit in a few fluffs to make the product more real and less slick. On the other hand, they have produced an impressive series of stylish brochures, tabloid papers and magazines, separately tailored for young people, old people, labor, and foreign language groups as each becomes politically important during the campaign year. As a result of this corner-cutting, the Wallace forces can produce the half-hour films that are the backbone of their television effort for about $5,500 each. (NYT 4/9)

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Upcoming Campaigns
(NYT 4/8)

Wallace plans to campaign in Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, Tennessee and West Virginia. His hectic 32-day schedule is tentatively set to begin the weekend of the 15th with rallies in Hammond, Indiana, and Detroit. GW's primary election strength is in Michigan, Maryland and Tennessee, but there is also considerable optimism about his prospects in Indiana and North Carolina. His aides are not quite so enthusiastic about West Virginia.

Massachusetts
(NYT 4/13)

Some Wallace supporters are urging him to appear in Massachusetts to tap the strong discontent there over school integration in Boston and Springfield.

Pennsylvania
(NYT 4/8)

Speaking at a new conference, Wallace said he does not plan to campaign in Pennsylvania lest he make the Muskie mistake of spreading himself too thin.

Section IV. con't

WALLACE

Vice-President? (NYT 4/13)	In not rejecting the possibility of accepting the Democratic nomination for Vice-President, Wallace said, "it is significant that people are asking such a question now, while it wasn't even raised during the 1968 campaign."

D. ANALYSIS

Having proven his point in Florida and Wisconsin, the firey little Governor from Alabama now plans to send more "messages" from Indiana, Maryland, Tennessee, Michigan and North Carolina. Suddenly this boisterous southern quasi-Democrat has hit the "big time" and is loving every minute of it. Using his rallies as the vehicle, Wallace plans to zip around these primary states like a whirlwind...and, like a whirlwind, he'll stir up a lot of dust and leave a lot of shambles behind - most particularly the Democratic Party.

Interestingly enough, however, the first tentacles of peace-offerings from Democratic regulars are finding their way to Wallace's twitching ear. Suggestions of a second spot on the ticket, or of compromise deals at the convention are being quietly rumored about. Such "offerings" are given, no doubt, out of fear and a hope that the party can somehow persuade their maverick to rejoin the fold. More and more, Wallace is going to find a certain amount of acceptance, albeit grudging, from within the party. He already is basking in his new-found respectability among the press and that, coupled with his strong showings in two major primaries, can only add to his growing strength as a power to be reckoned with at the July Convention.

Those party leaders who already have made overtures to him probably think George too dumb and unsophisticated to recognize that their motives are less than pure. But Wallace, for all his lack of sophistication and inability to properly pronounce words of more than one syllable, is dumb like a fox. He is now, just as he always has been, his own man - and if they ruffle his feathers at the convention, he's just as likely to split as not, regardless of who's promised him what in the meantime.

Section IV. con't

JACKSON

Comments

Campaigning in Massachusetts, Jackson is reiterating his support for more defense spending in a state that relies heavily on such investments. He has also stressed his support for increased aid to Israel in talks before influential Jewish leaders there. Asserting that "the silent majority never wanted silent leadership," Jackson projected himself in Boston as a candidate of the "progressive center" in the Democratic Party and said it is to this segment that the nominating convention must turn in Miami. He also noted that only Senator Kennedy shared the "progressive center" with him. (What!) As for increased bombing in Vietnam, Jackson approves, but opposes the introduction of U.S. ground forces" except in certain incidental situations."
(NYT 4/13, Boston Globe 4/9, Wash. Post 4/9)

It seems surprising that Jackson continues his primary fights considering his very poor showings throughout. Many of the party leaders believe that some of the minor contenders (as certainly Jackson is) ought to have the good grace to drop out as Lindsay did and thus avoid further fracturing of Democratic votes. From all indications, Jackson does not intend to quit at this point although he must, by now, be operating with very limited resources. It's curious too, that he still refuses to publicly disclose his campaign contributors - what is he hiding?

Section IV. con't

MILLS

Comments

Campaigning in Kansas, Mills told newsmen he believes a large number of uncommitted delegates will go to the convention in search of a candidate who can unite the party and defeat Nixon - and he thinks he can be their candidate. From Kansas, Mills went on to campaign in Massachusetts where he says he is encouraged by the untended field of Humphrey support which, he hopes, will rally to his arguments for increased Social Security payments and tax relief.
(The Providence Journal 4/9 and NYT 4/13)

In line with his new strategy of attempting to win at least one primary contest to give him added strength at the convention, Mills has carried his campaign to Massachusetts where he expects to gather some delegate support. At the moment, Mills' chances of winning a primary are pretty slim, but he may be on the right tack by getting some national press coverage and picking up a few delegates along the way.

Section IV. con't

KENNEDY

Comments

Ted Kennedy, the non-candidate, will be busy speaking to labor audiences this month. On April 12, he spoke to the rubber workers, on April 13, to the textile workers, and before the end of the month, he also will address the communications workers, the auto workers and the steel workers.
(NYT 4/10)

An interesting addendum to all of Kennedy's labor talks was the denial by his press secretary that there was any truth to the rumor that George Meany had given up on the other Democratic contenders and now considered Kennedy the only man who would defeat Nixon.
(NYT 4/10)

Kennedy certainly is busy for someone who is NOT running for President. "The irony is that the more firmly he pursues his non-candidacy, the more likely he is to end up in the grip of forces and events he cannot control - crises abroad, a dead-locked convention and the failure of a strong candidate to emerge on the Democratic Left." (See attached article from the New York Times, which is an excellent analysis of Kennedy as potential Presidential material).

New York Times
4/10/72

Edward Kennedy

By JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS

WILLIAMSTOWN, Mass.—Edward Kennedy is, I believe, scrupulously observing his promise not to run for the Presidency this year. He is not a clandestine candidate. But how long can he evade the issue, or can we? For the irony is that the more firmly he pursues his noncandidacy the more likely he is to end up in the grip of forces and events he cannot control—crises abroad, a deadlocked convention and the failure of a strong candidate to emerge on the Democratic left.

This is to assume that he would accept a draft. Would he? The longer he waits, the harder it would be to reject a genuine appeal from the party or its left wing. Convention procedures would make a draft awkward to decline. Kennedy could hardly allow the delegates to go through a turbulent, nationally viewed roll-call and then inform them that he was not available.

Potent psychological factors also would be operating. The voters who are wondering what is going on in Kennedy's mind forget that he is wondering what is going on in *their* minds. To Kennedy a genuine draft would mean that his post-Chappaquiddick period of probation was over, that the politicians considered him electable. It would be hard to respond to such a gesture with a refusal.

Edward Kennedy must be reckoned with in 1972. This is not to brush aside such problems as the possibility of assassination. As an old friend of Kennedy's at Harvard wrote me: "My fear is not so much for his sake. After all, these are the risks of combat. What I dread is what such an eventuality would do to the country: the guilt and the shame it would infect all of us with. Looking at such a searing self-portrait, our pride and our confidence would shrivel." Others contend that Kennedy is in more danger now, with his highly visible, preannounced speaking tours and easy accessibility to crowds, than he would be as nominee for President with elaborate Secret Service protection; that in four or eight years he would be no less vulnerable; and that it would be demeaning to the nation, and un-Kennedy-like for a Kennedy, to grant semantics the veto power over who should be allowed to run for President.

Grievous though it is, this problem must not divert us from the real question we should confront now rather than put off until convention time—the qualifications of Edward Kennedy for Presidential leadership.

The key to Kennedy's political personality lies in what is variously called the Kennedy tradition or heritage or legacy. He was almost literally steeped in a family ferment that brought two brief but intoxicating moments in American history—John Kennedy's Presidency and Robert Kennedy's quest for the Presidential nomination. worked staff and [illegible], furious [illegible], enormous [illegible], and tone of genial bustle—of the Senate offices of his brothers. His way of thinking about issues and facing them—breaking them down into their components, asking for outside help especially from academics, issuing meaty policy statements, analyzing all options from moving speedily and dramatically to not acting at all—is reminiscent of the work habits of John and Robert.

Still, the Kennedy tradition has its limits as a guide to action today. For there are actually two traditions, one of John Kennedy and one of Robert. Which aspect Edward Kennedy responds to will tell much about his brand of political leadership in the nineteen-seventies.

For all his activism and boldness, especially in times of crisis, John Kennedy followed an essentially conventional political strategy—the strategy of coalition, compromise, and consensus. In part this was forced on him by the narrowness of his electoral margin in 1960 and the tenacity of the anti-New Frontier senators and representatives entrenched in the veto centers on Capitol Hill. But in larger part it was John Kennedy's temperament not to exhaust his political capital on moral issues, not to raise hell unless he would win by doing so, above all not to confront and challenge obstructive institutions when he could bypass or compromise with them. There was a dualism in President Kennedy: He was a policy liberal but an institutional conservative.

Robert Kennedy took a different course. Shocked by the assassination, ejected from the White House inner circle, exposed as a Senator to the harrowing urban problems of his adopted state of New York, he moved strongly to the left.

By 1968 he was riding the radical, reformist and anti-Vietnam tides sweeping the country. He was displaying not only a passionate emotional and political commitment to moral issues, but with his bravado and iconoclasm he was prepared to assault institutions he saw as anachronistic and antidemocratic. "For there is another kind of violence," he said after Martin Luther King's murder, "slower but just as deadly, destructive as the shot or the bomb in the night. This is the violence of institutions, indifference and inaction and slow decay."

It was the Robert Kennedy of 1964-68 who had the more profound impact on Edward Kennedy. They were serving side by side in the Senate, each representing an Eastern urban state; they were outside the various Democratic party establishments: Together they embodied the Kennedy legacy of concerned activism. There was a significant shift in Edward Kennedy from the unassuming young 30-year-old who had come to the Senate in 1963 prepared to be deferential both to the Senate oligarchs and to the

He is part of that heritage not only in the same sense that Franklin Roosevelt was shaped by the Woodrow Wilson years, or that Richard Nixon was influenced by the example of Dwight Eisenhower. Far more, his political thinking is dominated by a whole generation of observing his brothers' way of dealing with problems and opportunities.

Many of the political personages he associates with were members of the older brothers' political circles. The structure of political institutions and processes within which he works is essentially the same as that within which his brothers operated for a total of twelve years: his very workspace—his office in the old Senate Office Building—reminds one, with its overways and mystique of the upper chamber, to the Edward Kennedy of 1968 who was striking out on his own, helping his brother in the struggle against the conservative wing of the party, and taking advanced positions on domestic and foreign policy.

After Robert's death Edward Kennedy moved more consistently than ever toward the liberal-left of the Democratic party. He took strong positions on the old Kennedy policy base of bread and butter issues.

Less predictably he showed a knack for becoming identified with issues before they gained national attention. Over three years ago, for example, he called for a new China policy that would include ending American opposition to Communist China's admis-

Edward Kennedy

[illegible] to the United Nations; withdrawal of the American military presence from Taiwan; United States willingness to reestablish consular offices in China; unilateral removal of restrictions on travel and nonstrategic trade; discussions with Peking of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries; the reconvening of the Warsaw talks. He became closely identified with the plight of refugees, whom he saw in their anguished settings in Africa and Asia. He took a leading Senate role in lowering the voting age to eighteen and on easier registration.

