

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>
13	7	3/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Malek RE: "Military Registration." 7 pages
13	7	3/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Magruder RE: Attached newspaper article on Republican strategy points that were rarely acted upon. 6pgs.
13	7	3/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Magruder RE: "Campaign Position." 7pgs.
13	7	3/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Magruder RE: "RNC Registration." 7 pages.

<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>
13	7	3/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Stracahn To Miller RE: Attached newspaper arcticle on Republican strategy points that were rarely acted upon. 6pgs.
13	7	3/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Marik RE: Attached newspaper article on Republican strategy points that were rarely acted upon. 6pgs.
13	7	3/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Malek RE: "Campaign Leaks." 1pg.
13	7	3/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Stachan To Malek RE: "Campus Polls." 2pgs.
13	7	3/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Marik RE: "Presidential Primary." 1pg.

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13	7	3/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Marik RE: "Presidential Primary." 29pgs.
13	7	3/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Strachan To Musante RE: letter to aknowledge job acceptance. 1pg.
13	7	3/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Marik RE: "Maryland Primary." 6pgs.
13	7	3/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Strachan To The Trip Committee RE: Ticket reservations and miscellaneous details on a sponsored trip. 1pg.
13	7	3/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Rose RE: "Gallup Poll on Volunteer Services." 2pgs.

<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>
13	7	3/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Rietz RE: Request a copy of the analysis on youth vote. 1pg.
13	7	3/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Reisner RE: "FACT." 1pg.
13	7	3/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Teeter RE: Attached newspaper article on Republican strategy points that were rarely acted upon. 6pgs.
13	7	3/44/197	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Strachan To Winkler RE: thank you letter for forwarding a booklet from the Montgomery high school reunion. 3pgs.
13	7	3/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Walker RE: "Surrogate Advancing." 2pgs.

<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>
13	7	3/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan To Yates RE: Attached memorandum concerning fund raising dinner. 8pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman  
Box Number: 236

Folder: Strachan Chron M-Z March 1972

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
388	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Malek, 3/31/72.
389	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Magruder, 3/30/72.
390	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Magruder, 3/28/72.
391	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Magruder, 3/31/72.
392	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Miller, 3/30/72.
393	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Marik, 3/30/72.
394	Retain Open
395	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Malek, 3/28/72.
396	Retain Open
397	Retain Open
398	Retain Open
399	Retain Open
400	Retain Open
401	Retain Open
402	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Malek, 3/16/72.
403	Retain Open
404	Retain Open
405	Retain Open
406	Retain Open
407	Retain Open
408	Retain Close Invasion of Privacy Memo, Strachan to Malek, 3/3/72.
409	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Marik, 3/2/72.
410	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Marik, 3/2/72.
411	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Marik, 3/1/72.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

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412	Retain	Open
413	Retain	Open
414	Return	Private/Personal Letter, Strachan to National Railroad Historical Society, 3/23/72.
415	Retain	Open
416	Retain	Open
417	Retain	Open
418	Retain	Open
419	Retain	Open
420	Retain	Open
421	Retain	Open
422	Retain	Open
423	Retain	Open
424	Retain	Open
425	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Rose, 3/27/72.
426	Retain	Close Invasion of Privacy Memo, Strachan for The Record, 3/25/72.
427	Retain	Open
428	Retain	Open
429	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Rietz, 3/10/72.
430	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Reisner, 3/10/72.
431	Retain	Open
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437	Retain	Open

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438	Retain	Open
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441	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Teeter, 3/30/72.
442	Retain	Open
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445	Retain	Open
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447	Retain	Open
448	Retain	Open
449	Retain	Open
450	Retain	Open
451	Retain	Open
452	Return	Private/Personal Letter, Strachan to Winkler, 3/22/72.
453	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Walker, 3/14/72.
454	Retain	Open
455	Retain	Open
456	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Yates, 3/31/72.
457	Retain	Open

Administratively Confidential

March 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: Military Registration

I don't think the "military" is one of your voting blocks per se, but an interesting report came out while you were in Aspen. This report, conducted by the Youth Citizenship Fund, says that the majority of U.S. servicemen are being left out of the political process because of disinterest in high places. It blames Administrative bungling and apathy and hints at outright obstructionism in the military voting program. In 1970 only 26% of those in uniform voted.

Being somewhat curious as to why these basically Republican military people were not registered, I called Colonel Sayre, the man at the RNC charged with registering members of the military. It is his view that any registration drive among the military must be very low key. He argues that any attempt by commanders to have members of their commands set quotas for registration would be counter productive. He cites the example of U.S. Bond drives. The net result is that it looks like very little will be done to register the military people who might vote for the President. You may want to fold his thinking in with your transient voter program under McAdoo. You should also be aware that Colonel Sayre has been in touch with Ken Smith of Ken Rietz' staff.

FU 1 week - NEWS SUMMARY NOTE ATTACHED TO CHRON

POLITICS

Calif. Secy. of State Brown reportedly plans a probe of the ITT-Sheraton-San Diego affair. ... P. 1 Post story on the GOP scrambling for funds for San Diego -- financing a mess; S.D. businesses havent come thru. ... Re: the "lucky city" which Life says RN terms San Diego, the WH Sunday said RN had no convention city preference ... Times reports even dissidents and radicals now living in San Diego aren't big on the outsiders now coming to the city -- they're just coming to start trouble, says one local radical.

Times reports on p. 1 that Cahill will head RN's NJ effort -- some say he had to as result of Times interview some weeks ago in which he criticized RN. ... Anderson suggests Ogden Reid's sharp blast at RN's day-care veto may presage a party switch on Reid's part.

No more radio and TV in Wisc. primary for RN, says MacIver as McCloskey is out and Ashbrook making no major effort. Will save \$117,000. ... St. Louis Post-Dispatch says Stans recently met with wealthy GOP backers in St. Louis and urged them to make large contributions by April 3 to avoid disclosure. ... Mankiewicz criticized Jackson's refusal to disclose and said Dems can't press case against RN to disclose til Jackson is out of race.

The majority of US servicemen are being left out of the political process because of disinterest in high places, a study by the Youth Citizenship Fund indicates. It blames administrative bungling and apathy and hints at outright obstructionism in the military voting program. "In 1970 only 26% of those in uniform voted."

Trib Sunday mag with piece on election-year barometer, Farmersville, Ohio where little is known of Muskie, VP Agnew is admired for speaking out as is Wallace, and RN leads Dems 48-38, a slight improvement over '68. ... James Kilpatrick becomes latest to offer high praise for Broder's "The Party's Over."

Trib's Tagge, almost always writing on state politics, takes look at Wallace in Fla. and VP in NH to conclude that media is taking some hard raps. Those are candidates hitting media hardest -- yet they did so well. Tagge also notes the Monday piece which told of absence of coverage given Edith Efron's Hill appearance by nets. Despite the triumphs of Wallace and Veep, says Tagge, media's continuing hostility shown in unanimous opposition voiced by commentators after RN's busing speech. ... Also media-related is Times report that Wallace and IHII -- with 60% of Fla vote -- spent only combined 20% of total on Fla TV. ... NBC to resume a

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Are they usually the for us?  
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March 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

You may have noticed in the April Saturday Review that Joseph Napolitan has written a long article entitled "Yes, the Democrats Can Beat Richard Nixon." It makes fascinating reading because he discusses many of the strategy points that we have considered but only sometimes acted upon. I have attached a copy of the article so that you can read it at your convenience if you missed it.

Attachment

# Yes, the Democrats Can Beat Richard Nixon

BY JOSEPH NAPOLITAN

What it will take, says this campaign strategist,  
is some negative thinking, imaginative  
use of polls and media, and a running start.

I start by assuming that Richard Nixon can be defeated in 1972. There are some elections that cannot be won—even on a Presidential level. I'd put the 1964 Johnson victory over Goldwater in this category; I don't see any way that Goldwater could have beaten Johnson that year. But I do think Nixon can be taken in 1972—that's not to say he *will* be, only that he *can* be.

Right now, of course, the Democrats are preoccupied with the internal problem of selecting a candidate, but I hope, and indeed I urge, that at least the leaders of the party concern themselves with the more distant but also more crucial matter of winning the general election once the candidate has been nominated. I say this now because what happens between the present time and the Democratic nominating convention in July will have incalculable impact on the outcome of the election. The status of the war in Vietnam and the economy of the country are the two major variables, and my crystal ball is muckier than most people's, so I wouldn't even hazard a guess about how those important factors will have developed by November 1972. But if I were to lay out a program to defeat Nixon, I would start now, and this is what I would do.

First I would plan a negative campaign. That is, the thrust of the effort would be aimed at influencing people to vote *against* Nixon rather than *for* my candidate, whoever he might be. Any incumbent President in turbulent times

must run on his record, or be forced to run on his record if he tries to seek another avenue. The powers of the Presidency are awesome, the resources of the President are unmatched by the party out of office, and the staff and services provided by the federal government are far too rich for the out party to match, particularly if the out party still is trying to pay off its 1968 debts.

But there is one big disadvantage to running as the incumbent: You must accept responsibility for what has happened to the country in the four years of your stewardship.

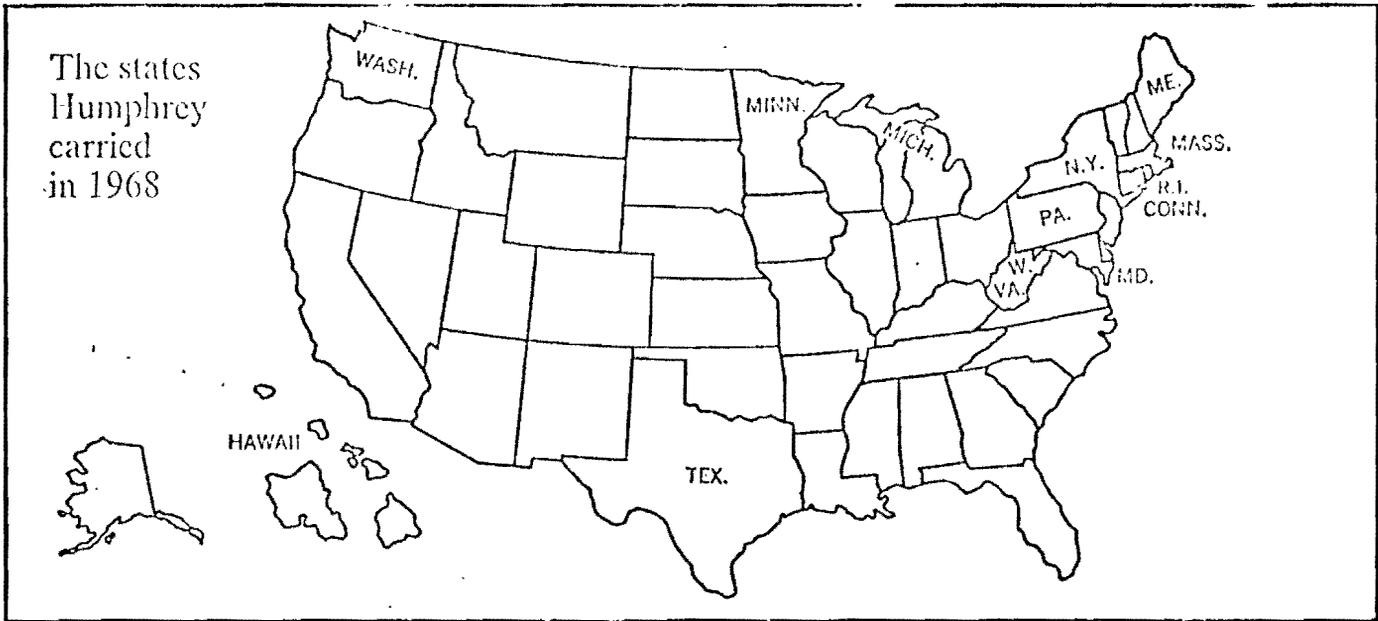
I'd begin my campaign planning with polls. Starting immediately, I would try to make arrangements with the leading political polling firms, Democratic state committees, and Democratic candidates for statewide and Congressional offices to include a brief series of questions in all their polls about the Presidential election. The polling firms might have to get the permission of their political clients to include the questions, but this really shouldn't be a problem. If I were running a statewide campaign for a Democratic candidate in 1972, I'd certainly want a pretty clear look at the Presidential contest anyway. Even if it became necessary to pay the polling firms a few hundred dollars for adding the questions, and I don't think we would have to, it still would be worth it.

There are certain *kinds* of questions I'd like to see included in all polls, starting immediately, with exactly the same wording in each poll, and presented to demographic cross sections as similar as possible in each state. First I would list the candidates and ask the respondent if he had heard of each and

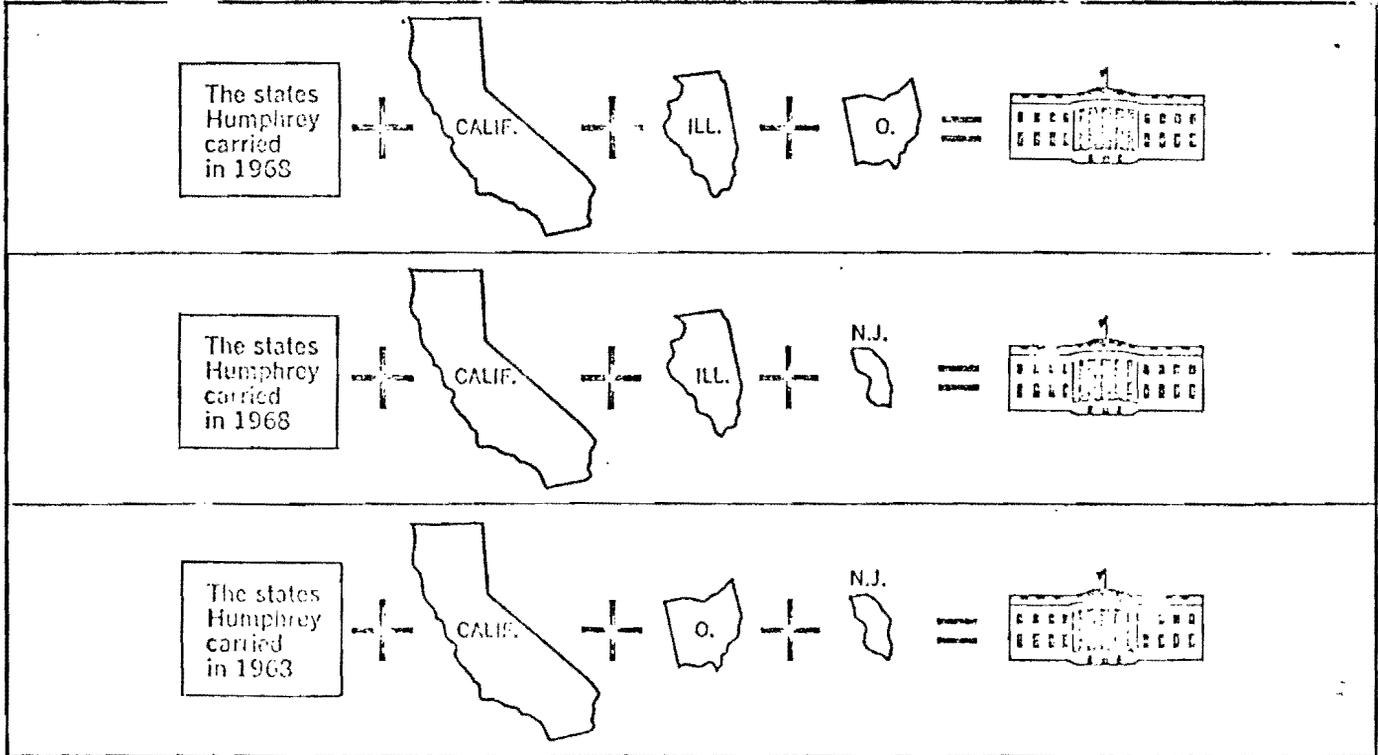
Heavy state polling

Political consultant Joseph Napolitan was advertising director for the Humphrey campaign in 1968. This article is adapted from his book *The Election Game and How to Win It*, to be published this month by Doubleday. Copyright © 1972 by Joseph Napolitan.

