

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
Contested Materials Collection  
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
50	42	10/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Mardian to Clark Mac Gregor RE: The McGovern Campaign. 26pgs.

## DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
N-1 [DOC 16]	Menu	Robert C. Mardian to Mac Huges, re: The Mc Govern Campaign [attached to cover note, Sherman? to Woods, n.d.]	10/12/72	C (wife)

FILE GROUP TITLE

PPF

BOX NUMBER

32

FOLDER TITLE

mc [30/4]

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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- G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
- H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

**Collection:** President's Personal Files  
**Box Number:** 32

**Folder:** Mc [3 of 4]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
16	Return Private/Political

Committee for the Re-election of the President

October 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MAC GREGOR  
FROM: ROBERT C. MARDIAN  
SUBJECT: The McGovern Campaign

Based upon our tracking of the McGovern campaign for the past four weeks, we have reached the following conclusions.

I. McGovern Targeted States

It appears that McGovern has written off the South, and, except for the states enumerated below, will rely chiefly on the national media and local state campaigns to carry the burden.

- A. Large states (20 electoral votes or more) -  
California, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, Illinois,  
Ohio, and Michigan
- B. Medium states (more than 8 electoral votes) -  
Maryland, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Minnesota,  
Wisconsin, Missouri, Washington, Connecticut, and Iowa
- C. Small states (less than 8 electoral votes) -  
Oregon and Rhode Island

These states total 18 in number, representing 295 electoral votes.

It is estimated that, with the exception of Iowa, opposition campaign activities will be in direct proportion to the number of electoral votes in the states mentioned. Although it is believed the candidates and surrogates will concentrate as stated above, it is obvious that McGovern is concentrating on certain constituencies and Shriver on others.

II. Polling Trends and Their Effect on Campaign Strategy

Our polls are consistent and in most states are showing a comfortable lead. On the other hand, Larry O'Brien, in a recent

interview pointed out that the McGovern pollster Pat Caddell has findings not in line with Gallup and Harris which show Texas clearly winnable. Our tracking indicates that Caddell is presumably factoring in subjective political information to which we are not privy. This fact is most evident from the disproportionate amount of time and money that McGovern is spending in the states of Texas and Iowa. Caddell's inputs may include successful registration drives, long established campaign organizations in primary states in which McGovern campaigned extensively, or specific state issues on the ballot, i.e., legalized marijuana in California and state income tax repeal in Ohio, which, it is reported, will draw voters to the polls who may otherwise have stayed home. California's unique situation showing no appreciable gains for the President among blacks or Chicanos could be such an input.

### III. Issues and Their Effect on Campaign Strategy

With certain exceptions, McGovern has a campaign strategy national in nature. We anticipate McGovern and Shriver will continue to play to their own strengths. Indications are that McGovern will concentrate on foreign policy, speaking out on international relations, principally the Vietnam War, and touch on corruption in government. Since Shriver's catastrophic statement on the President's passing up the chance for peace in 1969, he has not, with rare exception, spoken out on international relations. We anticipate that Shriver will continue emphasizing principally domestic issues such as corruption in government and promising to do more for the discontent. These issues appeal to different constituencies and effect what each does and where he goes. Our reports cause us to believe they will continue that strategy.

### IV. Media Activity and Its Portents

Based upon all evidence submitted to date, it would appear McGovern will use as much media as he can afford, specifically television. Initial reports from his Vietnam speech would indicate it was well-received in the Midwest, and it is reported his people are canvassing that speech to learn the impact.

Most literature is being produced locally, geared to specific state and local issues, with disclaimers other than McGovern/Shriver. We expect this situation to continue.

The only consistent use of print has been finance ads running four columns to a full page asking for support and money. This

or a similar one will probably be used up to Election Day.

Radio spots in most states are controlled by local committees and their use will depend on state budgets.

We can anticipate a major get-out-the-vote effort to supplement their successful registration drives in major states.