But Kennedy has yet to take a position on the pressing issue that will face any liberal Democrat arriving in the White House with a long list of policy commitments that could not be effective through the present legislative and administrative machinery of the national Government. He shares the dilemma of any Presidential candidate who "means it": The more he urges thoroughgoing economic and social reform the more he must be prepared to overcome the "tyranny of institutions" that has been obstructing major reform in this country for over forty years. The most that can be said for Kennedy is that no other Presidential possibility has addressed this question either.

How would Kennedy employ Presidential power if he won it? I doubt that he would exhibit the political ingenuity and versatility, the cerebral [illegible], the wizardry in symbolic [illegible], the extraordinary ability to [illegible], and the sheer intellectual range and power of the John Kennedy Administration. His strength would lie less in political feinting and [illegible] than in directly appealing [illegible] support behind his efforts to [illegible] influence across the whole [illegible] and governmental front. He would advance more direct confrontation of archaic institutions and outdated programs than by adroit manipulation or management.

This estimate must be in part conjectural because all the superficial publicity about Kennedy simply has not enabled us to make the kind of hard appraisals on it that we can of the [illegible] who are going through endless days under the acute pressure and [illegible] of campaigning. But the voter must be asking questions not only about Kennedy and the candidates but about themselves—what kind of leadership does the nation need? Most of the voters may want four more years of Nixon's type of Presidency or most of them may want the kind of moderate liberalism, with slow, step by step advances, that a centrist Democrat might offer.

But if they wish a more radical, a more thoroughgoing change, they must dispassionately analyze Kennedy's capacity to mobilize a majority of the people for a climactic political breakthrough—a reaffirmation of [illegible] on his part. Even before Chappaquiddick he was exhibiting a moodiness and disorientation that worried his friends. In part this was doubtless a response to his brothers' deaths, especially Robert. Chappaquiddick was followed by another period of unsteadiness and of anguished self-doubt. At least one student of personality and politics feels that Kennedy has demonstrated an emotional escapism and volatility that betrays the absence of a central core of integrity.

In the long run, though, the cardinal importance of Chappaquiddick may not be Kennedy's reaction to the tragedy but his reaction to his reaction. Some persons close to Kennedy feel that he was forced to come to grips with himself, to identify himself—and that this self-confrontation brought out iron in his soul. I think his main instinct, after some weeks of groping, was to find therapy in his work by throwing himself back into his Senate and political role and, above all, to reconnect himself with the Kennedy tradition of bold and innovative leadership. It is from this self-identification that strong policy positions have been forged.

Kennedy, in short, is essentially a public man, responsive to the forces around him, including the continuing vitality of the Kennedy heritage. How he behaves if elected President would depend finally on the extent to which the nation wants to turn to the uncompleted agenda and unfulfilled promise of John and especially Robert Kennedy. This brings us back to the political urgencies facing us today. It is not enough to ask Kennedy to make a declaration of availability or unavailability. Nor can we wait on events. To leave a vital aspect of our responsibility for selecting Presidential candidates to fate, or to chance, or to backroom machinations, is to make ourselves inert objects of history rather than, to some degree, the shaper of our political destiny.

This means:

(1) The press should subject Kennedy to as full and sharp a scrutiny as the announced candidates are receiving in the crucibles of the primaries. This would mean less speculation over will he or won't he? And more analysis of what Kennedy is saying, what political leaders or groups he is maintaining links with, how well he is standing up under the pressures on him.

(2) Local political leaders should factor him into their political arrangements. In some states, for example, party chairmen are inviting supporters of the candidates to speak for them at party conclaves; a Kennedy spokesman should be included. Delegates to the national convention, and candidates for a delegate, should feel free to declare for Kennedy, provided they make clear that such action is unauthorized by him.

political values and the transformation of political institutions to realize these values. But this is not the kind of question that is being asked by the press or by the leaders of opinion today.

Ultimately political leadership turns on more than political skill or even political principle. It turns also on questions of character and temperament, and it is on this score that many Americans—not least of all, perhaps, Kennedy himself—are most uneasy in their assessment of him. In this context, Chappaquiddick is the issue that will not die. Nothing has been learned about the aftermath of the accident to challenge Kennedy's characterization of his behavior as indefensible. The crucial question is whether the

(3) Voters in the Presidential primaries have a right, if they so wish, to vote for Kennedy or write in his name, and their votes should be counted and reported.

The reason for all this is to confront the Kennedy phenomenon rather than evade it. "There is no safety in hiding," Edward M. Kennedy said after Robert's death, "not for me nor any of us here today." Four years later that is a sober reminder to Edward Kennedy, and to all of us.

James MacGregor Burns, author of biographies of John F. Kennedy and Franklin D. Roosevelt, is professor of political science at Williams College.

NYT 4/10/72

Presidential Preference

Wisconsin Primary

	Democrat									Republican			
	Muskie	Humphrey	McGovern	Wallace	Lindsay	Jackson	Chisholm	McCarthy	Others	Nixon	Ashbrook	McCloskey	Others
1st District													
Green*	68	213	276	301	56	69	5	27	150	417	2	4	8
Jefferson*	21	25	240	17	21	19	4	9	54	54	1	1	0
Kenosha	5,298	5,938	7,730	6,464	1,194	769	210	599	4,080	6,666	65	84	25
Racine	3,581	7,737	11,834	13,225	2,829	3,473	255	452	7,190	8,703	89	109	53
Rock	3,245	6,290	9,320	7,562	1,262	1,552	397	374	3,647	9,371	75	101	21
Walworth	1,130	2,087	3,742	3,540	690	1,067	156	255	2,256	5,805	74	70	54
Total	13,283	22,290	33,142	31,109	6,052	7,940	937	1,716	17,396	31,046	306	369	161
2nd District													
Columbia	35,047	1,876	2,795	2,413	770	757	69	149	1,788	3,219	23	32	8
Dane	5,039	13,553	654	10,973	9,422	4,823	2,014	1,466	18,206	14,938	161	290	97
Dodge*	923	2,629	4,294	3,379	1,039	1,068	57	211	2,429	4,665	35	44	11
Fond du Lac*	48	172	165	214	55	108	6	11	184	326	5	1	0
Green*	291	897	1,347	1,235	381	251	35	87	805	2,105	10	29	3
Iowa	241	695	1,555	1,068	325	224	21	69	656	1,093	9	12	7
Lafayette	315	926	1,272	1,136	213	153	18	65	686	1,645	9	15	4
Sauk	549	1,732	3,042	2,346	764	602	72	147	1,633	1,093	229	41	5
Total	8,065	22,250	49,537	22,764	12,969	7,936	2,292	2,205	26,417	31,375	275	464	135
3rd District													
Barron	570	2,066	2,417	1,736	252	363	48	125	804	2,651	16	31	1
Buffalo	205	823	845	699	78	302	12	60	465	949	6	10	5
Crawford	298	1,042	1,283	1,055	117	337	19	70	561	1,123	13	13	8
Dunn	395	1,792	2,717	1,247	186	440	59	99	814	1,769	13	25	6
Eau Claire	1,160	5,617	5,878	3,158	836	1,260	15	274	2,595	3,956	21	32	15
Grant	738	1,421	3,696	1,992	300	283	9	224	1,107	3,962	18	33	8
Jackson	177	924	826	1,045	106	476		59	656	1,031	5	7	0
La Crosse	1,202	4,361	5,577	5,604	1,230	1,721	16	256	3,454	5,560	42	52	11
Monroe*	359	1,348	1,392	1,613	213	678	2	90	1,026	2,035	7	18	8
Pepin	131	491	695	385	51	126		55	245	330	5	7	2
Pierce	514	1,635	2,413	1,019	152	207	1	126	695	1,832	27	24	11
Polk	558	2,011	1,666	1,394	187	173	1	125	594	2,030	19	29	9
Richland	187	664	1,156	1,040	154	206	1	47	498	1,475	10	14	1
St. Croix	760	2,309	2,659	1,437	336	192	3	134	770	2,302	17	28	17
Trempealeau	459	1,460	1,361	1,410	222	502	3	105	953	1,657	3	13	2
Vernon	289	1,513	1,451	1,931	184	718	4	85	1,037	2,008	7	14	10
Total	7,903	29,483	35,002	26,765	4,644	8,069	79	1,936	16,184	35,049	229	350	114
4th District													
Milwaukee*	26,010	26,688	33,641	28,544	9,675	12,390	87	1,737	24,991	22,999	352	337	239
Total	26,010	26,688	33,641	28,544	9,675	12,390	87	1,737	24,991	22,999	352	337	239
5th District													
Milwaukee	11,092	33,955	31,981	20,641	9,081	9,278	1110	1,894	3,713	17,703	258	351	163
Total	11,092	33,955	31,981	20,641	9,081	9,278	1110	1,894	3,713	17,703	258	351	163
6th District													
Adams	126	571	578	734	109	212	7	32	371	625	1	0	3
Brown*	26	32	96	163	22	41	1	6	71	188	1	0	0
Calumet	473	919	2,140	1,520	465	422	33	88	1,058	1,709	8	20	3
Fond du Lac*	1,436	3,367	5,101	3,803	450	2,353	99	213	4,266	5,137	116	47	25
Green Lake	374	505	974	1,211	229	253	35	63	739	1,765	17	25	8
Juneau	395	753	1,172	1,245	143	393	15	61	622	1,343	31	6	0
Manitowoc	2,599	4,849	6,825	3,652	1,502	1,509	105	232	3,436	4,391	31	62	20
Marquette	156	317	519	636	144	141	18	39	370	712	4	6	13
Monroe*	45	197	235	215	19	76	4	15	115	210	2	3	0
Sheboygan	2,023	6,246	9,983	5,995	1,955	1,851	106	251	4,261	6,491	61	61	44
Waushara	251	575	852	1,139	156	245	20	43	488	1,505	13	20	13
Winnebago	2,479	5,112	11,038	6,445	2,347	2,476	225	382	5,559	8,684	64	102	35
Total	10,403	23,466	39,513	24,996	8,541	10,102	660	1,425	21,376	32,760	349	352	164
7th District													
Ashland	1,017	1,550	941	1,098	146	230	19	49	457	1,017	15	15	0
Bayfield	585	1,129	772	612	84	151	20	54	334	856	5	16	6
Burnett	221	822	439	682	45	93	16	37	212	780	9	17	14
Chippewa	1,104	2,342	3,175	2,305	796	836	33	123	1,893	2,400	8	27	19
Clark	1,127	290	1,009	1,878	213	491	33	92	855	1,757	9	28	10
Douglas	1,623	4,859	2,903	2,215	435	481	81	129	1,230	1,916	22	65	19
Iron	416	755	259	709	82	257	8	45	404	528	7	11	2
Lincoln	763	1,801	1,689	1,651	212	671	38	93	1,045	2,204	13	23	3
Marathon	4,373	5,786	6,550	5,419	828	1,639	106	252	2,933	5,886	48	83	36
Oneida*	454	1,501	950	1,721	147	583	31	51	828	1,591	12	9	19
Portage	3,799	3,945	4,163	1,780	638	785	106	178	1,744	2,203	18	29	7
Price	471	840	725	1,042	73	376	25	39	531	696	5	3	1
Rusk	439	931	1,258	1,006	122	292	13	56	492	843	5	6	26
Sawyer	329	646	450	891	37	138	25	31	247	723	4	9	0
Taylor	488	904	1,315	1,100	140	296	22	66	547	992	18	9	6
Washburn	313	910	716	871	61	119	21	57	283	1,004	8	22	21
Wood	1,968	3,818	3,930	4,039	860	1,297	71	200	2,474	4,679	41	41	2
Total	19,177	33,716	32,109	29,209	4,919	8,733	670	1,552	16,559	30,185	247	413	191
8th District													
Brown*	3,573	5,718	11,219	9,752	4,248	3,666	336	420	8,869	9,388	65	126	54
Door	461	963	1,294	1,432	346	585	43	73	1,073	2,622	22	12	12
Florence	80	185	208	340	35	82	5	13	138	320	1	7	5
Forest	290	549	330	1,074	75	232	5	39	359	510	4	8	5
Kewaunee	377	664	1,539	1,272	331	378	23	89	837	1,327	7	18	5
Langlade	442	908	1,258	1,129	121	377	8	39	564	1,079	7	16	4
Marinette	946	1,707	1,977	2,833	581	83[illegible]	26	111	1,506	2,658	20	38	8
Menominee	46	40	136	38	16	11	4	4	42	34	1	0	0
Oconto	654	1,026	1,449	2,092	591	551	25	108	1,105	2,146	15	32	9
Oneida*	10	11	20	30	1	[illegible]	0	0	9	85	0	1	1
Outagamie	1,887	4,186	9,129	5,785	2,384	2,241	168	300	5,324	8,159	65	175	36
									1,145	2,044	14	31	18