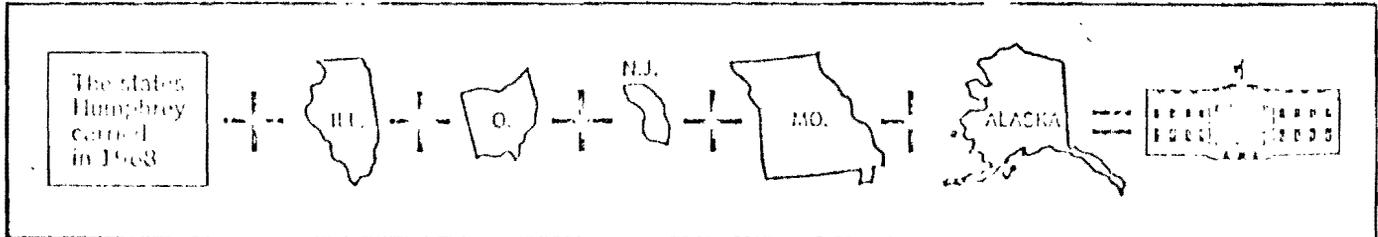
“If I had my druthers, I’d much rather place emphasis (i.e. money) in states where I had a better chance of winning.”



California is probably the key to a Democratic victory in 1972.



But the Democrats could also win without carrying California.



"The thrust of the effort would be aimed at getting people to vote against Nixon rather than for my candidate."

whether he regarded them favorably or unfavorably or had no opinion. Next I would ask him what he felt were the major accomplishments and failures of the Nixon administration. Then I would have him select who he thought would make the best Democratic candidate. Finally I would have him choose between Nixon and several of the more prominent Democratic contenders.

Obviously, this wouldn't be a survey in depth, but it would give the Democratic National Committee, which bears the ultimate responsibility for organizing the Presidential campaign, a constant and standardized flow of information from the various states. The DNC can feed this information to a computer and get figures and comparisons, broken down regionally and demographically (by age, for example, or by race, sex, income, education, religion, and so forth). And all for free, or practically nothing.

I can readily understand Presidential candidates' reluctance to share their private poll information, but if they would all agree to provide the national committee with this kind of information, with the understanding that all the candidates for the nomination would have access to it, they'd all benefit, and so would the committee.

Another thing I'd do now is line up half a dozen good polling firms, concentrate on the states that need to be polled, and assign them some specific states and dates. For example, I'd want a full-scale poll in the field about a week after the Democratic nominee is selected, probably another one the first week in September, and a third about the second week of October. I wouldn't assign more than three or four polls to any one polling firm, because none of the firms I know of can handle a lot of states simultaneously and turn out high-quality work on time. The questionnaire should be prepared at the DNC and the demographics be selected by someone appointed to supervise polling operations for the DNC so that the polls would be compatible and easily matched. Polling firms use various age breakdowns. My firm happens to use these: twenty-one through thirty, thirty-one through forty, forty-one through sixty, over sixty. We make a ten-year breakdown between twenty-one and forty, because those under thirty really grew up on television, those over thirty weren't as influenced

in their childhood by television. In 1972, obviously, the eighteen- through twenty-year-olds should be included, and I'd put them in a separate category, to measure what impact, if any, they will have in the Presidential election. The breakdowns for income, education, and other factors also should be standardized.

I wouldn't advocate any national polls, because we don't have a national election; we have a series of state elections, and there are many states that the Democratic Party need not poll in 1972.

We tried to do some selective polling in 1968, but by the time we got going—after Labor Day—it was too late to achieve maximum effectiveness. We were in the awkward position of being forced to produce our media materials before the poll results were in hand. But if the Democratic National Committee follows the outline I've presented, or something similar, it will have the best set of polls ever produced for a Presidential candidate.

Another project I'd get started on early would be the selection of target states. We wasted a lot of money in 1968 because of poor advance planning; there's no excuse for allowing this to happen again in 1972.

Picking the target states is easy. In 1968 Nixon won thirty-two states with 301 electoral votes, Humphrey won thirteen and the District of Columbia with 191, and Wallace won five with 46. The clear and obvious Democratic targets for 1972 are the thirteen states Humphrey won in 1968—Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Washington, and West Virginia—plus the states Nixon won that the Democrats have a reasonable chance to carry in 1972. This is the critical list, and on it I would place, in order of importance, California, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Missouri, Wisconsin, Delaware, and Alaska. Those eight states delivered 137 electoral votes to Nixon in 1968; today, because of census reapportionment, they're worth 140. The states Nixon carried in 1968 now total 305 electoral votes instead of 301; Humphrey's states drop from 191 to 188; Wallace's from 46 to 45.

If the Democratic candidate can carry the thirteen states Humphrey carried in 1968, plus as few as three of

the states Nixon carried (California, Illinois, Ohio; or California, Illinois, New Jersey; or California, Ohio, New Jersey), he can accumulate the 270 electoral votes needed to win, regardless of what Nixon and any third- or fourth-party candidate may do. I don't see this as an impossible task.

The keystone state is California. That's the battleground for 1972. Gainer of 5 electoral votes—boosting it to 45 while New York drops back to 41—California is the prize that could decide the election. A Democrat could win without California by carrying Humphrey's 1968 states plus, say, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Missouri, and Alaska, but it would be more difficult.

Of the states that Humphrey lost in 1968, I would say New Jersey, Missouri, and Alaska will be the easiest to swing into the Democratic column in 1972, closely followed by Delaware. California, Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin will be tougher—much tougher—but worth fighting for.

With the objectives clearly defined so early in the game, this is the time to begin tooling up in the target states—for whoever the Democratic candidate may be. Special television programs can be developed for these states. Registration drives should begin at once in Democratic stronghold in these states, among blacks and young people and the poor. The voters aren't hard to identify, but unless they are registered they won't do the Democratic Party any good in November.

I may give the impression here that I am writing off certain states, and I am. There are at least a dozen states I'm willing to concede immediately to avoid spending any money in at all, unless that money is raised in the state to be spent there. This may be a cold-blooded position not calculated to win friends among state chairmen and committeemen and women, but, to tell the truth, I'd rather win the election than make friends. (It's amazing how friendly everyone gets to be after you've won.)

There are some states that Nixon carried in 1968 that a Democrat conceivably could win in 1972—other than the eight I already have listed—but none in which I see the Democrats with a strong chance. Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee possibly—but if I had my druthers I'd much rather place emphasis on

the operation should be ready, the research completed, the techniques perfected."

money) in states where I had a better chance of winning than I do in these places. And I wouldn't bother with the Wallace states at all. It's conceivable a hawkish Democrat such as Senator Jackson might pull off one or two if he wins the nomination, but I wouldn't bet on it. And who knows at this point whether there will be a third-party candidate (Wallace) or maybe even a fourth-party nominee (Gene McCarthy or John Lindsay). But, for planning purposes at this stage, it really doesn't make much difference, because there is a minimum number of electoral votes required to win—270—and efforts should be directed at carrying enough states to accumulate that number of votes.

If this is going to be a negative campaign—and I don't see how it can be any other kind unless Nixon is not the candidate—then the DNC computer should be put to use right away. I'd begin feeding it every public statement Richard Nixon has made since he became a Congressman, properly coded and categorized. I'd also add the statements of Spiro Agnew and any other Republicans who might be targets of one sort or another in 1972—for example, Republican National Chairman Robert Dole. Then when I (i.e., the DNC, any of the Presidential candidates, eventually *the* Presidential candidate and his running mate, or any other prominent Democratic speech-makers) wanted to demonstrate the inconsistencies of Nixon's actions with his words, I could just punch the right buttons on my computer, and it would print out the material I needed.

This information retrieval system can be a tremendous boon to speech writers, copywriters, film and radio producers, and local Democratic candidates. It's just a question of assembling, coding, storing, and retrieving. I assume something like this has and is being done, because the information it can provide, literally on a moment's notice, will be invaluable to the campaign.

My major interest in campaigns is political communication. This involves the use of mass media, particularly television and radio, but other media as well. When I became advertising director of the Humphrey organization late in the 1968 campaign, I tried to implement some of my theories on the use of media in a Presidential election, with

a fair amount of success. But the shortage of time and funds caused us to fall short of our goal. We have the time now, and I expect there will be enough money around to finance an adequate campaign—not as much as the Republicans will have, but enough to cover the necessities if it is spent properly.

I would try some new approaches to the use of media in the 1972 election, some of which can be initiated before we even know who the Democratic candidate will be. In fact, there is no reason why the candidates could not be informed what is being done (notice I said "informed," not "consulted"; you don't produce good media by committee in consultation) on their behalf. Presumably, the eventual candidate might want to scrub everything, but I doubt it if the material I envision is produced the way it should be; and even if he doesn't want to use it, it will be prepared in such a way that Democratic candidates for Senate, the House, and statehouses will be able to make use of it.

Suppose I had carte blanche to organize and implement media planning and structure for the 1972 Presidential election: What would I do?

First I would take the seven big states I feel are essential to win in 1972—California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, and Texas—and get some tough research done on how the Nixon administration has failed to solve the problems in those states. I would deal in hard specifics, with problems directly related to the individual states. In New York, for example, this could include the massive problems of welfare and drug addiction; in California, the rampant unemployment in aerospace and the erosion of natural resources.

I would find out not only what the problems are and how the Republican administration has failed to solve them but also what solutions have been presented by the Democrats. We should also note that California, New York, Illinois, and Michigan have Republican governors, and that Pennsylvania and Ohio had Republican governors until the start of 1971.

As soon as I had assembled my research, and probably concomitantly, I would engage three or four of the best television documentary producers to make a thirty minute film on each state. These films should be suitable for

both Presidential and regional candidates. Wherever and whenever possible, attractive local candidates should be included in the film.

By the late spring or early summer of 1972 I would have a package of half-hour documentaries for use in the major battleground states, specifically relating to their problems, revealing Republican failures and outlining Democratic programs. Remember one thing: We should never underestimate the intelligence of the American voter or overestimate the amount of information at his disposal. We should be giving him solid chunks of anti-Nixon information preparatory to presenting our own constructive proposals.

While I was producing these state documentaries, I also would be working on some *problem* (or, if you prefer, *issues*) documentaries on the major problems facing the country: lack of job opportunities, drug addiction, education, pollution and conservation, education, welfare, and poverty. Again, these would be definitive studies that would document Republican failures and present Democratic programs, and they'd work for whoever the nominee might be. I can't see that there would be sharp differences among Humphrey, Muskie, McGovern, Kennedy, or Jackson programs on drugs or poverty or protection of natural resources or education.

The basic footage could be filmed in the spring and early summer; after the candidate is nominated, he can be worked into each of the films, and there could be time and space provided for tie-ins with local candidates.

These problem-oriented films could, if desired, be shown on national network television, although I would be more inclined to make local purchases within states so that we would be paying for only the states we wanted to reach and not for states where we have no chance of winning anyway. I'd have all these films ready to go on the air by Labor Day, and perhaps run one a week for the next five or six weeks, making them available to state committees and candidates within each state for additional showings at their convenience and expense.

As soon as the candidate is nominated, I'd begin work on a biographical documentary of him and, perhaps, his running mate. This would be for use

any national  
polls, because we  
don't have a  
national election...."

later in the campaign, say from the middle of October on.

From all these films—the state documentaries and those on problems—five-minute programs and one-minute spots also could be culled. The candidate would go into the campaign armed with the greatest assortment of television weapons any candidate for President anywhere has ever had. What would this whole package cost? About \$1-million—or something less than 8 per cent of the total Republican television time budget in 1968, around 15 per cent of what the Democrats spent on television in the past election. And there would be some offsetting gains: Candidates for senator and governor might be induced to pick up part of the tab by acquiring the films they considered most useful to them in their own races and adapting them to their personal needs.

The key to the success of this project is the quality of the materials produced, as it so often is. That's why I would try to get a lock on the best film producers as early as possible and put them to work on these films before they get so committed in other races that they don't have time to work on the Presidential election. This happened in 1968, to Humphrey's detriment.

Nixon made much better use of radio in 1968 than Humphrey did. For 1972, a series of low-key, factual five-minute radio programs on important issues can be prepared early, utilizing the best speech writers in the Democratic stable, and go on the air during the summer. The cost is low, and the impact can be high.

I'd also make use of the *losing* Democratic contenders in films, perhaps a series of five-minute programs not unlike the one made with Humphrey and Ted Kennedy in 1968. These would not be used nationally but shown in the states where the losing candidate is particularly popular. For example, if Senator Jackson doesn't make it, a five-minute film of him and the Democratic nominee discussing the problems of the state of Washington should have favorable impact in that state. The same would be true with Harold H. Hines in Iowa, Birch Bayh in Indiana, Kennedy in Massachusetts, George McGovern in the Dakotas, Humphrey in Minnesota, Edmund Muskie in New England. Not too costly, and potentially useful.