#### V. Conclusion

Based upon all the evidence submitted to date, it would appear, with exceptions as noted in state summaries, that the over-all McGovern campaign will continue its efforts to bring the old line Democratic constituency back to the fold. McGovern, as distinguished from Shriver, can be expected to plow substantially the same ground he did in the primaries. His attempts to move to the center have resulted in an erosion of the constituency that gave him the nomination. We can expect the opposition to exploit certain statewide issues that may have particular appeal to their constituency.

Detailed back-up information for each of the above states is attached in alphabetical order. Conclusions for the seven large states are:

#### CALIFORNIA

Subject to the reason for the recent change in the State Campaign Chairman, it looks like they will run like they did in the Primary. They will capitalize on the increase in Democrat registrations. They will make no serious attempt to work with and gain the support of party regulars. This will permit them the emotional and active support of their youthful volunteer corps, which will in turn free up money for media use. We anticipate the candidates, surrogates and volunteers will continue to harvest their votes with the people and in the area where their vote is. The media campaign, especially television, which is free from local control, will concentrate on Middle America. The strategy is and will, we anticipate, be dictated by the effects of the Humphrey Primary campaign against McGovern in California. At this point, our lead, relatively small as it is, is holding firm. There is nothing on the McGovern side of the slate to indicate there will be any erosion of our lead.

SM

### ILLINOIS

We can anticipate the increased Daley effort through labor and party regulars to have an effect. It is a must state for McGovern and Daley is fighting to save his own ticket and we should presume that for the remainder of the campaign they will work together. No significant voter change is reported at this time.

### MICHIGAN

We may anticipate the increased rapport between McGovern and labor that will affect his standing. Our polls and Michigan people indicate we can improve our margin with a candidate swing through Northern Michigan which could increase our support substantially.

### NEW YORK

Reform versus regulars keeps McGovern from pursuing a regular campaign. Congressman Stratton, Governor Harriman, Congressman Celler, and other prominent Democrats still are smarting from "quotas" and other rule changes fail to give back-up to McGovern visits and television shows.

The biggest thing going for McGovern is Republican apathy. It seems he is centering his activity to get out his hard core vote with the hopes the rest will stay away in sufficient numbers to give him a win. (It was his hard core that gave him wins in the primaries.)

### OHIO

McGovern reported to have conducted a very successful voter registration drive, concentrating on college students and blacks. A last minute effort to get out the vote to repeal the state income tax can be anticipated to have substantial effect on voter turnout. This is a must state for McGovern and increased activity can be anticipated. However, no significant voter change is noted to date.

### PENNSYLVANIA

McGovern can be anticipated to hit the smaller industrial cities of Pennsylvania concentrating on unemployment and the blue collar worker and to continue his efforts to bring the unions and the Democratic rank and file together and under his banner. No significant voter change is reported at this time.

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TEXAS

We must anticipate that the heavy lopsided registration will affect the ultimate vote, but no significant voter change is noted at this time.

10/11

## CALIFORNIA

## I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern has spent five full days in California with three and one half more scheduled before October 20. Shriver has been in the state for five days. Mrs. McGovern completed five days stumping the state on October 10. It is clearly their top priority state.

Both candidates and surrogates are giving wide berth to traditional Republican areas and concentrating on Los Angeles and strong Democratic areas. Other than for fund raising purposes they are concentrating on areas and people where one would expect them to concentrate, i.e., the Bay Area and Sacramento (in addition to Los Angeles), with labor, youth, blacks, Chicanos, and Jewish constituencies. Humphrey's foray was for support of labor, blacks, Jews, and fund raising activities.

## II. POLLS

The latest polls show McGovern picking up in the areas in which he and his surrogates are working, but not significantly. The 30-minute documentary which was run on October 1 without the advertising backup used in the Chicago area started with the Nielson rating of 8.3 but dropped to 6.3. California is unique in that the President does not show the appreciable gains with either blacks or Chicanos we have found in other states. Canvassing continues to show that we are getting 40% of the total Democratic vote.

## III. ISSUES

They are concentrating on the same issues used to advantage in the California Primary. Although the recent change in the Campaign Chairman may portend a change with respect to the thrust of the campaign, it now appears that they will continue to hit on Vietnam, corruption in government, unemployment, wages, prices, and the lot of the disadvantaged generally.

## IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

Media activity has been heavy, especially television spots. It is anticipated that media activity will increase. Considerable do-it-yourself pieces are beginning to appear with disclaimers other than

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CALIFORNIA (con't.)

McGovern/Shriver. There are also increases in bumper stickers, etc., but not the sharp increase that was seen before the California Primary.

V. CONCLUSION

Subject to the reason for the recent change in the State Campaign Chairman, it looks like they will run like they did in the Primary. They will capitalize on the increase in Democrat registrations. They will make no serious attempt to work with and gain the support of party regulars. This will permit them the emotional and active support of their youthful volunteer corps, which will in turn free up money for media use. We anticipate the candidates, surrogates and volunteers will continue to harvest their votes with the people and in the area where their vote is. The media campaign, especially television, which is free from local control, will concentrate on Middle America. The strategy is and will, we anticipate, be dictated by the effects of the Humphrey Primary campaign against McGovern in California. At this point, our lead, relatively small as it is, is holding firm. There is nothing on the McGovern side of the slate to indicate there will be any erosion of our lead.

10/11

## CONNECTICUT

### I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern has made two campaign stops in the State, August 10th to Hartford for a tour of Aetna Life and a meeting at St. Georges Greek Orthodox Church. On September 14th, McGovern went to Waterbury Green for a Rally with Kennedy which drew big crowds and "fantastic" press statewide. O'Brien spoke at a fund raiser in Hartford early in October, which had been postponed two weeks because of low ticket sales. Salinger was in for a speech at the University of Hartford. Mrs. McGovern did a one-stop in Hartford last week - a Senior Citizens' home - and left the state. No known future visits.

### II. POLLS

The Connecticut Poll released October 9th by the Hartford Times (Decision Research) gives Nixon 59%, McGovern 23%, and Undecided 18%.

Three of the four Democrat incumbents and both Democratic candidates are supporting McGovern. The exception is Giamo who says he is running alone. Monagen (D inc) is in a 50-50 race with Sarasin, a reapportioned district.

### III. ISSUES

The McGovern people are concentrating on domestic issues and Vietnam.

### IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

The Democratic campaign is still having internal difficulties, but they are canvassing and turning out daily press releases. Registration is still open and going 2 to 1 Democratic, mostly new voters. There is little paid media or McGovern literature.

### V. CONCLUSION

Another visit or two, at least from surrogates and a statewide mailing is expected. No known factors would indicate a change in voter preference.

10/11

ILLINOIS

I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern has been in Illinois eleven days between August 15 and October 11. Shriver has been there six days between September 20 and October 12. McGovern is concentrating primarily on college campuses, party regulars, blacks, and fund raisers. He should spend a minimum of two more days in Illinois - one in East St. Louis and one on the last week of the campaign marching in Daley's torchlight parade. McGovern seems to be following Daley's every suggestion and Daley, in turn, exhibiting some concern about his own ticket has called in labor and party leaders exhorting them to stay loyal, work hard and get out the vote. McGovern crowds have not been outstanding.

II. POLLS

Our polls indicate a solid 15 to 20% polling lead at this time.

III. ISSUES

Vietnam, unemployment, inflation, and scandal with no particular concentration on any.

IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

Media activity is increasingly heavy, particularly television spots.

V. CONCLUSION

We can anticipate the increased Daley effort through labor and party regulars to have an effect. It is a must state for McGovern and Daley is fighting to save his own ticket and we should presume that for the remainder of the campaign they will work together. No significant voter change is reported at this time.

## IOWA

## I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern has made two trips, one a farm tour to Waukee, and on October 6th a fund raiser and "peoples dinner" in Des Moines. Shriver spent two days in the state doing a farm tour, college and headquarters visit in Dubuque September 14th, followed by a Drake University rally, Almagamated Meat Cutters Association speech and headquarters visit in Des Moines on September 27th. Shriver returns October 13 for events in Cedar Rapids. Surrogates Eunice Shriver, Tunney, Lincoln, Lindsay, MacLaine, and Kennedy have been in.