Shawano	593	1,205	1,484	2,524	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Vilas	238	833	454	1,442	79	434	25	23	575	1,274	7	10	6
Waupaca	457	1,467	1,923	2,320	401	717	36	103	1,307	3,835	11	43	11
Total	10,004	19,462	32,450	32,063	9,381	10,837	734	1,411	22,943	36,481	239	517	174
9th District													
Dodge*	146	535	736	750	198	209	14	36	465	678	3	11	1
Jefferson*	829	2,983	3,823	3,347	1,018	1,067	76	183	2,379	4,194	21	33	5
Milwaukee*	1,746	3,107	7,206	4,461	1,972	2,346	195	327	4,930	6,957	103	53	32
Ozaukee	1,054	2,178	4,435	3,869	1,052	1,429	82	169	2,814	4,536	06	68	66
Washington	1,111	2,615	5,024	4,015	1,239	1,573	64	279	3,230	4,472	38	52	6
Waukesha	4,100	9,615	16,667	14,239	4,588	5,450	321	733	11,853	14,103	189	135	92
Total	8,986	21,033	37,891	30,681	10,067	12,044	752	1,727	25,471	34,940	420	352	202
Total	115,083	232,548	331,266	246,772	75,329	87,579	9,080	15,603	195,240	272,538	2,675	3,505	1,548

*Part of county.

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Wisconsin Presidential Vote in County

	Democrat												Republican	
	McCarthy	Chisholm	Mills	Mink	McGovern	Yorty	Humphrey	Hartke	Lindsay	Muskie	Jackson	Wallace	Nixon	McCloskey	Ashbrook
Ward 1	149	382	7	20	1,294	296	5,223	18	766	567	238	625	520	16	12
Ward 2	196	76	5	20	3,572	59	3,389	13	999	1,341	1,231	2,929	2,050	11	15
Ward 3	290	246	13	8	5,427	31	1,970	6	1,270	1,664	928	1,771	2,088	59	42
Ward 4	130	159	21	12	1,745	98	2,206	9	508	751	357	793	940	23	22
Ward 5	226	69	8	15	4,242	41	3,390	130	1,041	1,255	1,570	3,417	3,475	41	39
Ward 6	121	254	8	13	1,374	234	4,042	15	492	752	229	680	440	32	23
Ward 7	155	161	9	23	2,036	252	3,975	12	704	693	538	1,424	1,152	26	22
Ward 8	146	31	10	18	3,064	50	2,509	9	887	2,785	859	2,160	1,571	12	24
Ward 9	159	60	10	7	2,949	27	2,369	3	828	1,053	1,038	2,359	1,186	26	19
Ward 10	122	94	7	15	2,141	94	2,286	7	550	729	582	1,363	1,528	29	14
Ward 11	131	43	9	12	3,779	26	2,610	3	1,069	2,566	1,289	2,590	1,889	27	17
Ward 12	132	19	8	12	2,127	33	2,168	8	538	2,703	536	1,480	946	34	18
Ward 13	132	39	3	9	3,226	20	2,440	5	935	3,323	1,145	2,620	1,522	43	26
Ward 14	166	33	4	13	3,534	41	2,761	13	830	4,258	1,159	2,372	1,732	48	24
Ward 15	136	63	4	10	3,356	26	2,587	6	959	964	1,253	2,703	1,922	72	18
Ward 16	214	55	10	17	3,944	40	2,748	41	974	1,352	1,276	2,624	2,413	16	32
Total City	2,425	1,775	136	224	47,760	1,370	46,493	298	13,350	26,756	14,258	31,930	25,384	515	367
Bayside	7	8	1	0	408	1	180	0	93	85	139	207	373	1	0
Brown Deer	56	28	2	5	916	1	501	2	367	262	330	806	757	7	8
Cudahy	78	22	1	6	1,932	2	1,403	6	465	1,428	492	1,301	762	16	13
Fox Point	33	16	4	2	973	2	346	1	207	207	328	428	941	11	7
Franklin	58	13	0	0	843	0	639	0	192	398	308	897	492	9	11
Glendale	68	26	1	2	1,143	4	662	3	321	316	420	1,029	1,072	7	14
Greendale	50	17	1	5	1,449	0	658	2	317	407	492	810	885	4	9
Greenfield	115	34	3	5	1,974	12	1,240	2	467	1,000	630	1,314	1,076	17	13
Hales Corners	17	25	1	2	618	1	316	2	147	242	216	525	593	11	4
Oak Creek	50	12	2	4	1,119	6	844	1	380	686	416	1,100	642	11	8
River Hills	5	9	0	0	81	2	49	0	24	26	56	97	193	1	7
St. Francis	37	9	2	6	1,112	1	607	1	198	525	231	618	307	4	6
Shorewood	78	52	8	4	1,842	1	719	4	441	402	484	852	1,481	12	26
So. Milwaukee	86	32	3	4	2,268	4	1,333	10	411	1,358	666	1,270	1,048	18	7
Wauwatosa	232	132	21	16	4,772	8	2,394	12	1,364	1,233	2,016	4,614	6,282	52	123
West Allis	288	73	11	11	6,566	7	4,715	16	1,409	3,005	1,886	4,567	3,078	31	48
West Milw.	15	3	2	1	210	3	196	1	56	114	57	211	153	0	1
Whitefish Bay	80	56	5	2	1,843	3	650	1	519	448	589	1,042	2,140	14	41
Total Suburban	1,353	557	68	75	30,068	58	17,457	64	7,378	12,142	9,756	21,708	22,275	226	346
Total	3,958	2,342	204	299	77,828	1,428	63,950	362	20,728	38,898	24,014	53,638	47,659	741	713

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New Law Expected to Curb Politicians' Use of TV

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 8—This spring and summer millions of Americans are expected to feel the impact of the new Federal election spending law.

Some results of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, which went into effect yesterday, will come in the form of fewer intrusions by candidates into radio and television, and also in a possibly enormous increase in political appeals by mail.

Reduced to its simplest terms, the act does three important things.

First, it closes most of the gaps in the now-repealed Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 by requiring much stricter and more timely reporting and public disclosure of who contributes how much to whom for political purposes. Reports under the old law were so unreliable as to be nearly worthless.

Primaries Are Affected

Until now, for example, contributions to candidates in primary elections, where $43 million was spent in 1968 by the Presidential contenders alone, were exempt from even nominal disclosure regulations.

Until now, for another example, a political finance committee that was supposed to report and disclose its receipts and expenditures could avoid any disclosure by simply locating itself in the District of Columbia, a jurisdiction exempted from the old law. Thousands of invisible dummy committees have existed here, channeling unreported millions to campaigns. Now they, too, will have to report.

Second, the new law imposes for the first time mandatory spending ceilings on expenditures of candidates for Federal offices—for campaign advertising on television and radio, in newspapers and magazines, by billboard and through organized, paid telephone solicitation.

There is no limit, however, on spending for direct mail appeals to voters, or by volunteers using their own telephones at home. And the direct mail industry's perfection of "personalized," computer-addressed and computer-written letters, with great selectivity of addresses through Zip code numbers, is certain to bring campaign-by-mail techniques to new prominence this year.

Third, the new law limits the contributions a candidate can legally make to his own campaign, or can make through his wife and relatives. The ceilings are $50,000 for a Presidential candidate, $35,000 for a Senate race, and $25,000 for a House contest.

The importance of this provision becomes clear in light of some recent discoveries by the Citizens Research Foundation of Princeton, N.J., a private center for the study of campaign financing. It found the following:

¶Eleven of the 15 major candidates for the Senate in 1970 in the seven largest states were millionaires.

¶Governor Rockefeller of New York and his family have spent, the foundation "conservatively" estimated, $25-million on his political campaigns since 1952, including nearly $1.5-million given by his stepmother alone to a Rockefeller-for-President committee in 1968.

¶The family of former Representative Richard Ottinger of New York loaned or contributed, according to public records, more than $3.9-million to his losing 1970 Senate campaign.

Linked to Population

The media advertising spending limit, effective yesterday, is 10 cents for each resident 18 years or older — those of voting age — in the jurisdiction covered by the race.

No candidate, however, no matter how small his constituency, is to be denied spending at least $50,000—or $52,150 this year, with a 4.3 per cent factor applied to account for the rise in prices.

But no more than 60 per cent of the media ceiling may be spent for broadcast campaigning. The rest, if spent, may go to print media, billboards or paid telephone callers.

The spending limits apply once in a primary election, and are renewed and applied again in the geneal election in November.

Thus, in the Congressional districts, most of which have been equalized at a population of about 500,000 through reapportionment, the total media spending limit for a candidate seeking nomination to the House will be about $50,000, with $30,000 of it for radio and television.

The same limits will then apply again to the campaigns of the primary winners in the general election.

The media ceiling for Senate candidates, who must campaign on a statewide basis, range from the minimum of $52,150 in such low-population states as Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Vermont and Wyoming, to $1.3-million in New York and $1.4-million in California.

These statewide media ceilings also began to apply yesterday to the 19 remaining Presidential primary contests.

The Presidential primaries in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, both on April 25, are the first to be partly affected by media spending limits. The ceilings are $404,997 in Massachusetts and $841,180 in Pennsylvania. Neither limit is expected to have an immediate discernible effect on televised campaigning.

For the post-convention period, however—from late August to November — the national media spending ceilings were designed to give measurable relief from the type of barrage of broadcast campaign commercials that marked 1968. The statutory limit is $14.2-million for each party's Presidential media campaign, only $8.5-million of which may be spent for radio and television time. Program production costs are exempt from the ceiling.