I'd get the best political time buyer available and have him chart the states where we wish to make our biggest push and outline budgets and potential time buys in those states. Buying network time isn't as difficult in a Presidential election, because the networks are, by law, forced to make equal time available to each of the Presidential candidates. The time buyer's skill can best be used within key states.

There also are some more esoteric areas of electronic communication that I would want the Democrats to take advantage of. One is instant reaction, and the other would be the establishment of videotape and radio files. I would establish an "instant-reaction" electronics team, a group of television and radio specialists who could capitalize on an event virtually instantaneously, be it a statement, a speech, or a piece of news, and through electric feeds make it available to the networks and key stations throughout the country. Often this could be news material offered to the stations for use on news programs; in other cases, paid spots produced in twenty-four hours or less and worked into previously purchased time.

No one knows when news that could affect the outcome of the election will break, or even when an opponent will commit a gaffe that could be capitalized on. Under conventional systems of producing television and radio spots, it takes days, sometimes weeks, to turn out reaction spots. Under the system I envision, these could be done in hours. What it takes is an alert electronics team, standing by twenty-four hours a day, ready to act on literally a moment's notice. The problem here really is not so much one of implementation, but of proper planning and having the right people ready to move when they must. I am convinced that the cost of such an operation would be far less than the value we would realize from it.

For years candidates have maintained newspaper clip files; sophisticated ones are beginning to use computer retrieval systems similar to the one I mentioned earlier. But now it is time for candidates, at least for Presidents, to establish data banks of video and audiotapes—not necessarily or exclusively of their opponents, but also of news events. These can be used for recall, to capitalize on the information

already inside everyone's brain. Consciously, we tend to forget fairly rapidly; subconsciously, we retain information for much longer periods, possibly forever. The audio/videotape banks would permit our television and radio producers to create instant recall of major events and to capitalize on both the emotionalism and the rational reactions that surrounded these events during the time they were taking place. For example, no one who lived in New York in July 1970 is likely to forget the suffocating smog that smothered the city for a few days during the middle of that month. Utilization of newsfilm clips and commentaries would instantly recall those horrendous conditions and could trigger the rage and frustration New Yorkers felt during those days.

These electronic data banks could be extraordinarily valuable in preparing television and radio materials for the Presidential election—but the time to start assembling them is *now*, not after the candidate has been nominated in the middle of July 1972. A candidate who goes into the campaign armed with this kind of backup material, and the availability of instant reaction facilities, possesses a big advantage over the candidate who doesn't, and this is the kind of thing the party apparatus can be doing prior to the election. By Labor Day 1972 the operation should be organized and ready to go, the material assembled, the technologists in place, the research completed, the techniques perfected.

This whole operation obviously requires planning, direction, and financing. The last may be the toughest, but I think it's not a question of whether the Democratic Party can afford to do it but whether the party can afford *not* to do it. And, in the long run, I don't think the program I have outlined would cost any more than the haphazard media programs both parties have had in the past; intelligent reallocation of resources would provide maximum value for every dollar—something we did not receive in past elections.

In any event, one aspect of the campaign has worked out well. Former Attorney General John Mitchell will run Nixon's campaign again. Anyone who can manage Nixon from a fifteen-point lead to a seven-tenth-of-a-point victory in seven weeks is too good a friend to lose. [ ]

March 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: Campaign Position

Don Rumsfeld sent the attached memorandum to Bob Haldeman regarding Aaron Spaulding. Bob asked that you consider this individual for a role in the campaign.

cc: Counselor Rumsfeld

GS:lm

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 3/27

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Rumsfeld's request for a  
campaign position for a social  
aid will be sent to Magruder  
at 1701.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN  
FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

Attached is a resume of Aaron Spaulding. As you may know, he has been a White House social aid for the past year or so. He is at present a Lt. J.G. in the Navy and is due to be released from active duty in April. I know his father, Asa Spaulding, of Durham, North Carolina, and have known Aaron during his tour as a White House social aid. I have been most impressed by his work and talents.

He has an interest in becoming involved in government or the Presidential campaign in some way. I would very much appreciate it if you would review his resume and give serious thought to the possibility of assisting him in his search. I can endorse him enthusiastically.

Please give me a call if you have any thoughts or suggestions for him. Or feel free to contact him directly.

Attachment

AARON L. SPAULDING

LTJG SC USNR

LOCAL ADDRESS

4129 Arkansas Avenue, H. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20011  
Home - 202/720-0257  
Work - 202/433-4480  
Work - 202/433-3555

HOME ADDRESS

1608 Lincoln Street  
Durham, N. C. 27701  
919/688-4648

EXPERIENCE

NAVAL COMMAND SYSTEMS SUPPORT ACTIVITY (NAVCOSSACT).  
Washington, D. C.

March 1970  
to Present

Primary duty as a Systems and Financial Management Analyst involved the continuous monitoring and analysis of financial management data maintained in the NAVCOSSACT Integrated Command Management Information System, Cost Accounting Sub-system and the preparation and review of the financial and cost accounting reports for "Top Management". Instrumental in the development of a matrix of conversion factors, based upon system output, to effectively estimate costs for planning purposes; assisted in improving the reliability of the Command's fiscal year 1973 Operating budget projection and insured the accuracy of the NAVCOSSACT input into the Navy ADP Program Reporting System; contributed significantly to the analysis for redesign and subsequent conversion of the Management Information System to a large scale multi-processor UNIVAC 1108 computer.

Collateral duties as Minority Group Officer for NAVCOSSACT and Military Social Aide assigned to the White House.

- o Twice nominated for Accelerated Promotion by my Commanding Officer.
- o Selected for Augmentation into Regular Navy, for having "demonstrated consistently superior performance," by the Chief of Naval Personnel.
- o Received Letter of Commendation from the President of the United States.
- o Received Letter of Appreciation from the Commanding General, United States Army Computer Systems Command.
- o Received Letter of Appreciation from my

September 1969 to March 1970  
NAVY SUPPLY CORPS SCHOOL. Athens, Georgia  
Supply Corps Officer assigned to the 26 week Basic Qualification Course for Navy Supply Officers. Course work included: Supply Management, Disbursing, Personnel Management, Automated Data Processing, and Retail Operation.

April 1969 to August 1969  
NAVY OFFICERS CANDIDATE SCHOOL. Newport, Rhode Island  
Assistant Company Commander responsible for Officer Candidate Indoctrination and overall Company Military Performance.

October 1968 to April 1969  
PROGRESS MANAGEMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
Instructor and Economic Development Analyst. This organization was founded in 1968 by Rev. Leon H. Sullivan as a "black economic development" organization to train and provide economic support to black entrepreneurs.

Taught Economics, Finance and Marketing, and did economic and financial analysis in developing markets for black owned and operated shopping centers and other small consumer businesses.

January 1968 to October 1968  
RE-CON SERVICES, INC. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
Director and co-founder. Established and administered a computerized service to foster the placement of graduates of predominantly black colleges into business careers.

The Philadelphia Inquirer, 3 June 1968, Pg. 26  
"New Firm helps Negroes Find Careers"

Business Week Magazine, 29 June 1968, Pg. 72  
"Two Wharton Grads Set Up Service to Match Negro Graduates to Jobs"

In addition, served as a consultant to the Manpower and Education Task Forces of the PHILADELPHIA URBAN COALITION. Also was a part-time staff member of the HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER at the University of Pennsylvania.

Summer 1967  
RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA, CORPORATE BUDGET OFFICE. New York, New York  
Budget Analyst. Performed a review and evaluation of the budget information flow, divisional inputs through corporate outputs, and recommended changes to reduce the time required to prepare the final corporate budgets for top management.

December 1965 to September 1966 RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICAN, HOME INSTRUMENTS DIVISION. Indianapolis, Indiana  
Systems Analyst. Participated in the design and implementation of a data communications network for all divisional computers.

June 1965 to December 1965 Corporate MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SYSTEMS Training Program, Cherry Hill, New Jersey and New York City. Classroom and practical training in computer software, hardware and systems configuration design. (18 weeks)

June 1964 to June 1965 Corporate FINANCIAL TRAINING PROGRAM, Cherry Hill, New Jersey. On the job training in Corporate Financial Operation: Accounting (Cost, General, Government), Auditing, Budgeting, Credit and Collection, Tax. Assignments were in operating divisional and corporate offices. (52 weeks)

### EDUCATION

September 1966 to June 1968 WHARTON GRADUATE SCHOOL OF FINANCE AND COMMERCE  
University of Pennsylvania.  
Major in Corporate Finance with electives in the areas of Information Systems, Marketing, International Marketing, and Quantitative Methods.

President of the Wharton MBA Association, Chairman of the MBA Association's Executive Committee and Steering Committee, member Finance Club and Management Science Club.

September 1966 to June 1967 Worked as a Research Assistant to Dr. J. J. O'Connell, Assistant Professor of Industry, Wharton Graduate School. Research Project sponsored by the Ford Foundation to study "The Racial Policies of American Industry".

Participated in the development and administration of the pilot RE-COM Project at the University Placement Office with the cooperation of the Director of the Wharton Graduate Division and the Director of Placement at the University.

The Wall Street Journal, 9 February 1968, Pg. 21, "Four Students Place Class in Computer to Help Job Search".

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM, Durham,  
North Carolina

September  
1960 to  
June 1964

Major in Mathematics with a minor in  
Business Administration and Insurance.

President of Freshman Class, member of  
Student Government Steering Committee, Varsity  
Letterman in Football, Outstanding Academic  
Achievement Award, Dean's List and Honor  
Roll.

PERSONAL DATA

Listed in Who's Who in the South and Southeast  
Born: 16 March 1943. Single. USA Citizen  
Excellent health: Height - 6 ft., Weight - 170 lbs.  
Possess a valid TOP SECRET clearance.

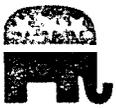
March 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: RNC Registration

The agreement of last fall between the Committee to Re-Elect the President and the RNC that voter registration would be almost entirely an RNC function may have to be reviewed. I just read Ed DeBolt's March 29 memorandum entitled "Spring Registration Activity Report #4". (Copy attached.) I think it represents a dismal failure. All commitments, programs, and activities are projected rather than accomplished. It would be interesting to know what in fact has been done in some of these cases.

Of particular concern to me is the statement on page #2 that "California, for example, is still having difficulty getting their ambitious registration project off the ground". My recollection of the amount of money under the direction of Ken Rietz is very substantial. Yet, your comments yesterday about Nofziger's shaky implementation increases my concern. I would enjoy discussing this entire matter with you so that we could prepare a recommendation for John Mitchell. Let's try to get together on Tuesday.

GS:lm  
FU Tuesday, Ap. 4



Republican  
National  
Committee.

March 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM: ~~ED DeBOLT~~  
RE: SPRING REGISTRATION ACTIVITY REPORT #4

Now that spring has officially arrived with melting snows and rising temperatures, we note also a rise in the level of enthusiasm for organizational work by most Party leaders around the country with special attention being given to spring registration efforts. The response to the challenge by the national leadership led by Vice President Agnew at the National Leadership Conference to state and local Party organizations to conduct early spring registration efforts continues to be unprecedented and overwhelming although not universal. It was reinforced at the first of four regional women's conferences conducted by Anne Armstrong in Atlanta last week.

The Party leadership and the Party's communications devices continue to press for action by the local Party organizations to conduct this vital organizational work with emphasis on registration. The copy of the flier distributed to the 1,000 delegates to the Atlanta Regional Conference is attached.

New Republican registrations related to Party activity have now passed the 200,000 mark. Recent activity which has attributed to reaching this plateau was highlighted by a successful TARGET '72 Blitz Day operation conducted by the weak but enthusiastic and determined Prince Georges, Maryland, Republican organization. On March 18, over 200 new Party workers turned out to canvass almost 9,000 Prince Georges homes and uncovered almost 1,000 unregistered favorables. While in neighboring Montgomery County the Party organization has been hard at work since the first of the year and has caused 5,000 new Republican registrations and will

be conducting TARGET '72 Blitz Day operations in new development areas later in April. Counties in Virginia and North Carolina have also recently conducted registration projects with mixed results. The Fairfax County organization, for example, reluctantly conducted a reasonably successful project in a previously unworked district but is hesitant to do additional registration work in the near future.

The Republican National Committee's TARGET '72 and field staff are continuing to hold numerous meetings with Party leaders around the country to assist in planning and implementing registration projects. In addition to Party workers, the RNC personnel are establishing closer relationships with the Committee for the Re-Election state leadership and various state campaign leadership and have participated in setting up joint registration projects in areas where the Party will not or cannot perform. Just this last week TARGET '72 Registration Director Dick Thaxton met with state Party leaders, the Committee for the Re-Election leadership and the Tower campaign leadership in Texas to develop preliminary plans for a registration drive in the seven largest Texas counties in late May and early June. Similar meetings have been held with Party and Nixon leadership in Pennsylvania to make some organizational headway following the April 25 primary.

In New Jersey, State Party Chairman John Dimon has announced the Party's commitment to conduct four major county TARGET '72 pilot projects in late April. These projects will serve as training ground for the other major county leadership and workers who will in turn conduct Blitz Day operations in their respective counties in May. Several pilot TARGET '72 registration projects are also planned for late April in several major Missouri counties. With Tom Evans laying the ground work and paving the way, the Delaware Republican leadership has committed to kicking off their registration effort in mid-April.

Even though most of the states have committed themselves to registration activity and in fact have already started producing results, problem areas, as far as the Party is concerned, have already appeared in Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia and Oregon. California, for example, is still having difficulty getting their ambitious registration project off the ground. The RNC's TARGET '72 team and field staff is increasing their workload so as to lend every assistance to the state and local Party organizations to keep the registration activity momentum going.

The next registration activity report will be issued at the end of April.

/jrg  
attach.

# SPECIAL REPORT FOR '72

## SOUTHERN GOP REGIONAL

Printed by Political/Research Division • Republican National Committee • Bob Dole, Chairman

### REGISTRATION DRIVES CRUCIAL IN '72 ELECTION AGNEW SAYS



Speaking before the Republican National Leadership Conference on March 5, Vice President Spiro Agnew pointed out the crucial role that registration drives will play in the '72 campaign.