## II. POLLS

The October 1 Des Moines Register poll showed Nixon with 64% and McGovern with 27% (Nixon up 10% from August 14 poll). McGovern is getting good coverage and lots of space. Some television spots running and ad appeals for money. Congressional candidates are taking no position except Clark (Democrat for the Senate seat) and Miller is showing 58% to 35% in the Register poll. Canvassing and registration efforts are being made in the major cities. Campus registrations are heavy. Reports are Des Moines dinner for October 6 sold 4,000 \$5 tickets, a big crowd for the area.

## III. ISSUES

Corruption in high places (wheat and Watergate), Vietnam and the aged are the main issues McGovern has touched on in Iowa. He is scoring on the wheat issue according to selective polling but the Polls continue to show an upward trend notwithstanding.

## IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

Reported slanted against us but not to any great extent. Some spots running.

## V. CONCLUSION

All indications would anticipate increase of activity and expenditures. Caddell's private polling information or the nationwide support from United Farmers Organization, whose home base is Iowa, or McGovern's close friendship with Senator Hughes might explain the concentration of money and effort in this state with 8 electoral votes and the published polls clearly indicating a McGovern defeat.

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10/11

## MARYLAND

### I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

On September 15, McGovern met in Baltimore with State Trade Unions and on September 30, attended the City Fair and had a rally at Pier I. October 8, Sargent and Mrs. Shriver attended a group of receptions in Baltimore. Mrs. McGovern is scheduled into Frederick on October 12, event unknown. CRP feels this area was selected because of large undecided vote in the county.

Mayor Schaefer stated publicly he would not welcome McGovern and Shriver to Baltimore and Mandel did not show until McGovern Rally was over. Shriver's 16-stop "reception" was disastrous. Other than the Mandel stop where 200 Catholics attended, others were nil. The press ridiculed the entire operation.

### II. POLLS

No state polls are available. The General Motors Assembly Plant poll went 53.5% Nixon 42.3% McGovern and Senator Beall's poll of 1800 Democrats had Nixon showing 60% in Prince Georges County and 44% in Montgomery County.

### III. ISSUES

Vietnam, crime, corruption in government and taxes were the theme of McGovern's rally speech.

### IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

The McGovern crowds not spectacular, and press coverage lukewarm. This past week, the state campaign has started spending money. Lots of literature has appeared at fairs, shopping centers, etc.

McGovern people have been blitzing the Jewish and Black shopping centers on registration. CRP figures they have recently obtained money. Heavy television ads have been running on the Baltimore stations.

### V. CONCLUSION

Expect increased media activity and additional visit by surrogates or candidates. An effort will be made to get out their vote. No significant voter change is noted.

10/11

MASSACHUSETTS

I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern has been in Massachusetts two days, October 3 and October 11, and Shriver has been there one day as a candidate. Apparent lack of candidate effort should not mislead. October 11 was a statewide McGovern day with a substantial number of innovative activities supporting him being executed throughout the state. The effort is diversified, interesting and well organized, i.e., paintings for McGovern, fund raisers, art shows and sales, teas, etc. Reports indicate a well-planned organizational effort which presumably can be held together through election day.

II. POLLS

Our polls indicate we are slightly ahead.

III. ISSUES

McGovern issues are the war, unemployment and youth, though McGovern's indecisiveness has in itself become an issue.

IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

Media activity is reported to be substantial and on the increase. Additional free coverage is anticipated from the statewide McGovern Day.

V. CONCLUSION

It is important to note that Massachusetts has an all-time high in voter registration of almost 3 million for the September 19 Primary and that the Secretary of State extended voter registration through October 10 for Presidential and Vice Presidential voting only. Except for Eisenhower, no Republican Presidential candidate has carried this state since 1924, and McGovern has a Kennedy in-law on the ticket. However, no significant voter change is noted at this time. A must state for McGovern, but one in which exploitation of our present lead can cause McGovern to expend time and money he needs elsewhere.