In 1968, all primary candidates for all offices of both major parties spent a total of $17.8-million on radio and television before the national nominating conventions and $38-million thereafter.

The two Presidential campaigns alone used $18.3-million, with the Republicans outspending the Democrats about 3 to 1.

The chief impact in 1972 of the new statutory ceiling in Presidential broadcast costs will probably be to curb President Nixon's paid broadcast exposure. The debt-ridden Democratic party does not seem likely now to raise $8.5-million for radio and television.

Limits on Campaign Spending

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 8—Following are the official Census Bureau estimates, published here yesterday, of the population in each state, 18 years of age and older. The figures are the basis upon which media advertising spending limits of 10 cents per voter have been compiled for candidates under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, which took effect yesterday.

State	Population 18 and Over	Media Spending Limit*
Alabama	2,259,000	$235,614
Alaska	187,000	52,150†
Arizona	1,189,000	124,013
Arkansas	1,296,000	135,173
Calif.	13,586,000	1,417,020
Colorado	1,492,000	155,616
Conn.	2,056,000	214,441
Delaware	360,000	52,150†
D. of Col.	523,000	52,549
Florida	4,891,000	510,131
Georgia	3,020,000	314,986
Hawaii	512,000	53,402
Idaho	468,000	52,150†
Illinois	7,413,000	773,176
Indiana	3,433,000	358,062
Iowa	1,884,000	196,501
Kansas	1,523,000	158,819
Kentucky	2,167,000	226,018
Louisiana	2,302,000	240,093
Maine	661,000	68,942
Maryland	2,610,000	272,223
Mass.	3,883,000	404,997
Michigan	5,750,000	599,725
Minn.	2,493,000	260,020
Miss.	1,397,000	145,707
Missouri	3,193,000	333,030
Montana	455,000	52,150†
Nebraska	1,003,000	104,613
Nevada	332,000	52,150†
N. Hamp.	503,000	52,463
New Jer.	4,899,000	510,966
New Mex.	627,000	65,396
New York	12,563,000	1,310,321
N. Car.	3,397,000	354,307
N. Dakota	491,000	52,150†
Ohio	7,052,000	735,524
Okla.	1,770,000	184,611
Oregon	1,452,000	151,444
Penna.	8,065,000	841,180
Rhode Isl.	660,000	68,838
S. Car.	1,682,000	175,433
S. Dakota	432,000	52,150†
Tenn.	2,668,000	278,272
Texas	7,434,000	775,366
Utah	668,000	69,672
Vermont	299,000	52,150†
Virginia	3,126,000	326,042
Wash.	2,294,000	239,264
West Va.	1,186,000	123,700
Wisconsin	2,894,020	301,844
Wyo.	220,000	52,150†
P. R.	1,581,000	164,898
U. S.	136,630,000	$14,250,569†

*Amount candidates for Presidential nomination and United States Senator nomination can spend in each state for election advertising on television and radio, in newspapers and magazines and for billboards and paid telephone solicitation. Spending limits apply separately to primary and general elections. No more than 60 per cent may be spent on television and radio. Totals include 4.3 per cent allowance over 10 cents per voter for cost-of-living increase.

†Minimum media expenditure established by law—$50,000 plus 4.3 per cent factor for cost of living.

‡Applies only to general election—to nominees of each political party after their national conventions. Sixty per cent for television and radio will be $8,550,000, with $5,700,000 remaining for other media.

Demo Telethon

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt? Not Right Now, Pal

• • •

Treasurer Strauss Attempts To Keep Creditors Quiet, Get Funds for Future Bills

Wall St J 4/10

By FRED L. ZIMMERMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Democratic Party still res $8,000 to the company that built those ces to keep hippies out of the Chicago con- tion four years ago.

But that's peanuts. The party also owes $1.5 llion to the telephone company, $1 million to erican Airlines and around $6.8 million re to close to 500 other creditors, ranging m hotels to printing companies.

And don't ask Robert Strauss, treasurer of Democratic National Committee, when the s are going to be repaid—because he doesn't ow. "Political parties traditionally have n in debt," he says, "Especially when y've lacked the glamor and majesty of the ite House."

Not that the treasurer wishes to seem un- cerned. "A week never goes by," he de- res, "that I don't meet with a creditor, eping him quiet, explaining when I think he ght get his money."

But trying to keep creditors quiet is nearly the party is doing right now—or intends to anytime soon—about its $9.3 million debt.

Mr. Strauss sees it, there's a much more portant job ahead: financing the defeat of chard Nixon.

18-Hour Message: Give

Mr. Strauss, a 53-year-old Dallas lawyer o tends to address people as "pal," is spend- much of his time these days planning an hour national telethon to raise money the ekend before the party's July convention.

In his dreams, he sees "a major entertain- ent and political spectacular," viewed by "as ny lookers as the Super Bowl had." He says will "tell the story of the American political ocess, the two-party system, and how it's eryone's responsibility to get a piece of the tion." In other words: contribute to the mocratic Party because it's broke.

Mr. Strauss says he hasn't any idea how ch money the show will raise, but the men ound him have told him the take could run as h as $35 million. ("I know we're going to se at least $8 or $10," he says, "because my nily has told me they'll give that much.")

a program, to be shown on ABC television y 8 and 9, will run nonstop from Saturday ht to Sunday afternoon. Its planners don't ow yet how they'll fill all that time. They k vaguely of a segment from Las Vegas, of es of old FDR speeches, of an appearance Frank Sinatra—though Mr. Sinatra seems be in the enemy camp at the moment.

They do have a vision, however, of people over America picking up their telephones d calling in pledges—"because they be- ve," as Mr. Strauss puts it, "in the two-party stem." Arrangements are being made so t viewers wishing to pledge money can sim- give the operator a credit-card number, ereupon they'll be billed automatically.

Although the TV sales pitch will mention the t that the party is deeply in debt, it's likely t nearly all the money raised will go into 1972 war chest rather than to old creditors m 1968.

A Dial Tone in Miami Beach

"Look, Pal," says Mr. Strauss, "we're going to be able to leave Miami Beach with our convention bills paid. But the Republicans are going to leave San Diego with $30 million to $60 million in the bank." (A spokesman for the Nixon campaign calls that estimate of the GOP fund "more than a little high," but he declines to offer a more accurate estimate.)

Even being able to pay the $2 million convention costs has taken some doing. About half the bill will be borne by the city of Miami Beach and various convention interests there. The remainder is being raised through the sale of ads in a convention program book the party is producing. Mr. Strauss says an assistant, George Bristol, already has sold $1 million worth of ads at $10,000 a page.

Convention financing has been a crucial matter partly because American Telephone & Telegraph Co. had threatened to deny phone service unless it got cash in advance. Mr. Strauss says AT&T will be paid $80,000 to $100,000 before the convention, which should be enough to cover the telephone bill.

An AT&T spokesman confirms that the convention will have a dial tone. As for the $1.5 million bill from 1968, he says AT&T hasn't lost hope. "Our people have been in frequent conferences with the committee. Unfortunately, however, the money isn't rolling in like we'd like to see it."

In his two years as treasurer, Mr. Strauss hasn't reduced the debt much at all. But he's proud that it hasn't grown.

Of the $9.3 million total, $8.9 million was incurred in 1968. About $6.1 million of this was run up in Hubert Humphrey's campaign against Mr. Nixon. The party also assumed a $1 million preconvention debt of Sen. Humphrey and a $1 million debt from the primary campaigning of Robert Kennedy. It still owes about $800,000 from the Chicago convention.

About one-third of the debt is owed to sev-

Please Turn to Page 14, Column 3

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt? Not Right Now, Pal

Continued From First Page

eral lenders who helped put nominee Humphrey on TV in the closing days of the campaign. Another third is owed to major national concerns like AT&T and the airlines. The remainder is due to hundreds of hotels, printers, typewriter rental firms and various other suppliers of the miscellaneous services needed in a big political campaign.

Most galling to Mr. Strauss is the fact that the party debt grew by $400,000 during the first year of the Nixon administration. When he took office in March 1970, he says, he discovered the committee was spending $135,000 to $150,000 a month although it had "no income to amount to anything."

"They were using a printer until he wouldn't give any more credit," he says, "and then they'd just switch to another printer. If an airline wouldn't take a credit card, they'd go to another airline."

Mr. Strauss immediately clamped on a tight cost-control program and began paying bills on a current basis. This won a little goodwill from some creditors, he says. "I told the phone company, for example, 'Nobody's going to pick up the phone around here to make a long-distance call unless we've got the money to pay for it.' "

Largely because of the huge Democratic debt from 1968, companies are stricter about the way they do business with politicians today. Many are providing service on a cash-only basis. Credit arrangements are mostly short-term. Acting under a law passed last year, federal regulatory agencies are setting guidelines for the extension of credit to politicians by airlines, railroads, bus companies and communications carriers. In general, the proposed rules call for collateral or immediate payment of bills.

For all the furor creditors raise, Mr. Strauss claims they still want the party's business. "Take American Airlines," he says. "They're in hammering on my desk every 90 days. But that industry is suffering today, and our people fly. So American's sales agents are coming around all the time to tell us about the new schedules they have." (The airline is suing the estate of Robert Kennedy for unpaid bills from his campaign, even though the committee has agreed to assume the debts.)

The same is true, he says, of the telephone company. While he was talking to a collection man from AT&T the other day, "a phone company salesman was in the other room trying to sell us more WATS lines."

Wall Street Journal 4/10/72

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STRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 26, 1972

EMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Campaign Meetings

Magruder proposes a new campaign strategy meeting to Mitchell in the memorandum attached at Tab A.

Mitchell has approved the meeting and participants (Miller, Magruder, LaRue, Marik, Dailey, Teeter, Finkelstein). The first meeting will be this week on Key States. There is currently no agreement on Key States within the Committee to Re-Elect the President, as Magruder's memorandum attached at Tab B indicates.

In light of the importance of getting Mitchell's views on Key States and campaign strategy for you, I asked Magruder if I could attend. Magruder said he was opposed and would not raise the question of my attendance with Mitchell. Magruder's reasons for objecting to my attending are:

1) The meeting must be kept small;

2) Marik can brief me afterwords on the decisions, and

3) The meeting should be purely campaign people without any White House Staff (hence, Malek's exclusion).

You agreed last July to ask Mitchell if I could attend a much higher level meeting (that was eventually cancelled) on your behalf. To reassert in Magruder's mind the importance of keeping you fully informed, I believe it is an important matter of principle for you to intervene with Mitchell on my behalf. A memorandum for your signature to Mitchell is attached at Tab C.

GS/jb

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GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

One of Magruder's memoranda to you suggests a meeting of Magruder, Miller, LaRue, Marik, Dailey, Teeter, and Finkelstein to work on campaign strategy. Jeb mentioned that the first subject would be Key States. Would it be possible for Gordon Strachan to attend these strategy meetings on my behalf?

HRH/GS/jb
F/U - 4/28

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

April 18, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
CLIFF MILLER

SUBJECT: Strategy Planning for the Campaign

Campaign strategy is now developed in several areas:

Campaign Strategy Group (Monday evening meetings). Brings together the thoughts of key White House personnel and those on the Re-Election Committee. Reviews and develops recommendations on broad strategy, with particular emphasis on advertising and the media.