Citing his own precinct experience in Baltimore Co., Maryland, the Vice President added, "This sort of work is the backbone of our political system--in both parties. But it is especially important to

Republicans because of our acute disadvantage in numbers, compared with the Democrats. I am very pleased, as I am sure the President is pleased, with the already dramatic success of the Republican National Committee's registration effort, TARGET '72."

"We need to remember this fact. Richard Nixon was elected President in 1968 by less than 3 votes per precinct."

The Vice President commended present registration activities, but challenged all Republicans to begin their efforts this spring and referred once again to the '68 election when he stated: "Let's not leave anything like that to chance again. Let's go out and convince those disinterested people and get them registered. Let's get to work."

### ARMSTRONG STRESSES SPRING REGISTRATION

Republican National Committee Co-Chairman Anne Armstrong has urged that "highest priority be given this spring to registration activities in each of the 50 states.

Speaking from her RNC office following the highly successful National Leadership Conference, Mrs. Armstrong acknowledged the hard work and planning that is necessary for successful drives, but noted, "state and county organizations must cast aside their winter dormancy in preparation for this year's campaigns and certainly no task can better prepare us for this challenge than blitzes this spring."

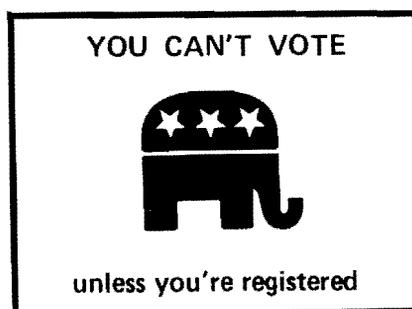
Armstrong's remarks further emphasize statements by former Attorney General Mitchell, Chairman Dole and Co-Chairman Evans on spring registration.

## RNC LAUNCHES "TARGET '72" PROGRAM

TARGET '72, a comprehensive program for selective registration, voter turnout, special ballots, and ballot security, was recently initiated by the RNC according to Co-Chairman Tom Evans. Emphasis this spring is on selective registration.

TARGET '72 registration techniques provide just one method in which to maximize volunteer recruitment and to

conduct organized, targeted



drives. They can supplement

present programs and raise the level of success that extra measure that is so often necessary to win.

Further information on the TARGET '72 registration program can be obtained from:

Richard Thaxton, Director  
Registration and Voting Programs  
310 First Street, S.E.  
Washington, D. C. 20003

**SOUTHERN STATES  
REGISTRATION REPORT**

The following is a brief status report of the Southern states that are involved in registration activities this spring:

**FLORIDA** - Projects have been conducted in Brevard, Dade, Duval, Orange and Pinellas Counties. Additional programs are planned for this spring.

**GEORGIA** - Plans are being developed for spring drives in the suburbs of Atlanta and Savannah in late April.

**KENTUCKY** - Spring drives are being planned for Louisville and Frankfort in early May.

**NORTH CAROLINA** - A March pilot project in Durham County is now being organized with a blitz date of March 25.

**SOUTH CAROLINA** - Drives will be conducted in Columbia and Charleston with an April target date.

**TENNESSEE** - Davidson, Shelby, and Sullivan Counties continue registration efforts. Massive spring drives in the top 26 counties are being planned.

**TEXAS** - "Neighbor to Neighbor" registration programs are already under way and will be completed in 40 counties by April 4. TARGET '72 drives

**ARMSTRONG URGES  
WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT**

Since her appointment over a year ago as National Co-Chairman, Anne Armstrong has traveled to all parts of the country challenging women to play a more active role in Republican politics.

"Emphasis this spring is on early registration," Armstrong recently noted, "and I join with National Federation President Connie Armitage in urging women to become a vital source of leadership as well as a reservoir of dedicated workers." The tasks of selective registration, voter turnout, ballot security, and special ballots "are priority functions for the

have been conducted in Harris and Tarrant Counties.

**VIRGINIA** - TARGET '72 blitzes are scheduled for March 25 in Northern Virginia. Nearly 4,000 new Republicans have been registered in Party caused drives.

What is your county doing this spring to effectively identify and register new Republicans?

If the answer is "nothing", get on the GOP bandwagon and begin making plans to identify and register Republicans before the summer months arrive.

And don't forget to let the RNC know of your efforts.

Party in 1972. Women must take the initiative to insure that these responsibilities are fulfilled."

"If the eligible voters go to the polls in the same percentage as they did in '68", Armstrong added, "the turnout in 1972 will be 85 million--an increase of 11.8 million voters! New Republican registrants must be included in that number."

**FLORIDA, TEXAS  
LEAD THE SOUTH**

Florida and Texas have taken the lead in the Southern region of the United States with registration programs this spring.

Party projects in Florida's Pinellas, Brevard, Orange and Duval Counties have added thousands of new Republicans to the voter roles. In heavily Democrat Duval, a one-day TARGET '72 blitz found an average of 55 unregistered Republicans per precinct.

In Texas, drives in Harris, Tarrant and Dallas Counties have netted new gains for the GOP. Future activities are planned on a continuing basis this spring.

**THIS SPRING THINK  
REGISTRATION!**

March 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLIFF MILLER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

You may have noticed in the April Saturday Review that Joseph Napolitan has written a long article entitled "Yes, the Democrats Can Beat Richard Nixon". It makes fascinating reading because he discusses many of the strategy points that we have considered but only sometimes acted upon. I have attached a copy of the article so that you can read it at your convenience if you missed it.

Attachment

# Yes, the Democrats Can Beat Richard Nixon

BY JOSEPH NAPOLITAN

What it will take, says this campaign strategist, is some negative thinking, imaginative use of polls and media, and a running start.

I start by assuming that Richard Nixon can be defeated in 1972. There are some elections that cannot be won—even on a Presidential level. I'd put the 1964 Johnson victory over Goldwater in this category; I don't see any way that Goldwater could have beaten Johnson that year. But I do think Nixon can be taken in 1972—that's not to say he will be, only that he can be.

Right now, of course, the Democrats are preoccupied with the internal problem of selecting a candidate, but I hope, and indeed I urge, that at least the leaders of the party concern themselves with the more distant but also more crucial matter of winning the general election once the candidate has been nominated. I say this now because what happens between the present time and the Democratic nominating convention in July will have incalculable impact on the outcome of the election. The status of the war in Vietnam and the economy of the country are the two major variables, and my crystal ball is murkier than most people's, so I wouldn't even hazard a guess about how those important factors will have developed by November 1972. But if I were to lay out a program to defeat Nixon, I would start now, and this is what I would do.

First I would plan a negative campaign. That is, the thrust of the effort would be aimed at influencing people to vote *against* Nixon rather than *for* my candidate, whoever he might be. Any incumbent President in turbulent times

Political consultant Joseph Napolitan was advertising director for the Humphrey campaign in 1968. This article is adapted from his book, *The Heister Game and How to Win It*, to be published this month by Doubleday. Copyright © 1972 by Joseph Napolitan.

must run on his record, or be forced to run on his record if he tries to seek another avenue. The powers of the Presidency are awesome, the resources of the President are unmatched by the party out of office, and the staff and services provided by the federal government are far too rich for the out party to match, particularly if the out party still is trying to pay off its 1968 debts.

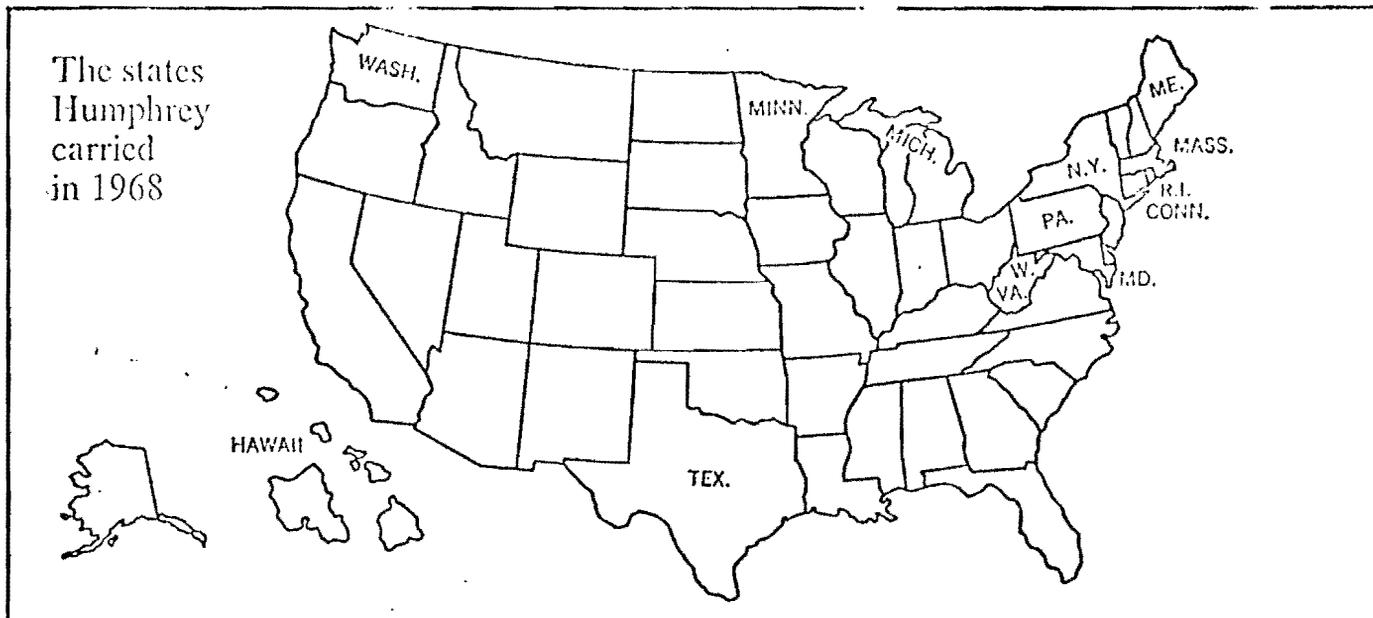
But there is one big disadvantage to running as the incumbent: You must accept responsibility for what has happened to the country in the four years of your stewardship.

I'd begin my campaign planning with polls. Starting immediately, I would try to make arrangements with the leading political polling firms, Democratic state committees, and Democratic candidates for statewide and Congressional offices to include a brief series of questions in all their polls about the Presidential election. The polling firms might have to get the permission of their political clients to include the questions, but this really shouldn't be a problem. If I were running a statewide campaign for a Democratic candidate in 1972, I'd certainly want a pretty clear look at the Presidential contest anyway. Even if it became necessary to pay the polling firms a few hundred dollars for adding the questions, and I don't think we would have to, it still would be worth it.

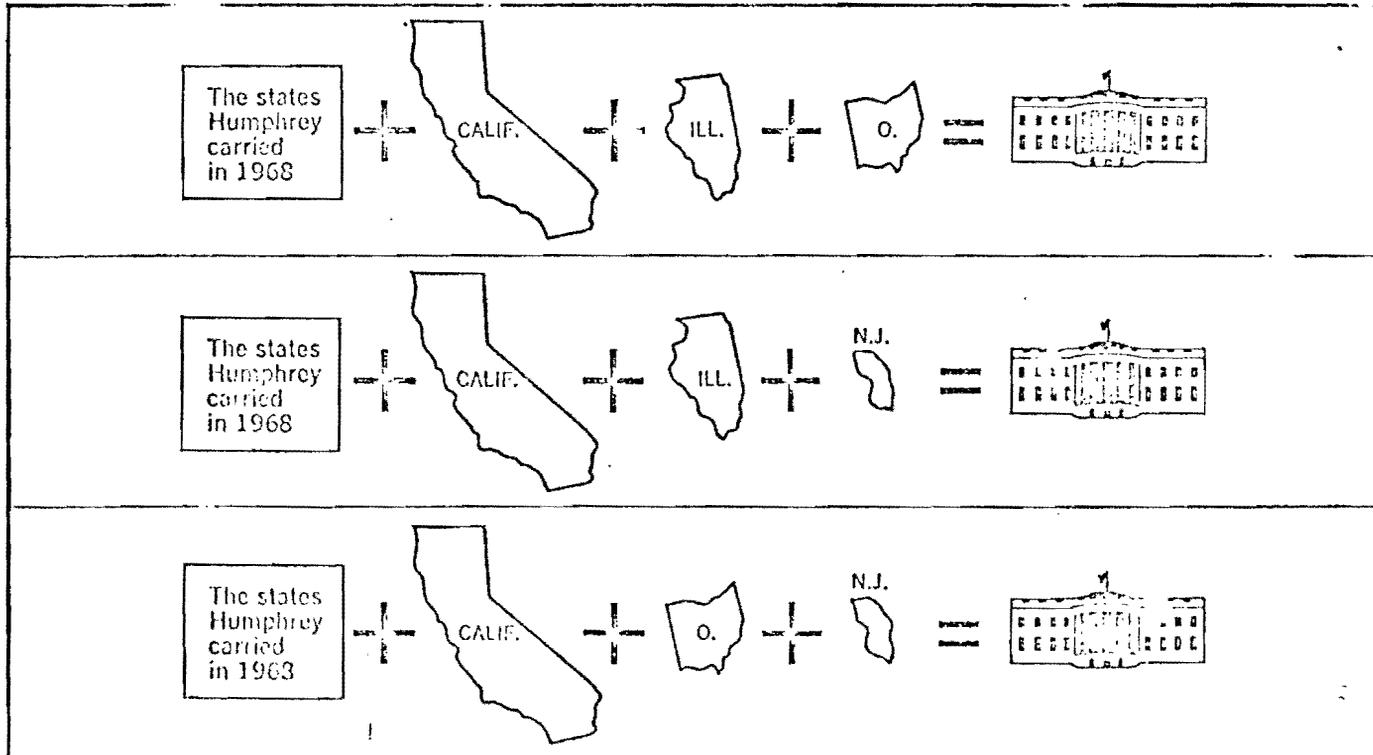
There are certain *kinds* of questions I'd like to see included in all polls, starting immediately, with exactly the same wording in each poll, and presented to demographic cross sections as similar as possible in each state. First I would list the candidates and ask the respondent if he had heard of each and

Heavy state polling

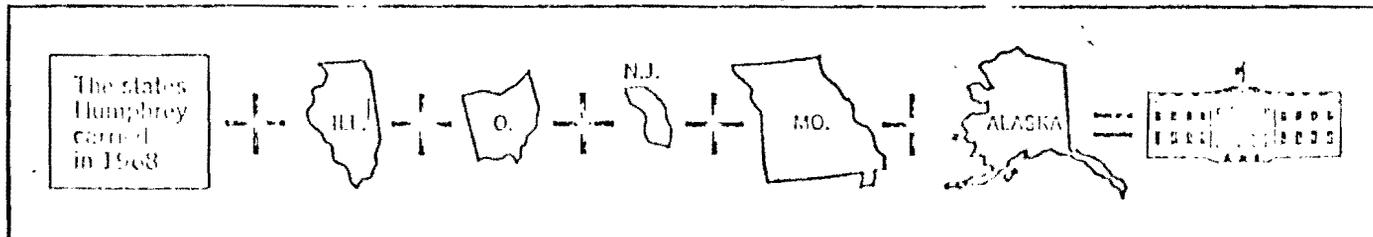
“If I had my druthers, I’d much rather place emphasis (i.e. money) in states where I had a better chance of winning.”