## MICHIGAN

## I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern has been in Michigan for six days between September 12 and October 10 and Shriver for four days from September 6 to October 6. They are concentrating on industrial areas and spending inordinate time attempting to secure the labor support which is tantamount to the Democratic regulars. They are reported to be succeeding in this effort.

## II. POLLS

Our polls show a 15 to 20% lead and local polls report the same spread. We are strong in the Grand Rapids area with a reported 40% lead there and we are reported to be marginal in the Flint area.

## III. ISSUES

Without a doubt, busing overshadows all other issues, though unemployment, crime and drugs are emphasized. We are considered weak among the aged voters and McGovern is reported to be making an effort in that direction stressing inflation, general high cost of living, and Social Security.

## IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

Media activity is reported to be increasingly heavy though no special effect is reported to be felt from it as yet.

## V. CONCLUSION

We may anticipate increased rapport between McGovern and labor will affect his standing. Our polls and Michigan people indicate we can improve our margin with a candidate swing through Northern Michigan which could increase our support substantially. At the moment, no significant voter change reported.

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10/11

## MINNESOTA

### I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern has made three trips into this state, with another scheduled for October 12th. Shriver has been in the state four times. With the exception of a farm festival in Mankato with Kennedy, McGovern has concentrated on the Minneapolis area. Shriver has covered both Minneapolis and Duluth, the population centers of the state. Humphrey is spending time in his home state on behalf of the ticket and is producing results among farm and labor groups. Marlo Thomas and Shirley MacLaine have each done campus rallies and visited Vietnam veterans.

### II. POLLS

Late polls have McGovern trailing 23%, but all predictions are that this will close into a very tight race.

### III. ISSUES

They have stayed with Vietnam, corruption in government, wages and prices, and McGovern hit the wheat deal, which had little impact due to the late wheat crop in this state.

### IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

Five minute spots have been running and full page ads for money. The store front operations are active with heavy volunteer support from students. Canvassing by phone and some blitzing of shopping centers continues. A big get-out-the-vote effort is anticipated.

### V. CONCLUSION

With the party regulars in line and ample volunteer help, they will concentrate on registration and turning out their vote. We expect Humphrey to continue stumping effectively and a trip by the candidates. A heavy television-radio campaign is not anticipated but indications are there will be one or possibly two statewide mailers. The domestic issues and Vietnam will continue to be targeted. Humphrey is calling the shots in his home state and will continue to do so.

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## MISSOURI

### I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern made his first visit into the state October 6-7 with stops in Kansas City for a rally and then to St. Louis for the Eagleton Award dinner, a Sears Store voter registration drive and a shopping center rally. Kennedy will stump the state on November 1st.

### II. POLLS

Polls are following the national trend with Eagleton backlash prominent.

### III. ISSUES

Issues continue to be war and wheat. The St. Louis dinner was attended by the gubernatorial and Congressional candidates and McGovern made a strong pitch for party unity.

### IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

McGovern is running heavy television spots and some radio spots. No mailers have been noted. There is spotty canvassing and a registration effort at college campuses. Almost no campaign literature is visible except bumper stickers. Hand bills and telephoning were used to draw a crowd of approximately 25,000, mostly young people, for the St. Louis Rally. Some store fronts are open in major cities.

### V. CONCLUSION

All indications would anticipate an increase of activity and expenditures. McGovern left the state with an impression of a unified party and an effort will be made to marshal forces to turn out their vote. No significant voter change is noted at this time.

## NEW JERSEY

## I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern has been in New Jersey three days, meeting with state politicians, labor leaders, Jewish leaders and Jewish News Editors in Newark, Bergen Co. and Atlantic City. He had a large rally with Muskie in Newark on September 20th and another downtown rally October 2nd. Shriver attended a picnic in Essex County on September 17. Humphrey was in for a rally on October 11th. McGovern has scheduled a return to New Jersey on October 20th. CRP reports the following: October 17-27, Shriver; October 20-21, Kennedy; October 25, Humphrey; October 7, Frank Church; October 22, Mankiewicz; and October 22, Governor John Gilligan. Mrs. McGovern, Shirley MacLaine, Jon Voight, etc. have stumped the state.