Strategy Planning Group (Saturday meetings). The directors responsible for pertinent campaign activities meet with each state chairman to develop a detailed strategy and operating plan for conducting the campaign in that state. The resulting recommendations in the form of a state plan are presented to you for approval.

November Group. Develops an advertising strategy consistent with the overall strategy of the campaign.

Polling. Provides the basic research data for all of the strategy groups described above.

In addition, the political division and the directors of the functional activities develop strategy relating to their own areas of responsibility, consistent with the overall campaign strategy.

All of those groups perform a useful function in developing elements of the strategy for the campaign. However, they do not perform the essential function because:

1. They do not work closely enough with you.

2. Their membership is too large to make effective strategy recommendations in a timely manner when the campaign is in full swing.

Therefore, we recommend that another group be formed, under your chairmanship, to develop the overall strategy from which state plans, advertising, budget, etc., will flow. The suggested membership would be:

Cliff Miller	(Communications)
Jeb Magruder	(Administration/Coordination)
Fred LaRue	(Political)
Bob Marik	(Planning/Mail/Telephone)
Peter Dailey	(Advertising)
Bob Teeter	(Polling)
Arthur Finkelstein	(Demographics)

Recommendations

That you approve the creation of the group described above.

Approve_____ Disapprove_____ Comment_____

That a meeting be scheduled within the next two weeks to start the group on its task of developing strategy for the general campaign.

Approve_____ Disapprove_____ Comment_____

O Sorry. 4/19 Fred

April 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: ALEX ARMENDARIZ
TONY DeFALCO
LARRY GOLDBERG
PAUL JONES
PAUL KAYSER
FRANK NAYLOR
KEN RIETZ
BILL STOVER
DAN TODD
CLAYTON YEUTTER

You're heading L.

FROM: FRED MALEK

SUBJECT: Congratulatory Letters to Appointees

Each of you have named or will be naming in the near future State Chairmen for your particular Voting Blocs. Each of these people will be expending considerable effort with comparatively little recognition or contact by the Campaign Director. Accordingly, I think it would be a good idea, and Mr. Mitchell has agreed, to send letters of congratulations to your State Chairmen as they are named.

Therefore, I would recommend that each of you prepare a letter for Mr. Mitchell's signature to each Chairman that has been named. If you will forward these to me - along with a short cover note to Mr. Mitchell - I will ensure that they are signed and sent out. In the future as new Chairmen are named, I would recommend you again submit these letters in groups of 3 or more.

Attached is a draft letter that Dan Todd has prepared for State Older American Chairmen. Some of the ideas may be useful to you in preparing your own letters. I would suggest adding your name in the first paragraph as shown to strengthen your relationship with the Chairmen. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Attachment

No I'm not. He's heading Physicians and Dentists and doing a damn good job so far.

Fred

News from the Committee for the Re-election of the President 1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0920

FOR RELEASE: 11:30 a.m., Monday
April 24, 1972

CONTACT: DeVan L. Shumway
(202) 333-7060
#4-18(24)

BLACK NIXON SUPPORTERS

WASHINGTON, APRIL 24 -- Paul Jones, Executive Director of the Black Vote Division of the Committee for the Re-election of the President today unveiled plans for what he called "the largest Black fund-raising event ever held for any President."

The announcement came following the morning session of a strategy meeting among Black Nixon supporters from across the country.

Jones said that Black support for the President in the election this year "will surprise a lot of Democrats who take the Black vote for granted" and "shatter some of the myths common among so-called experts."

"I have found rising support for the President around the country," Jones said. "I think the presence here of so many distinguished Black leaders confirms that observation."

Jones predicted a large turnout for a $100 a plate dinner to raise funds for the President's campaign. The dinner will be held in the Washington Hilton Hotel on June 10, sponsored by the National Black Committee for the Re-election of the President.

"President Nixon has provided blacks with more and better federal job opportunities than any President in history," Jones said.

BLACK NIXON SUPPORTERS

2-2-2-2

"When the President took office, he promised all Americans, and especially Black Americans, that he would give us deeds and not rhetoric, action and not words," Jones said.

"Frankly, I have been amazed at the Federal job progress that has been attained by Blacks under the Nixon administration. But, the record is clear and can not be contradicted. President Nixon has set records for black employment is the federal service.

"As one of the old political wizards used to say, 'Let's take a look at the record':

" President Nixon has appointed nine blacks to sub-Cabinet posts compared to three during the Johnson administration.

"As for the Executive level appointments, President Nixon has placed 62 blacks in prominent federal position, compared to 49 during the Johnson years.

"In the area of the so-called supergrades, there are 150 blacks now while there were only 63 under the previous administration.

"Nine blacks have attained the flag rank under this administration as compared to two under the previous one. Eight are generals, while the first black admiral has been named by the President.

"An area that has been overlooked by many persons is the fact that while there has been a reduction in overall federal jobs, there has been an increase of minorities on the federal payroll. An increase from 19.2 in the last Democratic Administration to 19.5 percent today.

(more)

BLACK NIXON SUPPORTERS

3-3-3-3

"With the recent appointment of the first black to the Federal Communications Commission, the President has named 89 blacks to Federal commissions and advisory boards. The previous high was 60.

"Another area in which the President has outstripped his Democratic predecessors has been in making funds available to enforce civil rights laws.

"The Nixon budget for civil rights enforcement is $602 million as compared to a meager $75 million under Johnson.

"I do not care where you examine the record -- as far as black concern is involved, you will find that the Nixon record is better than the record of any previous President.

"He has taken the initiative to encourage large federal and private deposits in minority banks. A program that resulted in $242 million in deposits in black banks.

"Black businessmen faced great difficulties in obtaining a loan from the Small Business Administration prior to this Administration.

"But under Richard Nixon, SBA loans have opened up to black entrepreneurs and the Office of Minority Business Enterprises, created by President Nixon, has provided $508 million in funds for minority business."

"All these facts are going to add up to a great big surprise for the Democrats in November. Black Americans used to think that all they were ever going to get from the government was big talk. President Nixon has shown them that that's not true when the right

(more)

man is in the White House.

"Black Americans know who takes them for granted and they know that President Nixon means it when he promises action."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HARRY S. DENT HSD

As predicted McGovern and Humphrey won the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries. McGovern's projected delegate vote strength moves him out front with 235 to 138 for Muskie and 78 for HHH. Brinkley tabbed McGovern as the frontrunner. The big loser again was Muskie, barely finishing third behind Wallace with GW's one-day stand in Pa. and a poor second in Mass., less than half McGovern's vote.

Here are the results as of 6:30 AM:

PENNSYLVANIA (97% in)

	Delegates	Votes	Percent
HHH	59	457,755	35%
GW	2	273,506	21%
Muskie	29	266,957	21%
McGovern	32	265,823	20%
Jackson	0	39,232	3%
Uncommitted	12	--	-

MASSACHUSETTS (65% in)

	Delegates	Votes	Percent
McGovern	102	176,284	51%
Muskie	0	77,467	22%
HHH	0	28,001	8%
GW	0	27,347	8%
Chisholm	0	14,048	4%
Kennedy	0	1,362	write-ins
Mills	0	9,823	3%
Jackson	0	4,223	1%
RN	34	53,654	82%
McCloskey	0	8,691	13%
Ashbrook	0	2,862	5%

McCloskey's 13% was rated a psychological victory of sorts and attributed to dove sentiment in the GOP on V-N. We made only one mailing in Mass.--to all precinct captains--from Brooke, Volpe, Richardson and Sargent.

McGovern's strong showing was credited to V-N dove sentiment and populism. He called it "peace and working men."

HHH's victory in Pa. was credited to a labor quid pro quo and black support. HHH said this was a great victory for the "vital progressive Demo center." It was noted as his first primary victory ever (except D. C.). HHH also proclaimed himself the "President of the American family."

RN won all delegate votes in Pa. and Mass. No competition in Pa. (50 delegate votes)

Muskie pledges to keep on.

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	CBS	NBC	9:30
Mass.	49%		
McG	43		
Mus	25		
Wal	9		
H H	8		
Pa 14%	CBS	NBC	14%
H H	34%	32	
Wal	19	20	
Mus	19~~20~~%	23	
McG	23%	22	

PN – no cng. oppos as P surged to a over sided victory

	CBS	10:30		P.
Mass	8%		Dels	as expec
X McG	261	45	74	be (no
"a setback" Mus		23	7	oppos
Women Wal		10		w/7% – 80%
debate H		9		Ash – 5%
comp Chris		4		w/no comp → McC – 15%
Pa			Del's	
X H		36	36	
" Mus		20	31	
Too close McG		20	15	
to call Wal		20	0	
Joe		21	1	
Uncom			10	

Mus will continue in Cal + NY

ate 25 Dels

4125

8:30 - w/ 1% - 1300

Mass
- Mus 44
- McG 35
- Wal 8
- HHH 7
- Miles 3

Pa - 7%
- HHH 32
- Mus 27
- McG 23
- Wal 18
- Jac 6

9:05 - 1% CBS

Pa
- HHH 34
- Mus
- Wal
- Mc

> 20%

Mass.
- McG - 2 - 1 over Mus - Sweeping Victory

U.P.I.
- Mass - R.N. 86%

C

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN G

SUBJECT: Massachusetts and Pennsylvania Primary Returns

Magruder's memorandum for John Mitchell on the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries today is attached. There will be an election watch at 1701, which will rely on the wires and network coverage.

The President's name is on the Massachusetts preferential ballot with Ashbrook and McCloskey. The President is expected to win easily. In Pennsylvania only delegates will be selected.

The Massachusetts polls close at 8:00 p.m. EST. Network projections are not expected until 10:00 p.m. because there are few machine polling booths. The Pennsylvania results are expected earlier, and CBS and NBC have announced shows on the results beginning at 10:30 p.m. ABC has not announced election shows. I will be in touch with Magruder from 8:30 p.m. on.

John Mitchell is not expected to be at the Committee tonight, and Magruder expects him to watch the results on T.V.

For New Hampshire, Florida, and Wisconsin, Harry Dent has prepared a one page summary of the results for the President. This summary has been delivered to the President at 7:30 a.m. the next morning.

RECOMMENDATION

G→LaRue 4/25

That Dent be asked to prepare his analysis of the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries for the President.

Agree ✓

Disagree _____

Comment _____

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 25, 1972

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Comment _____

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

April 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Election Night

Here is a review of the key facts about tonight's primaries in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and a description of our planned response.

Massachusetts

Both parties have preferential and delegate contests. Registered voters may not crossover. The polls are open until 8:00 p.m. Results may come in slowly because of wide use of paper ballots. The Secretary of State estimates that about 800,000 people will vote -- most of them on the Democratic side. The Democrats have twelve names on their ballot and 102 delegates will be elected. The delegates will be bound on the first Convention ballot to the candidate who wins the preferential. The latest Boston Globe poll shows McGovern with 43%, Muskie 19%, and Humphrey at 14%.

In the Republican race, The President's name is on the preferential ballot along with Ashbrook's and McCloskey's. A light turnout, heavily in favor of The President, is expected. Thirty-four Republican delegates will be selected.