California is probably the key to a Democratic victory in 1972.



But the Democrats could also win without carrying California.



"The thrust of the effort would be aimed at getting people to vote against Nixon rather than for my candidate."

whether he regarded them favorably or unfavorably or had no opinion. Next I would ask him what he felt were the major accomplishments and failures of the Nixon administration. Then I would have him select who he thought would make the best Democratic candidate. Finally I would have him choose between Nixon and several of the more prominent Democratic contenders.

Obviously, this wouldn't be a survey in depth, but it would give the Democratic National Committee, which bears the ultimate responsibility for organizing the Presidential campaign, a constant and standardized flow of information from the various states. The DNC can feed this information to a computer and get figures and comparisons, broken down regionally and demographically (by age, for example, or by race, sex, income, education, religion, and so forth). And all for free, or practically nothing.

I can readily understand Presidential candidates' reluctance to share their private poll information, but if they would all agree to provide the national committee with this kind of information, with the understanding that all the candidates for the nomination would have access to it, they'd all benefit, and so would the committee.

Another thing I'd do now is line up half a dozen good polling firms, concentrate on the states that need to be polled, and assign them some specific states and dates. For example, I'd want a full-scale poll in the field about a week after the Democratic nominee is selected, probably another one the first week in September, and a third about the second week of October. I wouldn't assign more than three or four polls to any one polling firm, because none of the firms I know of can handle a lot of states simultaneously and turn out high-quality work on time. The questionnaire should be prepared at the DNC and the demographics be selected by someone appointed to supervise polling operations for the DNC so that the polls would be compatible and easily matched. Polling firms use various age breakdowns. My firm happens to use these: twenty-one through thirty, thirty-one through forty, forty-one through sixty, over sixty. We make a ten-year breakdown between twenty-one and forty, because those under thirty really grew up on television, those over thirty weren't as influenced

in their childhood by television. In 1972, obviously, the eighteen- through twenty-year-olds should be included, and I'd put them in a separate category, to measure what impact, if any, they will have in the Presidential election. The breakdowns for income, education, and other factors also should be standardized.

I wouldn't advocate any national polls, because we don't have a national election; we have a series of state elections, and there are many states that the Democratic Party need not poll in 1972.

We tried to do some selective polling in 1968, but by the time we got going—after Labor Day—it was too late to achieve maximum effectiveness. We were in the awkward position of being forced to produce our media materials before the poll results were in hand. But if the Democratic National Committee follows the outline I've presented, or something similar, it will have the best set of polls ever produced for a Presidential candidate.

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Picking the target states is easy. In 1968 Nixon won thirty-two states with 301 electoral votes, Humphrey won thirteen and the District of Columbia with 191, and Wallace won five with 46. The clear and obvious Democratic targets for 1972 are the thirteen states Humphrey won in 1968—Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Washington, and West Virginia—plus the states Nixon won that the Democrats have a reasonable chance to carry in 1972. This is the critical list, and on it I would place, in order of importance, California, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Missouri, Wisconsin, Delaware, and Alaska. Those eight states delivered 137 electoral votes to Nixon in 1968; today, because of census reapportionment, they're worth 140. The states Nixon carried in 1968 now total 305 electoral votes instead of 301; Humphrey's states drop from 191 to 188; Wallace's from 46 to 45.

If the Democratic candidate can carry the thirteen states Humphrey carried in 1968, plus as few as three of

the states Nixon carried (California, Illinois, Ohio; or California, Illinois, New Jersey; or California, Ohio, New Jersey), he can accumulate the 270 electoral votes needed to win, regardless of what Nixon and any third- or fourth-party candidate may do. I don't see this as an impossible task.

The keystone state is California. That's the battleground for 1972. Gainer of 5 electoral votes—booming it to 45 while New York drops back to 41—California is the prize that could decide the election. A Democrat could win without California by carrying Humphrey's 1968 states plus, say, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Missouri, and Alaska, but it would be more difficult.

Of the states that Humphrey lost in 1968, I would say New Jersey, Missouri, and Alaska will be the easiest to swing into the Democratic column in 1972, closely followed by Delaware. California, Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin will be tougher—much tougher, but worth fighting for.

With the objectives clearly defined so early in the game, this is the time to begin tooling up in the target states—for whoever the Democratic candidate may be. Special television programs can be developed for these states. Registration drives should begin at once in Democratic strongholds in these states, among blacks and young people and the poor. The voters aren't hard to identify, but unless they are registered they won't do the Democratic Party any good in November.

I may give the impression here that I am writing off certain states, and I am. There are at least a dozen states I'm willing to concede immediately and avoid spending any money in at all, unless that money is raised in the state to be spent there. This may be a cold-blooded position not calculated to win friends among state chairmen and committeemen and women, but, to tell the truth, I'd rather win the election than make friends. (It's amazing how friendly everyone gets to be after you've won.)

There are some states that Nixon carried in 1968 that a Democrat conceivably could win in 1972—other than the eight I already have listed—but none in which I see the Democrats with a strong chance. Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee possibly—but if I had my druthers I'd much rather place emphasis on

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If this is going to be a negative campaign—and I don't see how it can be any other kind unless Nixon is not the candidate—then the DNC computer should be put to use right away. I'd begin feeding it every public statement Richard Nixon has made since he became a Congressman, properly coded and categorized. I'd also add the statements of Spiro Agnew and any other Republicans who might be targets of one sort or another in 1972—for example, Republican National Chairman Robert Dole. Then when I (i.e., the DNC, any of the Presidential candidates, eventually the Presidential candidate and his running mate, or any other prominent Democratic speech-makers) wanted to demonstrate the inconsistencies of Nixon's actions with his words, I could just punch the right buttons on my computer, and it would print out the material I needed.

This information-retrieval system can be a tremendous boon to speech writers, copywriters, film and radio producers, and local Democratic candidates. It's just a question of assembling, coding, storing, and retrieving. I assume something like this has and is being done, because the information it can provide, literally on a moment's notice, will be invaluable to the campaign.

My major interest in campaigns is political communication. This involves the use of mass media, particularly television and radio, but other media as well. When I became advertising director of the Humphrey organization late in the 1968 campaign, I tried to implement some of my theories on the use of media in a Presidential election, with

a fair amount of success. But the shortage of time and funds caused us to fall short of our goal. We have the time now, and I expect there will be enough money around to finance an adequate campaign—not as much as the Republicans will have, but enough to cover the necessities if it is spent properly.

I would try some new approaches to the use of media in the 1972 election, some of which can be initiated before we even know who the Democratic candidate will be. In fact, there is no reason why the candidates could not be informed what is being done (notice I said "informed," not "consulted"; you don't produce good media by committee in consultation) on their behalf. Presumably, the eventual candidate might want to scrub everything, but I doubt it if the material I envision is produced the way it should be; and even if he doesn't want to use it, it will be prepared in such a way that Democratic candidates for Senate, the House, and statehouses will be able to make use of it.

Suppose I had carte blanche to organize and implement media planning and structure for the 1972 Presidential election: What would I do?

First I would take the seven big states I feel are essential to win in 1972—California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, and Texas—and get some tough research done on how the Nixon administration has failed to solve the problems in those states. I would deal in hard specifics, with problems directly related to the individual states. In New York, for example, this could include the massive problems of welfare and drug addiction; in California, the rampant unemployment in aerospace and the erosion of natural resources.

I would find out not only what the problems are and how the Republican administration has failed to solve them but also what solutions have been presented by the Democrats. We should also note that California, New York, Illinois, and Michigan have Republican governors, and that Pennsylvania and Ohio had Republican governors until the start of 1971.

As soon as I had assembled my research, and probably concomitantly, I would engage three or four of the best television documentary producers to make a thirty-minute film on each state. These films should be suitable for

both Presidential and regional candidates. Wherever and whenever possible, attractive local candidates should be included in the film.

By the late spring or early summer of 1972 I would have a package of half-hour documentaries for use in the major battleground states, specifically relating to their problems, revealing Republican failures and outlining Democratic programs. Remember one thing: We should never underestimate the intelligence of the American voter or overestimate the amount of information at his disposal. We should be giving him solid chunks of anti-Nixon information preparatory to presenting our own constructive proposals.

While I was producing these state documentaries, I also would be working on some *problem* (or, if you prefer, *issues*) documentaries on the major problems facing the country: lack of job opportunities, drug addiction, education, pollution and conservation, education, welfare, and poverty. Again, these would be definitive studies that would document Republican failures and present Democratic programs, and they'd work for whoever the nominee might be. I can't see that there would be sharp differences among Humphrey, Muskie, McGovern, Kennedy, or Jackson programs on drugs or poverty or protection of natural resources or education.

The basic footage could be filmed in the spring and early summer; after the candidate is nominated, he can be worked into each of the films, and there could be time and space provided for tie-ins with local candidates.

These problem-oriented films could, if desired, be shown on national network television, although I would be more inclined to make local purchases within states so that we would be paying for only the states we wanted to reach and not for states where we have no chance of winning anyway. I'd have all these films ready to go on the air by Labor Day, and perhaps run one a week for the next five or six weeks, making them available to state committees and candidates within each state for additional showings at their convenience and expense.

As soon as the candidate is nominated, I'd begin work on a biographical documentary of him and, perhaps, his running mate. This would be in use

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later in the campaign, say from the middle of October on.

From all these films—the state documentaries and those on problems—five-minute programs and one-minute spots also could be culled. The candidate would go into the campaign armed with the greatest assortment of television weapons any candidate for President anywhere has ever had. What would this whole package cost? About \$1-million—or something less than 8 per cent of the total Republican television time budget in 1968, around 15 per cent of what the Democrats spent on television in the past election. And there would be some offsetting gains: Candidates for senator and governor might be induced to pick up part of the tab by acquiring the films they considered most useful to them in their own races and adapting them to their personal needs.

The key to the success of this project is the quality of the materials produced, as it so often is. That's why I would try to get a lock on the best film producers as early as possible and put them to work on these films before they get so committed in other races that they don't have time to work on the Presidential election. This happened in 1968, to Humphrey's detriment.

Nixon made much better use of radio in 1968 than Humphrey did. For 1972, a series of low-key, factual five-minute radio programs on important issues can be prepared early, utilizing the best speech writers in the Democratic stable, and go on the air during the summer. The cost is low, and the impact can be high.

I'd also make use of the *losing* Democratic contenders in films, perhaps a series of five-minute programs not unlike the one made with Humphrey and Ted Kennedy in 1968. These would not be used nationally but shown in the states where the losing candidate is particularly popular. For example, if Senator Jackson doesn't make it, a five-minute film of him and the Democratic nominee discussing the problems of the state of Washington should have favorable impact in that state. The same would be true with Harold Hughes in Iowa, Birch Bayh in Indiana, Kennedy in Massachusetts, George McGovern in the Dakotas, Humphrey in Minnesota, Edmund Muskie in New England. Not too costly, and potentially useful.

I'd get the best political time buyer available and have him chart the states where we wish to make our biggest push and outline budgets and potential time buys in those states. Buying network time isn't as difficult in a Presidential election, because the networks are, by law, forced to make equal time available to each of the Presidential candidates. The time buyer's skill can best be used within key states.

There also are some more esoteric areas of electronic communication that I would want the Democrats to take advantage of. One is instant reaction, and the other would be the establishment of videotape and radio files. I would establish an "instant-reaction" electronics team, a group of television and radio specialists who could capitalize on an event virtually instantaneously, be it a statement, a speech, or a piece of news, and through electric feeds make it available to the networks and key stations throughout the country. Often this could be news material offered to the stations for use on news programs; in other cases, paid spots produced in twenty-four hours or less and worked into previously purchased time.

No one knows when news that could affect the outcome of the election will break, or even when an opponent will commit a gaffe that could be capitalized on. Under conventional systems of producing television and radio spots, it takes days, sometimes weeks, to turn out reaction spots. Under the system I envision, these could be done in hours. What it takes is an alert electronics team, standing by twenty-four hours a day, ready to act on literally a moment's notice. The problem here really is not so much one of implementation, but of proper planning and having the right people ready to move when they must. I am convinced that the cost of such an operation would be far less than the value we would realize from it.

For years candidates have maintained newspaper clip files; sophisticated ones are beginning to use computer retrieval systems similar to the one I mentioned earlier. But now it is time for candidates, at least for Presidents, to establish data banks of video and audiotapes—not necessarily or exclusively of their opponents, but also of new events. These can be used for recall, to capitalize on the information

already inside everyone's brain. Consciously, we tend to forget fairly rapidly; subconsciously, we retain information for much longer periods, possibly forever. The audio/videotape banks would permit our television and radio producers to create instant recall of major events and to capitalize on both the emotionalism and the rational reactions that surrounded these events during the time they were taking place. For example, no one who lived in New York in July 1970 is likely to forget the suffocating smog that smothered the city for a few days during the middle of that month. Utilization of newsfilm clips and commentaries would instantly recall those horrendous conditions and could trigger the rage and frustration New Yorkers felt during those days.

These electronic data banks could be extraordinarily valuable in preparing television and radio materials for the Presidential election—but the time to start assembling them is *now*, not after the candidate has been nominated in the middle of July 1972. A candidate who goes into the campaign armed with this kind of backup material, and the availability of instant reaction facilities, possesses a big advantage over the candidate who doesn't, and this is the kind of thing the party apparatus can be doing prior to the election. By Labor Day 1972 the operation should be organized and ready to go, the material assembled, the technologists in place, the research completed, the techniques perfected.