## II. POLLS

Polling has remained constant with low undecided vote.

## III. ISSUES

Corruption, welfare, Vietnam and taxes are the main issues.

## IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

Press coverage has been heavy and for the most part favorable. Democrats were disappointed in crowd size of the McGovern October 2 rally at which the Mayor, Congressional candidates, Former Governor Hughes, and lesser lights appeared. Majority of the attendance was bused in from outside Newark.

Twenty-five storefronts have been opened in the past two weeks and are showing activity. John O'Sullivan who handled McGovern primaries has been assigned to the state and the campaign is moving. The State Committee is running radio and print ads for money. Full page ads backed McGovern rally. Democrats have requested voter registration lists and are attempting to rent entire motels for the last three days before the election in Union, Bergen, and Essex counties. CRP suspects these will be used for get-out-the-vote activities.

## V. CONCLUSION

Increased state campaign activity supported by candidate visits is anticipated together with heavy media expenditures. The Nixon vote looks solid and no voter change is expected.

## NEW YORK

## I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern has been to New York twelve times with enumerable visits by surrogates. He has concentrated on New York City, but has hit high unemployment areas -- Albany, Niagara Falls, Buffalo, and Rochester. This state has been his most lucrative fund-raising area and he has wooed the Jewish vote. He concentrates on Blacks, ethnics, Puerto Ricans, the poor, and the aged.

Salinger, Fonda, Clark, POW wife Kushner, Kennedy, Muskie, O'Brien, etc. continue to flood New York. McGovern's biggest crowds came with Kennedy or Muskie accompanying him.

## II. POLLS

Polls indicate Nixon ahead except in certain heavily Democrat burroughs of New York City. Queens Democratic organization split is reflected in poll where McGovern lost much support. Blacks support McGovern 9 to 1, but Nixon has doubled his support amongst the Jews who represent 10% of the New York vote. Queens Democrat leader Matt Troy (also McGovern Urban Affairs Director) says McGovern is 300,000 votes behind as of October 4th. Yankelovich has Nixon 57 to 26.

## III. ISSUES

Flyers, ads, television, and speeches all hit inflation, war, Israel, welfare, and unemployed. These have local disclaimers and appear effective. All are geared directly to New York and appear to be do-it-yourself. Corruption issues are hit in speeches along with crime and drugs.

McGovern is zeroing in on the disenchanted -- a negative campaign that witnessed his first personal attack on Nixon, plus charges of corruption in high places. These charges are echoed by Shriver and in many instances amplified. Surrogates pound harder and make wilder charges.

## IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

Heavy with television spots on the war and economy. Newspaper advertisements seek volunteers and contributions.

SM

V. CONCLUSION

Reform versus regulars keeps McGovern from pursuing a regular campaign. Congressman Stratton, Governor Harriman, Congressman Celler, and other prominent Democrats still are smarting from "quotas" and other rule changes fail to give back-up to McGovern visits and television shows.

The biggest thing going for McGovern is Republican apathy. It seems he is centering his activity to get out his hard core vote with the hopes the rest will stay away in sufficient numbers to give him a win. (It was his hard core that gave him wins in the primaries.)

SM

10/11

## OHIO

### I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern has been in Ohio seven days between August 15 and October 5. Shriver has been there six days between September 7 and October 3. McGovern is concentrating on northern industrial areas, courting (without apparent success) organized labor. Shriver has concentrated on Southwest Ohio. McGovern can be expected to hit Toledo, Akron, Canton, Youngstown areas and perhaps Dayton to bolster his chances with the working man. Crowds are not good; a general distrust of McGovern seems to have set in.

### II. POLLS

Polis indicate we are a solid 15 to 20% ahead. Democratic candidates are generally supporting McGovern, but labor leadership has declined to endorse either candidate.