Pennsylvania

Both parties have delegate races, but only the Democrats have a preferential contest. Voters may not crossover. The polls are open until 8:00 p.m. Results should come in faster than Massachusetts since more machines are used. There are 2.8 million registered Democrats, and turnout estimates range from 30 to 50 percent of this. The Democrats have five names on the ballot (Jackson, Humphrey, McGovern, Muskie and Wallace). They are selecting 137 delegates. Muskie and McGovern have fielded full slates, while Humphrey

has only 128 delegates. The press predicts Humphrey will get most delegates, with Muskie a close second, and then McGovern far behind. In the preferential race Humphrey is expected to win his first primary. The order after that is in question: Muskie could finish second, but may fall behind both McGovern and Wallace. The preferential results have no bearing on the Convention delegates.

On the Republican side there are 2.5 million registered Republicans. Those who vote will do so only for the 50 GOP delegates.

Our Response

We are preparing a statement for you in which we comment on Kennedy's obvious support for McGovern in Massachusetts. Senator Dole's statement will follow this same approach. Frank Dale's will emphasize the continued strong support for the President and his policies. We are also preparing comments for Arlen Specter, Senator Schweiker, Senator Brooke and Governor Sargent.

DeVan L. Shumway

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Meetings with Cabinet Staffs

Attached for your information is a memorandum from Jon Foust, along with memoranda from members of his staff, regarding the meetings that have been held with the schedulers of some of the Cabinet officers.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 26, 1972

TO: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: JON A. FOUST Foust

SUBJECT: Meetings with Cabinet Staffs

Thought you might be interested in these reports on our meetings. All of them have gone very, very well and each staff seemed to be quite pleased that someone was taking the interest to come talk to them.

At first I was doubtful if the time spent going to these meetings would justify the results we would receive. I am now convinced that these PR-type meetings are very beneficial and can only do a lot of good.

We will continue to schedule these meetings and in later months schedule follow-up meetings.

paw

Attachments

April 25, 1972

TO: JON A. FOUST

FROM: SUSAN A. DAVIS

SUBJECT: HEW Strategy Meeting

The April 25 meeting between our staff and Secretary Richardson's scheduling and advance staff, including Dick Mastrangelo, Sam Shulhoff, Doug Bielan, and Ed Hanley established a basic rapport, an understanding of how either staff operates, and a plan of action for future events.

Mastrangelo iterated that the bulk of Richardson's appearances are advanced by telephone by Larry Rumford, the Secretary's personal aide. Rumford deals with the ten HEW regional directors or officials of state social security offices, who do the actual advance work. Richardson prefers not to travel with an entourage and the headquarters advancemen are used only for major political activities that require the Secretary doing a number of events in one trip. If a political event is accepted, Mastrangelo tries to tie it in with an official event to avoid extra transportation costs. For any event, their prime goal is maximum media coverage.

We suggested ways in which our staff could service the Secretary, including pre-advancing major events, providing contact points and background information. We stressed the importance of the Secretary's own staff doing the advance itself, since they best know their principal, but offered to assist them in any way possible to make the event a success.

Mastrangelo welcomed our offer of assistance and expressed their willingness to cooperate in all ways. He will suggest that Rumford contact our staff on events to learn the local contacts or to request any additional help. Mastrangelo also pointed out that, while their method of operating may be workable at this point in time, he realizes the campaign schedule will become more rigorous and they may begin to use their own advancemen on an increasing number of events.

paw

April 25, 1972

TO: JON A. FOUST

FROM: ED COWLING

SUBJECT: Meeting with George Pantos, Secretary Peterson's Scheduler (attended by Pantos, SD, JF, and EC April 25)

Pantos has not yet set up any internal advance operation within the Commerce Department. He asked if we could supply the names of any experienced advancemen who had done White House advances that were employed presently at Commerce. I suggest this information be included in the "thank you" letter to Pantos.

Peterson does not like to just shake hands at an event. He likes to talk to the group even if informally and likes to get their ideas. He likes to meet with corporate executives, particularly those who might be contributors. He doesn't like "non-events" or giving "pep talks."

Pantos thinks that Peterson should concentrate his efforts in the midwest, especially Nebraska and Illinois, Texas, and California. He thinks Peterson should do mainly material scope events and usually rejects invitations to state-wide or local events. Pantos thinks a major event in Nebraska or Texas would be good. He plans to send all invitations to fund raisers to our scheduling office.

paw

April 26, 1972

TO: JON A. FOUST

FROM: ED COWLING

SUBJECT: April 26 Meeting with Secretary Romney's Staff (attended by Dot Babcock, Judy Bryant, Jack Woolley, SD, JF, and EC)

A meeting was held to discuss the Tour Office's role in events which Secretary Romney will participate in as a surrogate. Dot Babcock works for Jim Judge who coordinates all of Romney's appearances. Jack Woolley gives political input on events and does some traveling with Romney. Woolley has designated the following persons on the HUD payroll as advancemen:

Owen Cornell
Alan Kranowitz
Bill Prendergast
Margaret Leete

Woolley mentioned that Romney had received a letter from our Committee about clearing acceptances through us and his feeling was that there would be some events that Romney would want to do regardless of this Committee's relationship to the event. Woolley said that in past experience with the White House Romney's appearance at an event was guaranteed to the locals without it being cleared with Romney's office. Woolley did say, however, in this regard that this type of situation had not happened with our Committee, and that he appreciated us making an effort by coming over to meet with them to have an understanding as to how Romney likes to work and that we will be certain to clear an event with them before any promises are made.

Woolley indicated that it is easier for members of his staff to work with Romney than it would be for our advancemen because they are well acquainted with each other. Romney does not like to do cocktail receptions or press conferences. He will, however, meet with the press informally.

Woolley mentioned that some states or congressional districts might be difficult for Romney to campaign in because the incumbant Democrats are members of Committees with which HUD works closely; for example, in Alabama against Sen. Sparkman and in Lubbock, Texas, against Rep. Mahon.

We can do pre-advance on events for Romney and then the day before the event his advanceman will arrive on the scene and can be taken through the schedule. In this way an event planned by us can have the Romney stamp.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President 1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0920

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

Attachment

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADVANCE OPERATION

The Advance Operation is in the process of identifying problems and creating programs for their solution. By April 28 we intend to have (1) identified all events presently scheduled that we must advance and (2) assign advancemen to each of these events.

We are currently trying to ascertain the status of all the Celebrities Operations, and devise programs and plans for each area.

We are awaiting approval of Tom Scott as Chairman of the Athletes for the President Committee.

ADVERTISING

Initial campaign and advertising strategy statements were presented to the strategy group on April 17. State analysis and rankings for media allocations, media objectives, strategy and initial plans were presented on April 24.

The Milwaukee television test was completed. The Youth Poster test was completed and revisions suggested by research results are being made. Other projects in various stages of development are a Youth Newsletter, Youth Recruitment brochure, Black brochure, Spanish direct mail brochure, Business City Chairman's guidebook, Farm group bumper sticker, Youth group's dress design, Nixonette scarves, Mexican-American dollar bill mailer.

A November Group financial presentation will be made on April 28.

AGRICULTURE

Yeutter spoke at a public affairs seminar in San Francisco sponsored by the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives. Prior to the seminar, he had a private dinner meeting with managers of several California's major cooperatives; among the group was the President of the National Council.

On Friday Yeutter, Bob Spitzer, and Congressman Kyl (Iowa) participated in a rural vote seminar at the Republican Women's Conference in Chicago.

Representatives of the Labor Department briefed Yeutter and Foltz on implementation of the Occupation Safety & Health Act, which has incurred the wrath of many employers -- farmers and others -- in the Midwest. This situation will have to be watched carefully, for it has important political implications. As with the decision (involving Interior and EPA) to ban the use of poisons for predator control, the President is being personally blamed for the actions of the Labor Department.

Madson visited (at their farms) our "Farm Families for the President" chairmen in South Dakota and Missouri, and conferred with Fred Hartley and Bob Spitzer in Wisconsin re selection of a chairman for that state.

Foltz met with the presidents of the Western Wood Products Association and the American Forestry Assocation on timber management and forest regeneration problems on U. S. forest lands in the West. He also met with representatives of the National Agricultural Chemical Association to discuss their potential support.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

We visited with the North Dakota Business and Industry State Chairman in Detroit, Michigan. In addition, we visited the Nixon State Chairman for Wisconsin in Milwaukee regarding prospective State Chairmen for Business and Industry in that state. We are continuing to expand our number of State Chairmen.

Next week, we plan to visit with Regional and State Chairmen in Florida, Texas, Alabama, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Utah and North Carolina. The purpose of these visits is, of course, to brief our new State Chairmen and get them started on the recruitment of City Chairmen within their area of responsibility.

ELDERLY

Dan Todd devoted most of his time to working with Bud Evans on Presidential and First Family scheduling and with Fred Malek on Budget and staffing OAD. Considerable time was also put into following up with HUD on the Model Cities reprogram problems in N. E. Los Angeles. This situation is not as yet resolved but the continuing efforts of Under Secretary Van Dusen, Tony Rodriguez and Lyn Nofziger should produce a solution shortly.

Mills spent the majority of his time following up on his California trip and laying the groundwork for visits to Missouri, Oregon, Washington, Utah and Nevada, as well as more time in California to ensure Judge Paonessa is properly supported. He has left on this trip. Dan Todd will join him for Missouri, Oregon and Washington.

Christy Todd spent the beginning of the week on follow-up from the New York trip, confirming the Connecticut trip, and setting up North Carolina for next week. She will maintain a similar schedule for the next few weeks until initial visits have been made to all priority and second level states. After that Miss Todd will remain in the priority states until their OA organizations are squared away.

Both Todds visited Connecticut. Briefly, they (State Nixon and Party Leaders)believe the state can be carried for Nixon against any candidate except Kennedy. They feel the elderly are essential to this effort, and

are working on several special projects that will give additional visibility within our constituency.

JEWISH

Political organizing in Illinois and Pennsylvania is the next target for immediate action. Larry Goldberg spent one day in Chicago recruiting leadership for the re-election effort and another day of recruiting is scheduled in the immediate future. In addition, he and Max Fisher are calling on some of the National Jewish leadership to assist in recruiting in the key areas so the best nucleus for the campaign can be identified and organized.

PHYSICIANS AND DENTISTS

Bill Stover has begun the process of clearing suggested State Dentists' Chairmen with our State Nixon Chairmen, and, at the same time, discussing with these Chairmen the organization of the Physicians' Committee within their states.

PR/MEDIA

The Press Department continued working closely with the Pennsylvania Committee in monitoring the opposition's activities and is assisting surrogates in their prepared remarks and press conferences. Attacks on the President were answered rapidly with speech inserts and audio including two audio cuts of Senator Marlow Cook, one audio of Francis Dale and one cut of Senator Javits. These surrogates received particularly good media coverage during their visits to Pennsylvania. We also planned a full day of television and radio for Senator Brock's visit of April 24 in Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Harrisburg and Philadelphia. Other Pennsylvania press activities included a press release in which Francis Dale blasted Senator Humphrey's speech to steel workers and an audio cut in which Arlen Specter asked the Demcratic candidates to go back to work. This was moved to sixteen Pennsylvania stations.