This whole operation obviously requires planning, direction, and financing. The last may be the toughest, but I think it's not a question of whether the Democratic Party can afford to do it but whether the party can afford *not* to do it. And, in the long run, I don't think the program I have outlined would cost any more than the haphazard media programs both parties have had in the past; intelligent reallocation of resources would provide maximum value for every dollar—something we did not receive in past elections.

In any event, one aspect of the campaign has worked out well. Former Attorney General John Mitchell will run Nixon's campaign again. Anyone who can manage Nixon from a fifteen-point lead to a seventeenth of a point victory in seven weeks is too good a friend to lose. □

March 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB MARIK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

You may have noticed in the April Saturday Review that Joseph Napolitan has written a long article entitled "Yes, the Democrats Can Beat Richard Nixon". It makes fascinating reading because he discusses many of the strategy points that we have considered but only sometimes acted upon. I have attached a copy of the article so that you can read it at your convenience if you missed it.

Attachment

# Yes, the Democrats Can Beat Richard Nixon

BY JOSEPH NAPOLITAN

What it will take, says this campaign strategist, is some negative thinking, imaginative use of polls and media, and a running start.

I start by assuming that Richard Nixon can be defeated in 1972. There are some elections that cannot be won—even on a Presidential level. I'd put the 1964 Johnson victory over Goldwater in this category; I don't see any way that Goldwater could have beaten Johnson that year. But I do think Nixon can be taken in 1972—that's not to say he *will* be, only that he *can* be.

Right now, of course, the Democrats are preoccupied with the internal problem of selecting a candidate, but I hope, and indeed I urge, that at least the leaders of the party concern themselves with the more distant but also more crucial matter of winning the general election once the candidate has been nominated. I say this now because what happens between the present time and the Democratic nominating convention in July will have incalculable impact on the outcome of the election. The status of the war in Vietnam and the economy of the country are the two major variables, and my crystal ball is muckier than most people's, so I wouldn't even hazard a guess about how those important factors will have developed by November 1972. But if I were to lay out a program to defeat Nixon, I would start now, and this is what I would do.

First I would plan a negative campaign. That is, the thrust of the effort would be aimed at influencing people to vote *against* Nixon rather than *for* my candidate, whoever he might be. Any incumbent President in turbulent times

Political consultant Joseph Napolitan was advertising director for the Humphrey campaign in 1958. This article is adapted from his book *The Election Game and How to Win It*, to be published this month by Doubleday. Copyright © 1972 by Joseph Napolitan.

must run on his record, or be forced to run on his record if he tries to seek another avenue. The powers of the Presidency are awesome, the resources of the President are unmatched by the party out of office, and the staff and services provided by the federal government are far too rich for the out party to match, particularly if the out party still is trying to pay off its 1968 debts.

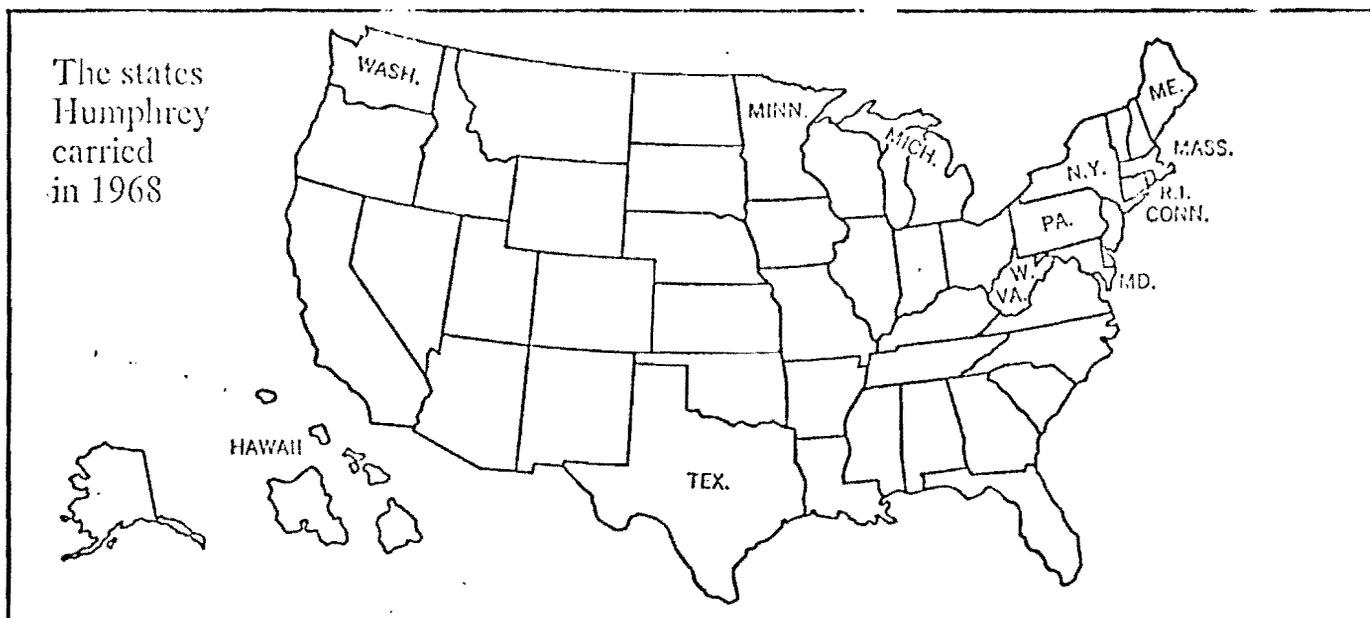
But there is one big disadvantage to running as the incumbent: You must accept responsibility for what has happened to the country in the four years of your stewardship.

I'd begin my campaign planning with polls. Starting immediately, I would try to make arrangements with the leading political polling firms, Democratic state committees, and Democratic candidates for statewide and Congressional offices to include a brief series of questions in all their polls about the Presidential election. The polling firms might have to get the permission of their political clients to include the questions, but this really shouldn't be a problem. If I were running a statewide campaign for a Democratic candidate in 1972, I'd certainly want a pretty clear look at the Presidential contest anyway. Even if it became necessary to pay the polling firms a few hundred dollars for adding the questions, and I don't think we would have to, it still would be worth it.

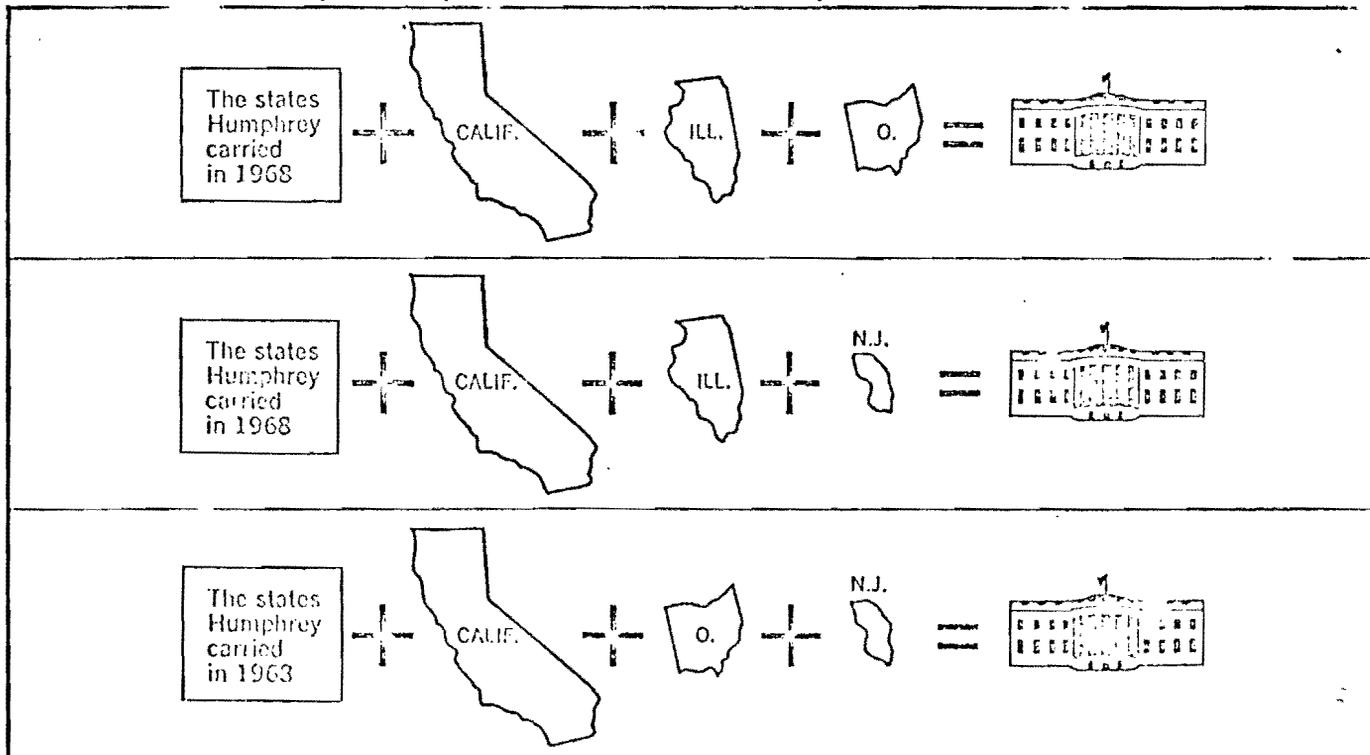
There are certain *kinds* of questions I'd like to see included in all polls, starting immediately, with exactly the same wording in each poll, and presented to demographic cross sections as similar as possible in each state. First I would list the candidates and ask the respondent if he had heard of each and

Heavy state polling

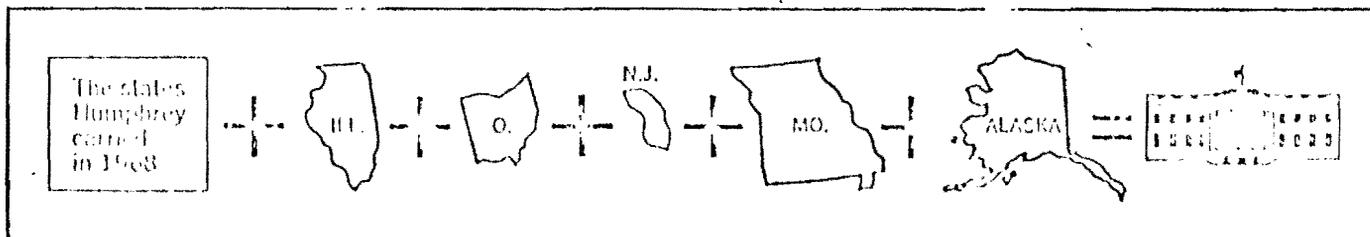
“If I had my druthers, I’d much rather place emphasis (i.e. money) in states where I had a better chance of winning.”



California is probably the key to a Democratic victory in 1972.



But the Democrats could also win without carrying California.



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whether he regarded them favorably or unfavorably or had no opinion. Next I would ask him what he felt were the major accomplishments and failures of the Nixon administration. Then I would have him select who he thought would make the best Democratic candidate. Finally I would have him choose between Nixon and several of the more prominent Democratic contenders.

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The basic footage could be filmed in the spring and early summer; after the candidate is nominated, he can be worked into each of the films, and there could be time and space provided for tie-ins with local candidates.

These problem-oriented films could, if desired, be shown on national network television, although I would be more inclined to make local purchases within states so that we would be paying for only the states we wanted to reach and not for states where we have no chance of winning anyway. I'd have all these films ready to go on the air by Labor Day, and perhaps run one a week for the next five or six weeks, making them available to state committees and candidates within each state for additional showings at their convenience and expense.

As soon as the candidate is nominated, I'd begin work on a biographical documentary of him, and, perhaps, his running mate. This would be for use

any national  
polls, because we  
don't have a  
national election....”

later in the campaign, say from the middle of October on.

From all these films—the state documentaries and those on problems—five-minute programs and one-minute spots also could be culled. The candidate would go into the campaign armed with the greatest assortment of television weapons any candidate for President anywhere has ever had. What would this whole package cost? About \$1-million—or something less than 8 per cent of the total Republican television time budget in 1968, around 15 per cent of what the Democrats spent on television in the past election. And there would be some offsetting gains: Candidates for senator and governor might be induced to pick up part of the tab by acquiring the films they considered most useful to them in their own races and adapting them to their personal needs.

The key to the success of this project is the quality of the materials produced, as it so often is. That's why I would try to get a lock on the best film producers as early as possible and put them to work on these films before they get so committed in other races that they don't have time to work on the Presidential election. This happened in 1968, to Humphrey's detriment.

Nixon made much better use of radio in 1968 than Humphrey did. For 1972, a series of low-key, factual five-minute radio programs on important issues can be prepared early, utilizing the best speech writers in the Democratic stable, and go on the air during the summer. The cost is low, and the impact can be high.

I'd also make use of the *losing* Democratic contenders in films, perhaps a series of five-minute programs not unlike the one made with Humphrey and Ted Kennedy in 1968. These would not be used nationally but shown in the states where the losing candidate is particularly popular. For example, if Senator Jackson doesn't make it, a five-minute film of him and the Democratic nominee discussing the problems of the state of Washington should have favorable impact in that state. The same would be true with Harold Hebes in Iowa, Birch Bayh in Indiana, Kennedy in Massachusetts, George McGovern in the Dakotas, Humphrey in Minnesota, Edmund Muskie in New England. Not too costly, and potentially useful.

I'd get the best political time buyer available and have him chart the states where we wish to make our biggest push and outline budgets and potential time buys in those states. Buying network time isn't as difficult in a Presidential election, because the networks are, by law, forced to make equal time available to each of the Presidential candidates. The time buyer's skill can best be used within key states.

There also are some more esoteric areas of electronic communication that I would want the Democrats to take advantage of. One is instant reaction, and the other would be the establishment of videotape and radio files. I would establish an "instant-reaction" electronics team, a group of television and radio specialists who could capitalize on an event virtually instantaneously, be it a statement, a speech, or a piece of news, and through electric feeds make it available to the networks and key stations throughout the country. Often this could be news material offered to the stations for use on news programs; in other cases, paid spots produced in twenty-four hours or less and worked into previously purchased time.