### III. ISSUES

McGovern is using no special issue in Ohio and all indications lead to conclusion that without a special issue the soft Democratic vote will stay home -- BUT -- there is a special issue in the making -- repeal of the state income tax. An effort to keep it off the ballot was argued in the Supreme Court of Ohio this week with little chance of success. State party canvasses indicate the income tax repeal issue would draw low income workers to the polls in great numbers. Without this issue most of these voters would be expected to stay home. The additional motivation to vote created by the income tax repeal issue is probably not reflected in our polls and should be carefully considered in light of the disastrous effect of the right to vote issue in Ohio in 1958.

### IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

Media activities have been heavy, especially television spots, concentrating on the working man in Northern Ohio.

### V. CONCLUSION

McGovern reported to have conducted a very successful voter registration drive, concentrating on college students and blacks. A last minute effort to get out the vote to repeal the state income tax can be anticipated to have substantial effect on voter turnout. This is a must

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OHIO (con't.)

state for McGovern and increased activity can be anticipated. However, no significant voter change is noted to date.

SM

10/11

## OREGON

### I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern and Shriver have each made one visit to Portland. McGovern is scheduled back in Portland for a downtown rally on October 13. Kennedy and Humphrey are scheduled for late October. McGovern is hitting hard for the youth and senior citizen vote.

### II. POLLS

Late September polling shows McGovern at 39%, with 11% undecided, and strong support among young voters.

### III. ISSUES

Main issues are Vietnam, aid for aged, inflation, and taxes obviously based on their assessment of voter strength.

### IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

McGovern is running considerable number of television spots and some radio. A statewide financial mailer is out. Full page financial ads have run in major city papers, and a back-up ad for the McGovern television documentary ran one day. The state campaign is building a strong grass roots organization that is canvassing and blitzing. A large registration effort was successful among the youth.

### V. CONCLUSION

McGovern sees Oregon as a state he can win. He worked hard before the primary and his campaign organization remains. Wayne Morse is giving him all out support. Kennedy will speak on college campuses late in the month. A successful letter to the editor program is running statewide. The media campaign will be heavy and a get-out-the-vote effort is being organized.

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10/11

## PENNSYLVANIA

### I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITY

McGovern has been in Pennsylvania for six days between August 21 and October 11 and Shriver has been there nine days between September 10 and October 11. McGovern is concentrating on Philadelphia and Pittsburgh though his crowds have been small, advancing poor and crowd reaction restrained. Both McGovern and Shriver are spending time in private meetings with party regulars and labor leaders attempting to get their support.

### II. POLLS

Our polls show a 15 to 20% lead, but soft. Local polls are reported to give us a greater lead.

### III. ISSUES

McGovern, for the time being at least, diverting from his usual issue pattern, is making flood damage the key issue with apparent success, followed by Vietnam, crime, drugs, and unemployment.

### IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

Media activity and coverage is reported to be fair at the local level.

### V. CONCLUSION

McGovern can be anticipated to hit the smaller industrial cities of Pennsylvania concentrating on unemployment and the blue collar worker and to continue his efforts to bring the unions and the Democratic rank and file together and under his banner. No significant voter change is reported at this time.

SM

10/11

## RHODE ISLAND

### I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern made one visit, August 11, to a Senior Citizens' home, a downtown Providence Rally, and a walking tour and lunch with Governor Licht. Shriver was scheduled in for September 22, but cancelled. He did march in the Columbus Day Parade and immediately left town (no speech). No future scheduling is known at this time.

### II. POLLS

The only poll we have is August 5-12, from the Providence Journal showing Nixon 46%, McGovern 25%, and Undecided 29%.

### III. ISSUES

In McGovern's August 11 speech, he hit hard on the domestic issues.

### IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

Both Congressional incumbent Democrats attended the McGovern rally. Pell introduced McGovern. There are ten storefronts open in the state, all of which are active. There is some canvassing going on, but little McGovern literature throughout the state. One full-page ad ran as a back-up to the McGovern television documentary. Also, an ad addressed to Italian Americans to see Shriver in the parade. Six column ads run three times for money for the Democratic hopefuls. Only one television spot has been used in Rhode Island, with McGovern talking with Veterans and appealing for contributions.