Our audio handled Senator Dole and Vice President Agnew several times during the week on the subject of the Vietnam bombing, and an audio was cut of Marina Whitman, of the council of Economic Advisors, who spoke about the Consumer Price Index. These cuts were moved to sixteen Pennsylvania stations, distributed to various California stations and fed to stations in three other major cities.

The Press Department issued releases announcing the Vermont and Kansas Committee openings. We also worked closely with the voter bloc groups, preparing press plans for them through the Convention. We consulted with

the Spanish-speaking director and his White House counterpart to establish the policy of handling the farm workers' boycott. It was decided to keep this movement at its low profile by not attacking either the movement or Cesar Chavez, but by preparing Administration spokesmen, in particular Henry Ramirez, with talking paper should they be confronted with questions on the NLRB and the Administration's policy toward the farm workers. This same method of being ready to take the offensive on behalf of the Administration but not initiating attacks will be used by Senator Dole who has received a great deal of mail, through the RNC, criticising the Administration's policy with the farm workers.

Working with Paul Jones and Stan Scott, the Press Department assisted in planning a press conference announcing the large support and financial backing across the Nation from the Black communities.

The Press Department, in conjunction with the Illinois Committee, planned a full day of media on Ken Rietz's appearances in that state to get youth support for the President's re-election. The media included three radio interviews and four television appearances, one of which was on a show which is syndicated to 37 stations across the Nation. Press releases on the President's victory in a mock election held at the University of South Dakota and on the active part that young people will play in the Republican National Convention were distributed to the national media on the West Coast and in Washington.

The Press Department is working closely with the Congressional campaign committees and Republican senatorial and congressional offices on the Hill through continual discussions to help get the President's record across on the local level. Particular emphasis has been on the use of our audio operation.

SPANISH-SPEAKING

The final draft of the campaign plan was reviewed before submitting for approval; and the first draft of the California campaign plan was completed including a detailed California primary test plan. We initiated a Spanish-speaking Junior Chamber of Commerce/Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-speaking project to promote the Nixon record. A research program was established with three full-time volunteers. A campaign budget briefing was held as well as a Spanish-speaking Task Force meeting. Alex Armendaris attended various meetings on the United Farm Worker's controversy and a meeting with the Southwest Council of La Raza.

VETERANS

Frank Borman has accepted the position of National Veterans Chairman. The

announcement is to be held until June kick-off dates. We worked with Henry Cashen to determine the extent of the Chairman's activities for Veterans.

Veteran state chairmen selection was made in 16 states. Selection of veteran state chairmen is completed and confirmed with state campaign directors in Indiana, Iowa, North Dakota, and Nebraska. Tentative approval has been made for a state chairman in Pennsylvania.

During a meeting with the incoming national commander of the American Legion, Joe Mathews of Texas, we reviewed campaign plans, veteran activites in Texas and selection of advisory group members.

The National Commander of the American Legion and Frank Naylor reviewed the overall campaign plans, selection of a national advisory group and requirements for state chairman of the Veterans Committee.

A smooth campaign plan was completed and forwarded for review. Working meetings with VA officials completed the development of Veteran issue positions. A communications plan was devised with Bill Rhatigan.

Arrangements were commenced for Don Johnson or his deputies to make major appearances at all but four of the 28 VFW and American Legion state conventions in the 14 priority states. We worked with Bill Rhatigan to provide DOD surrogates for the other four conventions. Arrangements were made for Don Johnson to make a major appearance at the National Convention of the Association of Collegiate Veterans in Deluth, Minnesota, in May. These are all Vietnam veterans representing 850 college units.

YOUTH

A major drive for new voters coordinated by Bill Lamont, Young Voters for the President field director, and including the Tower organization and the State GOP will be conducted on May 20 in Texas. Volunteers will canvas more than 100,000 homes in seven major cities.

The second major drive is scheduled to begin in California on May 6 with a concentrated effort in Los Angeles and San Diego. The Michigan Young Voters Committee has a drive in the planning stage for early June. Other states where young voters are involved in registration drives include: Wisconsin, Florida, Tennessee, South Carolina, Illinois, Indiana and Oregon.

We continue to make real inroads into college campuses and will announce a list of college student body leaders for the President the middle of May. Student body presidents from major universities endorsing the President thus far include: Kent Clemence, University of Southern California; Joe Piasta, University of San Francisco; Pat Moshe, University of Texas at El Pas; Courtney Roberts, University of Texas at Arlington; Ralph Anderson, University of Washington; Jeff Wiswell, University of Wisconsin at Whitewater; Jim Harris, New Hampshire College; Steve Meier, Occidental College (California); Rusty Schwartz, University of Nebraska; Mark Tullis, Brandeis University and Bruce Bishop, Old Dominion University (Virginia).

The President continues to do well in mock elections on campuses. During the last month he has finished first in elections at: University of South Dakota at Vermillion, Rider College (New Jersey), University of Southern California, Kansas University, Washington State University at Pullman, University of Houston and the University of Whitewater.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

April 28, 1972

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR.

SUBJECT: The AIP Filing To Put Wallace On The General Election Ballot In New Jersey.

When the petition was filed to place Wallace on the General Election Ballot in New Jersey, the petition was not signed by Wallace. No Declaration of Acceptance is required and none was signed by Wallace.

Sources indicate that the filing was not engineered by the Governor or any of his people but by Wallace supporters in New Jersey. The same sources indicate that the Governor was not aware that this was being done for him in New Jersey. A source very close to Wallace, who spent two hours last week talking to the Governor about his campaign, indicates that the New Jersey filing was never mentioned; and it was his opinion that Wallace had no notification that it was happening.

Other sources in New Jersey indicate that the group filing the petition did not consult with Wallace but called his Headquarters and asked if he objected. Somebody in his Headquarters said that they did not particularly indorse the action but would not object to it.

Apparently, only 800 voters' signatures were required on the petition--not 43,000 (2 percent of the vote cast in the last preceding election) as was earlier indicated to me by research sources in New Jersey.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 17, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is the weekly report.

Attachment

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADVERTISING

Plans for testing creative material were developed. Alternate concepts will be tested in focus group sessions; concepts emerging from these sessions will be quantified; prototype commercials will then be developed and tested for message strength and comprehension.

Alternate youth posters have been developed, and will be tested with young voters in Los Angeles, Houston, and Columbus. Results will be available by March 31. Alternate button designs were prepared for testing with youth in New Hampshire.

Copy was developed for direct mail telegrams for Wisconsin.

A media coverage computer analysis was designed and initiated. This report, available March 24, will provide voting and demographic data for ADI's (Areas of Dominent Media Influence) for all states.

An analysis of the Older American vote was prepared, indicating geographic areas of greatest concentration, and issue areas of primary appeal. A similar analysis on the Youth vote was finished March 16.

A qualitative and quantitative analysis of the use of telephones vs. other media is being prepared, and will be finished March 20.

? A financial report projecting agency operational costs and savings to the Committee was presented to the Committee financial group. A competitive spending report for Florida was prepared.

The China film was reviewed in California and meetings were held with the Wolper organization regarding their submission of bids for documentary films.

Polling data on California is being analyzed with final recommendations due next week.

AGRICULTURE

The USDA made two announcements Thursday which effected the farm vote: an increase in meat imports for 1972; and a continuance of dairy price supports at the same level as in 1971. While there are very substantial reasons for both of these decisions, some farmers will not understand or accept them. It will also give some opportunity for attacks by the opposition.

A poll conducted by Wallace's Farmer among Iowa farm people in mid-January showed:

Nixon	42%	Nixon	45%	Nixon	50%
Muskie	33%	Humphrey	26%	Kennedy	29%
Wallace	7%	Wallace	7%	Wallace	6%
Undecided	18%	Undecided	22%	Undecided	15%

Yeutter and Foltz met on Tuesday with administrative and legislative assistants to Republican members of the House Agriculture Committee Basic campaign plans were explained and their assessments of prospects in their districts were received. While on the Hill that afternoon, they also met separately with Representatives Latta, Thomson, William Mills, and Senator Hansen for the same purpose.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

On March 7, we met with Mr. Harllee Branch, Jr., Business & Industry State Chairman of Georgia, to discuss the progress he was making in the selection of City Chairmen, and also to discuss the lists he had prepared on four other states in the South. On March 8, we visited Mr. Lynn Townsend, Business & Industry Chairman for Region V, to discuss his plans for the appointment of State and City Chairmen in his region.

Progress is being made on the completion of the City Chairman's Guide Book and discussions are being held regarding the completion of the entire kit.

ELDERLY

Todd continued to work on substantive items for Presidential Message (notably Mills 20% benefit increase) and also worked on details of how the Message will be publicized. The Message has been postponed again and we are not sure when it will come.

Todd worked on producing Older Americans for Thursday rally in Miami. Reports indicate some success (between 6-800).

Replies are coming in from first letter to State Chairmen soliciting names. While responses vary, all indicate that they will need more time.

Todd met with Van Rensselaer and reviewed draft Campaign Plan and further developed details of 1701/RNC joint venture for the Campaign and overall Media/PR approach. Todd has completed what is hoped will be the final draft of Campaign Plan for Mr. Mitchell's review.

Work continues on DHEW films and brochures but art work on poster seems at standstill.

Todd also spent time on AOA/WHCoA Staff problems. Martin's Deputy should be in place this week. Almost all D.A.C. substantive work is at standstill because of effort on Message.

JEWISH

The major event of this last week surely was the American Jewish Press Day which took place on Monday, March 13 at the White House. About one hundred people from 24 states representing national publications as well as local papers gathered in Washington for the briefings. The day was extremely positive and many of the participants felt that they learned new or additional information about the Administration record on issues of concern to the Jewish community.

It should now be easier to get better coverage of the President's record in a more sympathetic manner than heretofore. In addition, interviews with prominent Jewish members of the Administration and more sympathetic editorial comment should be forthcoming.

LEGAL

So keep them out of NAB

We conferred with Bill Harper and advised him that a proposed plan, under which the National Alliance of Businessmen would furnish disabled veterans for full-time work on the Committee, and whose salaries would be paid for by corporate members of the NAB, would violate the Corrupt Practices Act.

For Paul Muller we provided suggested language for a waiver of interest, on the part of November Group, Inc. employees, in ideas and other intellectual property generated by such employees to advance the goals of the campaign.

We conferred with Commissioner Richard Wiley of the FCC in connection with the recent arrangement between AT&T and the Democratic National Committee.

We outlined the provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 for the Treasurer of the Republican National Committee and his associates.

On behalf of the Committee, a letter was prepared and sent to the CAB requesting a ruling on the permissibility of passing along the cost of transportation of members of the press to the press on a pro-rata basis, although such transportation is via an aircraft chartered on a "single entity" basis.

PHYSICIANS

In meetings over the weekend with Malcolm Todd, Chairman, and several other members of the Physicians' Steering Committee, we completed selection of chairmen or co-chairmen for all 51 States, with 26 having agreed to serve. Within the next week we hope to have all state chairmen firmed up.

AMPAC?

Our first order of business is a fund-raising campaign on a doctor-to-doctor basis. The state chairmen are being asked to organize their states down to the local level so we can initiate a program of solicitation letters by doctors to fellow doctors in their area. We will supply suggested letters and will attempt to obtain assistance in the production of these letters from the state Nixon organizations. A national goal for our campaign was fixed and any decision on a mass national mailing deferred pending results of the more personalized effort.

