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1	39	10/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to RN RE: various state primaries and the statuses of Democratic candidates. Included is a list of states with upcoming primaries. 4 pgs.

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MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

Kevin Phillips has called to my attention a most interesting fact which should cloud, to some degree, the Democratic primaries, and which seems on the surface to strengthen the hand of Senator Muskie. The fact:

The filing deadline for no fewer than 13 primaries falls on or before the date when the Florida primary takes place. In no fewer than six of these 13 primaries -- Presidential candidates are (Wisconsin, North Carolina, Tennessee, Nebraska, Oregon, as well as Florida) or can be (Pennsylvania) filed without permission of the candidate himself.

In all these six primaries, the names filed in the Presidential primary are those of "generally advocated and national recognized" Presidential candidates. What does this mean:

- a) Anyone active in the Florida primary for the Presidential nomination (as of now probably Chisholm, Jackson, Muskie, Lindsay, McGovern, Wallace and Harris) is almost certainly going to be filed in all those other six or seven primaries as well -- since Florida comes after the filing deadlines of all of them, and since they will be "active" candidates when that deadline passes.
- b) Lindsay and Chisholm and McGovern and the left candidates do not have any "choice" as to whether they go into Tennessee, North Carolina and Nebraska. If they go into Florida -- then they will automatically be "filed" in the others; and Lindsay and Chisholm and McGovern will surely wind up with a string of ignominious defeats before they get to Oregon.
- c) The likelihood is high then, that the primaries are going to be something of a mess, and that secondary candidates -- even when eliminated -- cannot help but have their names dragged through until at least after Oregon.

d) Unless Pete McCloskey withdraws immediately after New Hampshire -- he will automatically be filed in Tennessee (March 9 filing deadline), Nebraska (March 10) and Oregon (March 14) -- where it is certain he will be administered a massive defeat. Even if McCloskey does well in New Hampshire (say 15%-30%), it would seem that he himself could see this as his apogee, and then "stand down" immediately saying he had made his point -- instead of taking his inevitable bad beatings in the Tennessee and Nebraska primaries, even before Oregon.

e) In both Oregon and Nebraska, just who is on the ballot is the sole decision of the Secretary of State. In both cases, he is a Republican (Clay Myers of Oregon, up in 1972) and Alan J. Beermann in Nebraska). We should decide ourselves just who we want filed in the Democratic primaries -- do we want "George" or not in the Democratic primaries -- and then get the word to these Secretaries of State.

f) Without having done much analysis, I would think at this point that Muskie whose strength is much broader, whose recognition is wider, would be the beneficiary of these cluttered primaries, or perhaps Jackson -- if Wallace is kept out.

But if Muskie, as the centrist, between the extremes, as the front-runner and best-known wins in all these contests, he is going to build considerable momentum for a victory in California, which would cinch his nomination, as of now, it seems to me.

g) If the left takes a string of beatings as it seems Harris, McGovern, Lindsay and Chisholm will certainly do in the "mandatory primaries" of Florida, Wisconsin, North Carolina, Tennessee and Nebraska -- before Oregon even comes up on May 23 -- it would seem that by the time of Oregon they would be forced to unite behind one of their number in Oregon -- or get whipped again. The "drubbing" of the left, which would seem inherent in the shaping up of these primaries, might well produce the kind of bitterness that would result in a fourth party.

(Note: If Lindsay is doing the same analysis as here, it would seem almost certain that he would want to hang back until after the Florida deadline, February 10, to announce. Also, Hubert would seem to have a vested interest in staying out of these "mandatory" primaries, where he, too, would see likely to get beat. But if Hubert wants to go into Wisconsin (filing deadline January 31), he has to go into all of the six "mandatory" primaries, since all their deadlines come after Florida.

b) The California deadline is April 7. By the only New Hampshire Florida, Illinois and Wisconsin will have taken place -- Wisconsin just three days before!

At this point, the Left -- in the persons of Harris, Chisholm, McGovern and Lindsay -- will have to decide whether they will go into the California primary. As will Edward M. Kennedy. If both Kennedy and Lindsay go, of course, that makes for a split in the Left vote, and perhaps or probably a victory for Muskie.

The above is a very sketchy analysis based on the deadlines for filing and the dates of the primaries themselves. At this point in time, it seems to me we should have an experienced, professional analyst looking over these maze of dates and regulations in the primaries, to give us some kind of accurate scenario over what each candidate is likely to do -- in light of them.

Buchanan

cc: Attorney General Mitchell
H. R. Haldeman

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State	Primary Date	State	Filing Deadline
New Hampshire	March 7	Illinois	January 3
Florida	March 14	Wisconsin	January 31
Illinois	March 21	Rhode Island	January 31
Wisconsin	April 4	Ohio	February 2
Rhode Island	April 11	New Hampshire	February 3
Massachusetts	April 25	West Virginia	February 5
Pennsylvania	April 25	Florida	February 10
District of Columbia	May 2	Pennsylvania	February 15
Indiana	May 2	Massachusetts	February 29
Ohio	May 2	North Carolina	March 7
North Carolina	May 2	Tennessee	March 9
Tennessee	May 4	Nebraska	March 10
Nebraska	May 9	Oregon	March 14
West Virginia	May 9	District of Columbia	March 18
Maryland	May 16	Indiana	March 23
Oregon	May 23	Maryland	March 24
California	June 6	California	April 7
New Mexico	June 6	New Mexico	April 7
South Dakota	June 6	South Dakota	April 22
New Jersey	June 6	New Jersey	April 29

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