### V. CONCLUSION

A get-out-the-vote drive and statewide mailer are anticipated. No significant voter change is noted at this time.

## TEXAS

## I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern has been in Texas four times between August 22 and September 10, and is scheduled into Waco, Corpus Christi, Houston, and San Antonio on October 16 and 17. Shriver has been there four days between September 13 and September 27. McGovern is strong in Houston and Corpus Christi area (notwithstanding our strong statewide strength) and he is concentrating on these areas.

## II. POLLS

Our polls indicate a solid 15 to 20% lead and Texas Party polls and canvassing are reported to indicate a substantially larger lead with one poll showing a 40% margin. Texas Party canvassing shows the President receiving in Dallas County almost twice as much support as in 1968, i.e., 36% to 70%. O'Brien claims the Caddell Poll indicates McGovern time and money expenditure in Texas is worthwhile. We must, therefore, assume that Caddell has taken into consideration subjective political factors that go beyond mere polling of voters. One such factor that may be significant is the substantial voter registration drive that was conducted in Texas in which the Democratic Party is believed to have out-registered us by substantial margins, particularly concentrating on black voters. Perhaps, a commitment of LBJ to support McGovern could be another such factor or the desire of certain Democrats to diminish the accomplishments of John Connally in Texas could account for the McGovern activities.

## III. ISSUES

McGovern is attempting to straddle the issues in Texas concentrating on the war, unemployment, and crime, and ducking his call for less defense spending.

## IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

McGovern media activity is increasing.

## V. CONCLUSION

We must anticipate that the heavy lopsided registration will affect the ultimate vote, but no significant voter change is noted at this time.

10/11

WASHINGTON

I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern made three trips to Seattle in September and is scheduled back October 13. Shriver visited the Pike Place Market and did extensive press on September 12 in Seattle. Mrs. McGovern was there October 10-11 and Kennedy is due October 26.

McGovern has concentrated on the labor and youth vote.

II. POLLS

No professional polling information is available. CRP canvass results show Nixon with 54%, McGovern with 20%, and undecided with 26%.

III. ISSUES

Unemployment, Vietnam, and inflation are the key issues and no change is anticipated in this depressed area.

IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

The McGovern rallies turned out large crowds and press coverage was heavy for both candidates. Two statewide finance mailers have gone out with a third rumored. Television schedule was increased this week and radio has been added. The Democratic State Chairman continues to announce they will ring every doorbell but there is no evidence to support it.

V. CONCLUSION

Due to the large undecided vote and economy of the area, McGovern has targeted Washington a key state. We anticipate increased activity and expenditures and a continuation of his negative campaign to the disenfranchised.

## WISCONSIN

## I. CANDIDATES' AND SURROGATES' ACTIVITIES

McGovern says, "Wisconsin is one of my 17 target states" and his four visits since convention makes nearly 50 visits when primary totals are added. Shriver has four. Several surrogates have visited Milwaukee, Madison, and Green Bay. Shriver's visit included a fund raiser with unions.

## II. POLLS

Polling in various parts of the state show Nixon leading after trailing earlier with 15 to 20% lead, but considered soft. Three Congressional candidates running against GOP incumbents are "actively supporting" McGovern, while incumbent Democrat Zablocki remains "cool."

## III. ISSUES

The war, tax reform, and corruption (wheat, ITT) are the main thrust of speeches. McGovern has catered to the labor and ethnics but Shriver has his heaviest concentration with labor groups.

## IV. MEDIA ACTIVITY

All visits have had advance publicity but crowds have been below average. The McGovern Rally in Milwaukee on September 19 drew 2-3,000, mostly youths. Muskie who was scheduled to attend, did not show.

## V. CONCLUSION

It is important to note that the McGovern organization was sixteen months in the making prior to the Wisconsin Primary and has continued to build from that date. It is actively supported by Governor Lucey in a state that has two Democratic senators. Further, Wisconsin has a disproportionate high number of college students and McGovern registration efforts have been substantial within that group. Notwithstanding the polls, Wisconsin would appear to be a close state.