We decided to organize a separate national Dentists' Committee, and leave to the states the decision as to whether the physicians' and dentists' campaign should be combined. The traditional practice varies among the states, being separate in most states.

POLITICAL

The week was highlighted by the President's excellent showing in the nation's first primary in New Hampshire. The President's victory margin was reported by the New Hampshire news media in terms such as "Crushes All GOP Opponents," "President Sweeps to Victory," and other highly positive pronouncements. The New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President and their organization were elated by the showing. All fourteen of our pledged delegates were also elected. From an in-state political viewpoint, the primary was also beneficial because the Party was left more unified than when we went into the primary and was greatly strengthened by the multitude of volunteers who worked in the campaign. A concerted effort will be made to keep the organization intact.

This past week we met with Willard Lewis and Ed Hartman, our newly confirmed Executive Director and State Chairman for the state of New Mexico. We also met with our Pennsylvania chairman, Arlen Specter, and his assistant, Herman Bloom, to amplify our plans there. Our chairman for Maine, Ned Harding was in for a full day of orientation meetings.

Announcements of our state chairmen were made in Tennessee (Senator William Brock) and Michigan (Jack Gibbs) on March 6; in Wyoming (Mrs. Barbara Gosman) on March 7, in South Dakota (W.E. "Obie" O'Brien) on March 8, and in Arizona (Sam Mardian) on March 9.

PR/MEDIA

Van Shumway and Cliff Miller met with Abbott Washburn's group to discuss the establishment of a nationwide public relations network. Van attended Senator Dole's AT&T press conference and arranged for Jeb Magruder to be interviewed by U.S. News and World Report. He set up a press conference on March 9 after the New Hampshire primary. A speech insert for Mr. Mitchell's address in New York City and his statement before the Judiciary Committee were written.

We wrote releases on the following subjects: the President's appearance on the North Carolina ballot; the Florida rally; the Florida college mock elections; and, the Arizona Committee announcement. We also wrote five statements about the victory in New Hampshire for surrogates. Biographies and background material for official voter pamphlets were composed. A Q&A sheet was revised and distributed to state chairmen and remarks were prepared for Mrs. Mitchell's appearance in Milwaukee. NBC and CBS were contacted to arrange for the appearance of Governor Peterson (New Hampshire) on morning news shows.

Tom Girard was in New Hampshire until Wednesday, coordinating election night activities. He flew to Florida on Thursday to prepare for the rally there. We wrote and compiled 150 press kits for that rally.

Three surrogates were set up. They are: Herb Klein, in Pittsburg; Helen Bentley, in Maryland; and Secretary Butz, in Houston. We planned the handling of public relations for each of the voting blocs and citizens organizations for the duration of the campaign. We discussed with Mr. Miller and Mr. Liddy the chartered airplane and audio operations. We worked on regional publicity in thirteen states for the President's Special Message on Aging.

SPANISH SPEAKING

During the past week we have been meeting with Jerry Jones each day reviewing the campaign plan and preparing an outline for resubmitting this week. We have also been gathering additional data to be included in the plan to be submitted.

Time was spent organizing Cuban participation for Florida rally and preparing the preliminary California test plan.

During the trip to Los Angeles, Alex Armendariz met with Spanish Lanuage leadership in Los Angeles and in San Diego. In both cases Lyn Nofziger was present. The purpose of the trip was to make initial assessment of the California leadership in that area.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

The Spokesmen Resources Division was responsible for the Appreciation Day campaign activities and ceremonies in Miami, Florida, on March 9. The political participants were Secretary Morton, Governor Reagan, Congressmen Archer, Burke, Devine, Young, Messers. Cramer and Dent, Red Skelton, Lionel Hampton, Debbie Shelton, Walter Rock, Frank Borman, The World's Greatest Jazz Band, The Miami String Marching Band, and The Miami Military Marching Band.

The political participants made nine separate appearances in South Florida. The evening rally was an outstanding success with approximately 2000 people in attendance. Network television coverage was exceptionally good.

Bart Porter interviewed Tony DeFalco, a candidate for the position of director of the Ethnic Committee. Ed Crane has replaced Joe Horacek as Executive Director of our Celebrities for the President Committee.

VOTERS' RIGHTS (BALLOT SECURITY)

We now have 17 Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) chairmen. The two new chairmen are:

Pennsylvania	Stephen J. Harmelin
Utah	William A. Stevenson

WOMEN

Pat Hutar met with Virginia Allan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and former national President, National Federation of Business and Professional women, to discuss names of non-partisan leaders who could be contacted to work in the campaign. Miss Allan had a number of good persons in mind who fit politically. Mrs. Hutar gave her an outline of the plan she has developed for the National Advisory and State Advisory Committees. Miss Allan thought that the plan was very workable, and she is anxious for these non-partisan leaders she recommended to be contacted and put to work.

During the week, Mrs. Hutar called State Re-election Committee Chairmen to get the names of the co-chairmen who will be serving in the states. Some will not be selected until after state conventions for various political reasons.

Assignments have been given to Nancy Steorts and Nancy Blair to work with Mrs. Hutar in developing material for the Volunteer Manual.

Materials for the telephone public relations promotion with Martha Mitchell were completed -- large mock telephone, telephone promotion piece, and script conversation between Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell -- except for the taping which was to be done Sunday.

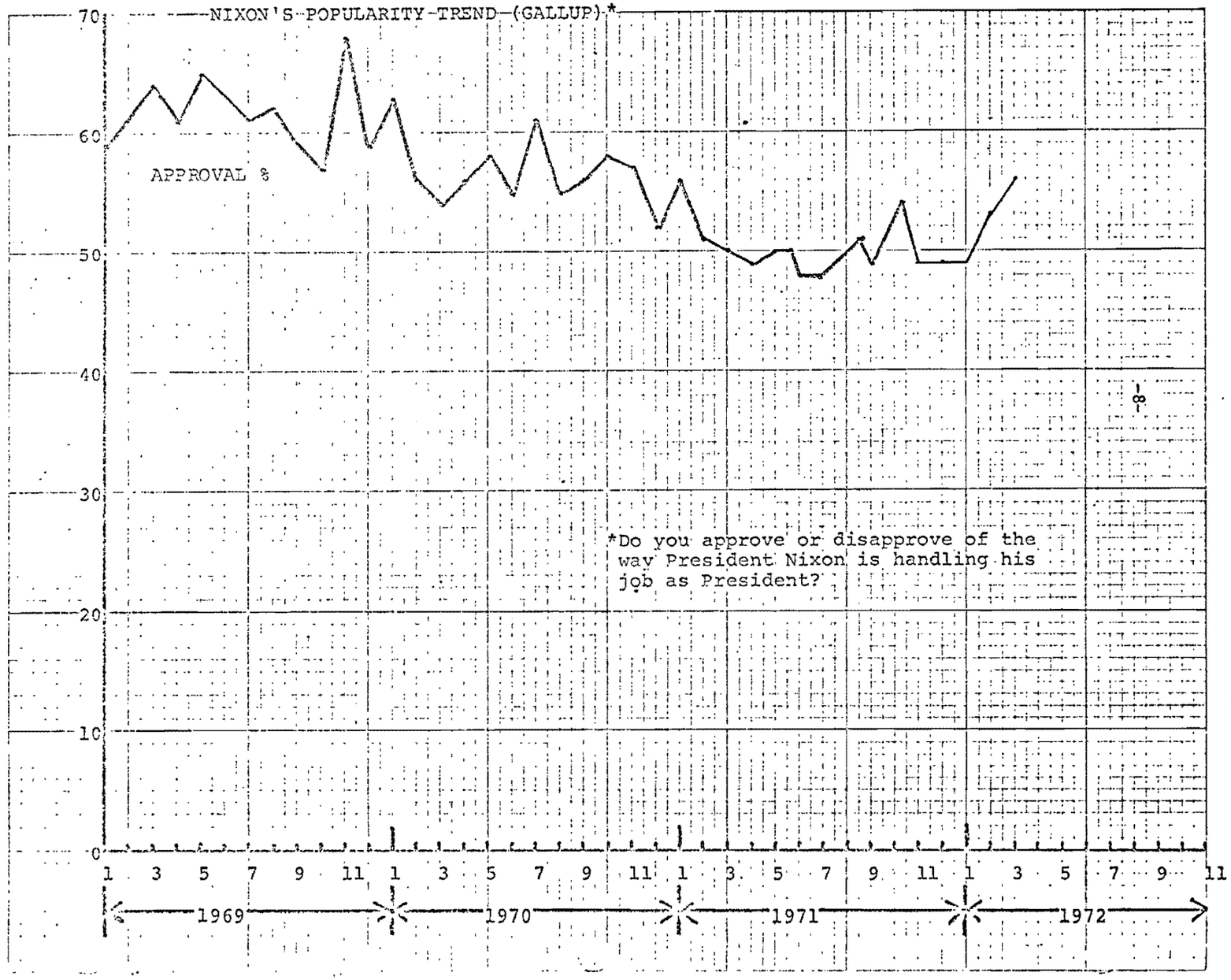
YOUTH

With the completion of the primaries in New Hampshire and Florida, the youth campaign will concentrate the next few months in Wisconsin, Oregon, Tennessee and Indiana. Our New Hampshire fieldman has been sent to Oregon and we have hired a Wisconsin fieldman as well as a border state fieldman to help in Tennessee. The volunteer (Bill Ehrig) that did so well with the college mock election in Florida has been sent to Wisconsin and our college director (George Gorton) and Nixonette chairman (Angela Miller) will be visiting the state during the next week.

The California voter registration drive is under way. The target dates for San Diego County have been scheduled for all aspects for supplies, phone lists, staff training, and voter registration.

RESEARCH AND STRATEGY

Attached is the update of the Nixon popularity trend according to the Gallup poll. The popularity trend has increased to 56%.


NIXON'S POPULARITY TREND (GALLUP)*
APPROVAL %
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
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1969
1970
1971
1972
*Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling his job as President?

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

March 29, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Direct Mail in Pennsylvania

The attached memorandum from Bob Morgan, our Direct Mail Manager, indicates that Senators Scott and Schweiker of Pennsylvania believe that Mayor Rizzo of Philadelphia will remain neutral in the general election. They are interested in working with us on a joint-funding basis to develop a mailing list of Italian ethnics in the Philadelphia area, for the Presidential campaign and for their own use in subsequent years.

Recommendation

That you authorize further exploration of this project with Senators Scott and Schweiker, leading to a detailed recommendation on cost and time schedule for your approval.

Approve_____ Disapprove_____ Comment_____

Attachment. X per JSM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

March 29, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: DR. ROBERT MARIK

FROM: ROBERT MORGAN

SUBJECT: Pennsylvania

Senators Scott and Schweiker of Pennsylvania and Cliff Jones asked Ed Nichols to pass along the following. In their opinion, Mayor Rizzo of Philadelphia will remain neutral in the General Election making the Italian ethnics in and around Philadelphia a prime direct mail target.

The Senators are interested in a direct mail list on magnetic tape, probably to the tune of splitting the costs.