No one knows when news that could affect the outcome of the election will break, or even when an opponent will commit a gaffe that could be capitalized on. Under conventional systems of producing television and radio spots, it takes days, sometimes weeks, to turn out reaction spots. Under the system I envision, these could be done in hours. What it takes is an alert electronics team, standing by twenty-four hours a day, ready to act on literally a moment's notice. The problem here really is not so much one of implementation, but of proper planning and having the right people ready to move when they must. I am convinced that the cost of such an operation would be far less than the value we would realize from it.

For years candidates have maintained newspaper clip files; sophisticated ones are beginning to use computer retrieval systems similar to the one I mentioned earlier. But now it is time for candidates, at least for Presidents, to establish data banks of video and audiotapes—not necessarily or exclusively of their opponents, but also of news events. These can be used for recall, to capitalize on the information

already inside everyone's brain. Consciously, we tend to forget fairly rapidly; subconsciously, we retain information for much longer periods, possibly forever. The audio/videotape banks would permit our television and radio producers to create instant recall of major events and to capitalize on both the emotionalism and the rational reactions that surrounded these events during the time they were taking place. For example, no one who lived in New York in July 1970 is likely to forget the suffocating smog that smothered the city for a few days during the middle of that month. Utilization of newsfilm clips and commentaries would instantly recall those horrendous conditions and could trigger the rage and frustration New Yorkers felt during those days.

These electronic data banks could be extraordinarily valuable in preparing television and radio materials for the Presidential election—but the time to start assembling them is *now*, not after the candidate has been nominated in the middle of July 1972. A candidate who goes into the campaign armed with this kind of backup material, and the availability of instant reaction facilities, possesses a big advantage over the candidate who doesn't, and this is the kind of thing the party apparatus can be doing prior to the election. By Labor Day 1972 the operation should be organized and ready to go, the material assembled, the technologists in place, the research completed, the techniques perfected.

This whole operation obviously requires planning, direction, and financing. The last may be the toughest, but I think it's not a question of whether the Democratic Party can afford to do it but whether the party can afford *not* to do it. And, in the long run, I don't think the program I have outlined would cost any more than the haphazard media programs both parties have had in the past; intelligent reallocation of resources would provide maximum value for every dollar—something we did not receive in past elections.

In any event, one aspect of the campaign has worked out well. Former Attorney General John Mitchell will run Nixon's campaign again. Anyone who can manage Nixon from a fifteen-point lead to a seven-tenth-of-a-point victory in seven weeks is too good a friend to lose. □

Administratively Confidential

March 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Leaks

You may have noticed in the "Periscope" section of Newsweek that the campaign's sessions at the Hay Adams are now common knowledge. Magruder, naturally, is anxious to find out who leaked the information. He suspects Chotiner, but since you are the resident leak expert, you may have to get involved.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

March 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campus Polls

As you know, Ken Rietz has conducted several campus mock elections in New Hampshire and Florida. The President has received good publicity from two in New Hampshire and excellent publicity from the multiple college mock election in Florida.

Of course, many candidates will be attempting to conduct these mock elections on campuses or in campus communities in the months to come. I think Ken Rietz' system is quite good when concentrated in a particular area. Now we have had a request for particular target polls. In the March 11th news summary there was a note about the obviously McGovern program mock election in Hanover, the home of Dartmouth. In these university oriented communities there is a significant danger that other candidates could arrange mock elections to defeat the President. The matter of particular concern are the several university oriented communities in California.

Ken Rietz currently has several different activities under way in California and the California primary is three months away, however, it would probably be advantageous for you and Rietz to give serious thought to methods by which the President's victory in California mock elections could be assured.

Fred, carbons of this memorandum have not been sent to Rietz and Magruder because you should probably take a personal interest in Rietz' performance in this particular area. Should you need any background about Rietz' activities in previous mock election contexts, please do not hesitate to call.

FU 2 weeks

GS:lm

*attch not sent*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI *BAK*  
SUBJECT: Campus Polls

The March 11 News Summary contained the following note:

-- In Hanover, home of Dartmouth, McGovern won 79% of the vote, compared with Muskie's 20%; and in Durham (U. of N. H.), McGovern outpolled Muskie 69-27%. RN got 44% in Hanover and 57% in Durham, compared to McCloskey's 52% and 37% respectively. --

Referring to the poll figures, it was noted that this shows a danger that must be confronted in University-oriented communities, of which there are a number in California.

It was suggested that greater effort should probably be put forth in these areas because the figures indicate a Republican liberal defection and against a Democrat in a general election, it would be much worse.

Gordon Strachan will follow up with the appropriate people at the Committee and submit a report on actions taken.

cc: H. R. Haldeman  
Alexander P. Butterfield  
Chuck Colson  
Gordon Strachan

March 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB MARIK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Presidential Primary

New Mexico --

Attached are some materials from the Secretary of State of New Mexico that you might find of interest.

Michigan --

Also attached is a copy of the Michigan Secretary of State's letter of February 28th to the President regarding the Presidential preference primary in Michigan. You will notice that the requested affidavit must be filed with the Secretary of State no later than 4 p.m. March 17th, 1972. As with previous Presidential preference primary requests, the original of this letter is held by Noble Melencamp. However, he and I expect direction from you with enough lead time to have the necessary materials handled correctly.

Copies of all these materials are, as a matter of course, sent to Harry Dent also.

cc: Noble Melencamp  
Harry Dent

GS:lm

March 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB MARIK  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: Presidential Primary

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cc: Noble Melencamp  
Harry Dent

GS:lm

State of New Mexico

Office of the Secretary of State



Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

Betty Fiorina  
Secretary of State

Ruben Miera  
Assistant

February 28, 1972

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon  
United States President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Under separate cover, I am mailing you a copy of the 1968 and 1970 New Mexico Election Returns. In the event that you do not have a copy of these in your files, I thought perhaps they would be of value to you, as a Presidential candidate in the June 6th Primary Election, State of New Mexico.

If I can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Betty Fiorina".

BETTY FIORINA  
Secretary of State

BF:prm



Betty Fiorina  
Secretary of State

Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

Ruben Miera  
Assistant

February 28, 1972

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon  
United States President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

*This office is receiving numerous inquiries as to which states will be carrying your name on their Presidential Primary Ballot.*

*We would appreciate receiving this information at your earliest convenience.*

*If we can be of any assistance to you, please feel free to call upon us.*

Sincerely,

BETTY FIORINA  
Secretary of State

BF:prm

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington

Date 3/2/72

*Gordon* —  
TO: Originals to Harry Dent

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Noble Melencamp

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington

Date 3/2/72

TO: Gordon Strachan  
Copies for Dnt and  
"Committee for....." are attached

Noble Malencamp



Michigan  
Department of State

Lansing, Michigan 48918

RICHARD H. AUSTIN  
Secretary of State

February 28, 1972

The President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

The Michigan Legislature recently enacted a bill providing for a presidential preference primary to be held in this state on May 16, 1972, (Act 60, Public Acts of 1972).

One of the provisions of this bill requires that I, as Secretary of State, prepare a list containing the names of individuals generally advocated by the national news media to be potential presidential candidates. This list must be issued by March 3, 1972.

A candidate whose name has been placed on the list and who desires to have his name printed on the ballot in Michigan must provide the Secretary of State with an affidavit indicating his party preference and his willingness to have his name printed on the ballot. This affidavit must be filed with the Secretary of State no later than 4 p.m. (EST) March 17, 1972. The name of no candidate will be printed on our ballots unless the affidavit signed by him is received by that date. If an affidavit is filed, the name will appear on the ballot unless a withdrawal is filed with the Secretary of State no later than 4 p.m. (EST) March 17, 1972.

At present I am preparing the required list. It is my plan to include your name on this list. This letter is an indication of my intention to do so, thereby affording you a few extra days in which to file the needed affidavit if you wish to appear on the preferential ballot. Please do not date any such reply prior to March 3.

I have enclosed a copy of Act 60 for your information.

Sincerely,

  
RICHARD H. AUSTIN  
SECRETARY OF STATE

RHA/bat

Enclosure

STATE OF MICHIGAN  
76TH LEGISLATURE  
REGULAR SESSION OF 1972

Introduced by Reps. Damman and Defebaugh  
Reps. Bradley, Brodhead, Thomas H. Brown, Cramton, Del Rio,  
Dively, Guastello, Kildce, Mahalak, Mahoney, Mastin, Mro-  
zowski, Smart, Smit, Roy Smith, Warner and Davis named as  
co-sponsors

## Enrolled House Bill No. 4901

AN ACT to amend sections 608 and 744 of Act No. 116 of the Public Acts of 1954, entitled "An act to reorganize, consolidate and add to the election laws; to provide for election officials and prescribe their powers and duties; to provide for the nomination and election of candidates for public office; to provide for the resignation, removal and recall of certain public officers; to provide for the filling of vacancies in public office; to provide for and regulate primaries and elections; to provide for the purity of elections; to guard against the abuse of the elective franchise; to define violations of this act; to prescribe the penalties therefor; and to repeal certain acts and all other acts inconsistent herewith," being sections 168.608 and 168.744 of the Compiled Laws of 1948; to add sections 562a, 613 to 620, 623a, 624b, 624c, 624d and 624e; and to repeal certain acts and parts of acts.

*The People of the State of Michigan enact:*

Section 1. Sections 608 and 744 of Act No. 116 of the Public Acts of 1954, being sections 168.608 and 168.744 of the Compiled Laws of 1948, are amended and sections 562a, 613 to 620, 623a, 624b, 624c, 624d and 624e are added to read as follows:

Sec. 562a. In each presidential election year, the delegate ballot shall state that the delegate is uncommitted or shall list the name of the candidate for president of the United States for whom the delegate stated a commitment on his nominating petition pursuant to section 624b. A write-in candidate who is elected pursuant to this act shall be designated as uncommitted. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 626, the names of the candidates for delegates shall be printed on the same ballot and under the same party heading as the candidates for president of that party are printed. Any ballot on which votes are cast under more than 1 party heading is void.

Sec. 608. The board of primary election inspectors shall certify to the county clerk the names of the electors so elected as delegates, naming the political party upon whose ballot such electors were elected and in presidential

election years, the preferences for president or uncommitted status indicated on the delegate ballot pursuant to section 562a. The county clerk shall record the names of the delegates so elected in a book to be kept for that purpose and shall file the book among the records of his office, and no later than 7 days following the primary election, shall notify each delegate so elected of his election as delegate, and shall certify to the chairman of the committee of each political party of the county the delegates elected by such political party as delegates to the county conventions, and in presidential election years, the preferences for president or uncommitted status indicated on the delegate ballot pursuant to section 562a.

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Sec. 613. On the third Tuesday in May, in each presidential election year, a statewide presidential primary election shall be conducted in accordance with this act for each political party that received greater than 5% of the total vote cast nationwide in the last presidential election. In each presidential election year, beginning in 1972, delegates to county conventions shall be elected at the presidential primary election and shall serve until a successor is elected and qualified.

Sec. 614. (1) By 4 p.m. of the first Friday in March in each presidential election year, the secretary of state shall issue a list of the individuals generally advocated by the national news media to be potential presidential candidates for each party's nomination by the political parties for which a presidential primary election will be held pursuant to section 613.

(2) By 4 p.m. of the Tuesday following the first Friday in March in each presidential election year, the state central committee of each political party for which a presidential primary election will be held pursuant to section 613 shall file with the secretary of state a list of individuals whom they consider to be potential presidential candidates for their party.

(3) Forthwith after the issuance of his list and then again after receipt of any names from the various state central committees, the secretary of state shall notify each potential presidential candidate so listed of the provisions of this act relating to the presidential primary election.

Sec. 615. (1) The secretary of state shall cause to be printed on the ballots for the presidential primary under the appropriate political party the name of each presidential candidate who has provided the secretary of state with an affidavit indicating his party preference and willingness to have his name printed on the ballot no later than 4 p.m. of the third Friday in March in each presidential election year. A presidential candidate may withdraw his name from the ballot by notifying the secretary of state no later than 4 p.m. of the third Friday in March in each presidential year. The names of the presidential candidates shall be rotated on the ballot. The ballot shall contain a space for the elector to vote "uncommitted".

(2) An individual who is not listed as a potential presidential candidate in accordance with section 614 shall have his name printed on the ballot and for the purposes of this act, shall be considered in the same manner as all presidential candidates listed, upon presentation to the secretary of state, no later than 4 p.m. of the third Friday in March, nominating petitions for that individual along with an affidavit signed by the individual indicating his party preference and willingness to have his name printed on the ballot. The nominating petitions shall contain the valid signatures of registered qualified electors whose number is at least equal to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1% of the total vote cast in the state at the previous

presidential election for the presidential candidate of the political party of the individual. Signatures shall be obtained starting on January 1 except that in 1972, signatures shall be obtained starting on the effective date of this section. The petitions shall conform to the requirements of this act.

Sec. 616. The secretary of state shall certify the statewide and congressional district results of the presidential primary to the chairman of the state central committee of each participating political party.

Sec. 617. (1) In presidential election years the county convention before the national convention shall be held before the time set for holding the state convention of its political party but no earlier than 7 days following the presidential primary election. The county conventions of the same political party shall be held on the same day and time. The time and place shall be fixed by the state central committee of its political party. In all counties having, or which may hereafter have, 2 or more congressional districts or parts of congressional districts within the boundaries of the county, such congressional districts, or a part of any congressional district within the counties, each shall be considered a county within the provisions of this section for the holding of the county conventions provided for in this section, which shall be in lieu of the county convention.

(2) The delegates to the county conventions of each political party who are elected at the presidential primary election shall convene in a county convention. The county convention shall elect delegates and alternates to a state convention from among candidates who have first designated openly to the county convention the presidential candidate for whom they are committed to vote or that they are uncommitted. Delegates and alternates to the state convention shall be elected through procedures established by the state central committees of the respective political parties participating in the presidential primary. The allotment of state delegates to counties or districts considered a county under section 592 shall be made to insure, as near as is practicable, equal apportionment based upon the total state vote for the secretary of state candidate of the respective party cast in the last general election. Political parties not participating in the presidential primary shall elect their delegates and alternates as provided in section 611.

Sec. 618. The allocation of all delegates and alternates to a national convention shall be made by the state central committee of each party in accordance with the provisions of this act and shall be certified to the secretary of state at least 10 days before the holding of the state convention of this political party. A minimum of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the state's delegates shall be allocated to congressional districts and at least 2 delegates shall be allocated to each district. All delegates shall be registered electors of this state. Delegates elected from congressional districts shall be registered electors of those districts. All national convention delegates shall be chosen according to procedures and any other qualifications, as long as they are not inconsistent with those in this act, as may be established by the state central committee of that political party. Such procedures and qualifications may include, but are not necessarily limited to, provisions to insure representation of minority groups, young persons and women and persons 65 years old or older in reasonable relation to their presence in the population and to guarantee that discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, sex, age, national origin or economic status does not occur.

Sec. 619. (1) The state convention shall be held at least 10 days before the holding of the national convention of its political party. Before the state convention and at a time and place designated by the state central committee, the delegates elected by the respective county conventions shall convene in caucus in congressional districts and the delegates of each congressional district shall elect the number of national convention delegates and alternates that are allocated for that district under section 618 from among candidates who have first designated openly to the caucus the presidential candidate for whom they are committed to vote or that they are uncommitted. The congressional district caucuses shall report to the state convention the names of the delegates elected.

(2) The state convention shall convene and shall elect the balance of the delegates to the national convention of its political party to which it is entitled under the call of the national convention as delegates at large. The delegates shall be elected from among candidates who have first designated openly to the state convention the presidential candidate for whom they are committed to vote or that they are uncommitted.

(3) National convention delegates elected pursuant to this act shall be elected on a basis that insures that the proportion of the total national convention delegation that is uncommitted or is committed to each presidential candidate equals, as near as is practicable, the proportion of the statewide popular vote that was cast as uncommitted or for each respective presidential candidate of the particular political party's total statewide popular vote. The determination of these proportions shall only include the votes cast as uncommitted, or for a particular presidential candidate, if the total statewide vote cast as uncommitted, or for that particular presidential candidate, equals at least 5% of the total statewide vote cast for all presidential candidates or as uncommitted for that political party.

(4) Delegates and alternates to the national convention chosen by the respective congressional districts and reported to the state convention and national convention delegates elected at large at the state convention shall be certified as the state delegation of the political party to its national convention by the chairman and secretary of the state convention. All the national convention delegates shall be bound to vote for the presidential candidate for whom they designated commitment, if any, when they were elected as national delegates, until the end of the second ballot at the national convention, until released from that commitment by the withdrawal of that presidential candidate from contention for that party's nomination or by written release of that presidential candidate to the chairman of the national convention whichever is earliest.

(5) If a vacancy occurs in the elected delegation, it shall be filled by an alternate selected by the caucus for the candidate to whom the original delegate was committed, and the alternate shall be required to meet the same qualifications of the delegate being replaced.

(6) A person who is a delegate to a state or county convention of his political party only by virtue of being a member of the state legislature in such capacity shall not participate directly in the process of selecting delegates to his political party's national convention. Neither this provision nor any other provision of law shall be understood to restrict the opportunity of any registered elector in the state, including all public officials, to be elected as a

delegate to any county, district, state or national convention of his political party.

Sec. 620. All rules, procedures, allocation of national delegates, additional qualifications for delegates and delegations of authority, by any state central committee under the provision of this act relating to presidential primary elections, shall be filed with the secretary of state no later than December 31 of the year preceding the presidential election except that in 1972, such rules, procedures, allocation of national delegates, additional qualifications for delegates or delegations of authority shall be filed with the secretary of state no later than the second Friday of March. If the state central committee of any political party, for which a presidential primary is to be held under section 613, fails to file any rules, procedures, allocation of national delegates, additional qualifications for delegates and delegations of authority necessary for the appropriate implementation of this act relating to presidential primary elections, the secretary of state forthwith shall issue them to the extent necessary. The secretary of state shall insure that all such rules, procedures, allocation of national convention delegates, additional qualifications for delegates, delegations of authority and the general provisions of this act relating to the presidential primary election shall be widely publicized in the mass communications media and made easily available to the public.

Sec. 623a. (1) The chairman of the county committee or district committee considered a county under section 592 of each political party shall forward by mail or deliver to the board of election commissioners in each county on or before the second Tuesday in January in presidential election years a certificate showing the number of delegates to the county conventions to which each precinct of the county is entitled except that for the 1972 presidential primary election, the certificate shall be forwarded by mail or delivered to the board of election commissioners no later than the second Friday in March.

(2) In even numbered years which are not presidential election years the certificate shall be forwarded by mail or delivered to the board of election commissioners at least 90 days before the August primary.

(3) If the chairman fails to have such a certificate forwarded by mail or delivered to the board of election commissioners of any county by the day specified, then that board of election commissioners shall determine forthwith the number of delegates to the county convention which each precinct should elect which is necessary for the appropriate implementation of the provisions of this act.

(4) The allotment of delegates to all precincts in the state shall be made to insure, as near as is practicable, equal apportionment based upon the total vote cast for the candidate of each political party for either president of the United States or secretary of state at the last general election when elections for those offices were held, whichever is later, but each precinct shall have at least 1 delegate.

(5) The apportionment shall be based on the precincts as they exist on January 1 of the presidential election year and as they exist on May 1 in even numbered years which are not presidential election years. Notwithstanding the provisions of sections 656 and 661, the presidential primary election shall be conducted in precincts as they exist on January 1 of the year of a presidential primary election, except that for the 1972 presidential primary election, as they exist on March 1, 1972. The effective date of division of precincts

provided for in sections 656 and 661 shall be the day following the presidential primary election in years in which a presidential primary election is held.

(6) As many delegates in each precinct as a political party is entitled to according to the certificate authorized by the chairman of the county committee or the board of election commissioners shall be elected at the presidential primary in presidential election years and at the August primary in even numbered years which are not presidential election years by direct vote of the registered electors of each political party in the county.

Sec. 624b. (1) In presidential election years the nominating petition of candidates for the office of delegate to the county conventions of each political party may include the name of 1 of the candidates for president of the United States, of the same party as the delegate candidate, whose names are to be printed on the ballots for the presidential primary, as provided in section 615 for whom he will be bound to vote at each stage of the nominating process. If the candidate for the office of delegate wishes to be uncommitted regarding the candidates for president, the petition shall state "uncommitted". The candidate for the office of delegate may indicate his commitment among such presidential candidates, or uncommitted status, on the face of the nominating petition, before obtaining any signatures on the nominating petition. The board of election commissioners shall not accept for filing any petition which does not comply with this subsection.

(2) If elected, the delegate to the county convention shall be bound to vote at each stage of the presidential nomination process for the candidate for president of the United States which was indicated on the delegate ballot, if any.

(3) Those who are not elected as delegates to the county convention but who are elected as delegates to the state convention, shall be bound to vote at each stage of the presidential nomination process for the candidate for president of the United States for whom they first designated openly they are committed to vote, if any, before their election. Delegates to the county conventions and state conventions shall be so bound unless released from that commitment by written notice by the presidential candidate to the chairman of the state central committee or his public withdrawal from contention for that party's nomination.

Sec. 624c. In the presidential primary of 1972, and in each succeeding presidential election year the candidates for the office of delegate to the county conventions of each political party shall file prior to 4 p.m., eastern standard time on the fourth Friday in March and may withdraw no later than 4 p.m. on the following Tuesday. A complaint respecting the validity or genuineness of signatures on a petition shall not be acted upon unless received by the county clerk by 4 p.m. on the Tuesday following the fourth Friday in March.

Sec. 624d. (1) Delegates to county conventions shall not be elected at the primary on August 8, 1972 nor at the primary election in each succeeding presidential election year.

(2) Delegates to county conventions elected August 4, 1970 shall not serve after the 1972 presidential primary election.

(3) Vacancies in precincts resulting from death, written resignation to the county chairman or any other reason, may be filled for the balance of the unexpired term by a majority vote at the county convention of the delegates elected and serving. A vacancy must be filled by a registered elector of the precinct in which the vacancy occurs.

Sec. 624e. (1) The state shall reimburse each county, city and township for the cost of conducting the presidential primary election in the amounts and in the manner as set out herein. Payment shall be made to each county at a rate of \$180.00 for each precinct therein. Five-sixths of that payment shall be paid by the county to the cities and townships in the county in proportion to the number of precincts in each local unit of government.

(2) The state shall reimburse each city and township over 90,000 in population for the actual cost of conducting the presidential primary election to the extent such costs exceed \$150.00 for each precinct therein. Costs shall not include salaries of permanent officials and staff and shall not be allowed in excess of the rate of expenditure per precinct at the last statewide primary election. Payment shall not be made until a verified account of such actual costs has been presented to and approved by the bureau of elections.

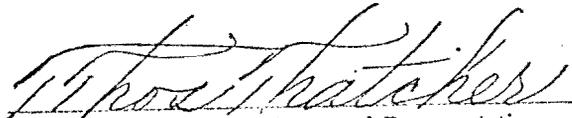
(3) The legislature shall appropriate from the general fund of the state an amount necessary to implement this section.

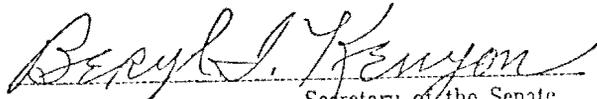
Sec. 744. It shall be unlawful for any inspector of election, or any person in the polling room or any compartment therewith connected, to persuade or endeavor to persuade any person to vote for or against any particular candidate or party ticket, or for or against any proposition which is being voted on at such election. It shall be unlawful for any person to place or distribute stickers, other than stickers provided by the election officials pursuant to law, in the polling room or any compartment therewith connected or within 100 feet from any entrance to the building in which said polling place is located.

It shall be unlawful for any person to solicit donations, gifts, contributions, purchase of tickets, or similar demands, or to request or obtain signatures on petitions in the polling room or any compartment therewith connected or within 100 feet from any entrance to the building in which the polling place is located.

Section 2. Section 623 of Act No. 116 of the Public Acts of 1954, being section 168.623 of the Compiled Laws of 1948, is repealed.

This act is ordered to take immediate effect.

  
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

  
Secretary of the Senate.

Approved \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Governor.





RICHARD H. AUSTIN  
Secretary of State

February 28, 1972

The President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

The Michigan legislature recently enacted a bill providing for a presidential preference primary to be held in this state on May 16, 1972, (Act 60, Public Acts of 1972).

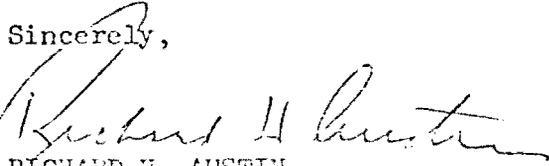
One of the provisions of this bill requires that I, as Secretary of State, prepare a list containing the names of individuals generally advocated by the national news media to be potential presidential candidates. This list must be issued by March 3, 1972.

A candidate whose name has been placed on the list and who desires to have his name printed on the ballot in Michigan must provide the Secretary of State with an affidavit indicating his party preference and his willingness to have his name printed on the ballot. This affidavit must be filed with the Secretary of State no later than 4 p.m. (EST) March 17, 1972. The name of no candidate will be printed on our ballots unless the affidavit signed by him is received by that date. If an affidavit is filed, the name will appear on the ballot unless a withdrawal is filed with the Secretary of State no later than 4 p.m. (EST) March 17, 1972.

At present I am preparing the required list. It is my plan to include your name on this list. This letter is an indication of my intention to do so, thereby affording you a few extra days in which to file the needed affidavit if you wish to appear on the preferential ballot. Please do not date any such reply prior to March 3.

I have enclosed a copy of Act 60 for your information.

Sincerely,

  
RICHARD H. AUSTIN  
SECRETARY OF STATE

RHA/bat

Enclosure

STATE OF MICHIGAN  
76TH LEGISLATURE  
REGULAR SESSION OF 1972

Introduced by Reps. Damman and Defebaugh  
Reps. Bradley, Brodhead, Thomas H. Brown, Cramton, Del Rio,  
Dively, Guastello, Kildee, Mahalak, Mahoney, Mastin, Mro-  
zowski, Smart, Smit, Roy Smith, Warner and Davis named as  
co-sponsors

**Enrolled House Bill No. 4901**

AN ACT to amend sections 608 and 744 of Act No. 116 of the Public Acts of 1954, entitled "An act to reorganize, consolidate and add to the election laws; to provide for election officials and prescribe their powers and duties; to provide for the nomination and election of candidates for public office; to provide for the resignation, removal and recall of certain public officers; to provide for the filling of vacancies in public office; to provide for and regulate primaries and elections; to provide for the purity of elections; to guard against the abuse of the elective franchise; to define violations of this act; to prescribe the penalties therefor; and to repeal certain acts and all other acts inconsistent herewith," being sections 16S.608 and 16S.744 of the Compiled Laws of 1948; to add sections 562a, 613 to 620, 623a, 624b, 624c, 624d and 624e; and to repeal certain acts and parts of acts.

*The People of the State of Michigan enact:*

Section 1. Sections 608 and 744 of Act No. 116 of the Public Acts of 1954, being sections 16S.608 and 16S.744 of the Compiled Laws of 1948, are amended and sections 562a, 613 to 620, 623a, 624b, 624c, 624d and 624e are added to read as follows:

Sec. 562a. In each presidential election year, the delegate ballot shall state that the delegate is uncommitted or shall list the name of the candidate for president of the United States for whom the delegate stated a commitment on his nominating petition pursuant to section 624b. A write-in candidate who is elected pursuant to this act shall be designated as uncommitted. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 626, the names of the candidates for delegates shall be printed on the same ballot and under the same party heading as the candidates for president of that party are printed. Any ballot on which votes are cast under more than 1 party heading is void.

Sec. 608. The board of primary election inspectors shall certify to the county clerk the names of the electors so elected as delegates, naming the political party upon whose ballot such electors were elected and in presidential

election years, the preferences for president or uncommitted status indicated on the delegate ballot pursuant to section 562a. The county clerk shall record the names of the delegates so elected in a book to be kept for that purpose and shall file the book among the records of his office, and no later than 7 days following the primary election, shall notify each delegate so elected of his election as delegate, and shall certify to the chairman of the committee of each political party of the county the delegates elected by such political party as delegates to the county conventions, and in presidential election years, the preferences for president or uncommitted status indicated on the delegate ballot pursuant to section 562a.

Sec. 613. On the third Tuesday in May, in each presidential election year, a statewide presidential primary election shall be conducted in accordance with this act for each political party that received greater than 5% of the total vote cast nationwide in the last presidential election. In each presidential election year, beginning in 1972, delegates to county conventions shall be elected at the presidential primary election and shall serve until a successor is elected and qualified.

Sec. 614. (1) By 4 p.m. of the first Friday in March in each presidential election year, the secretary of state shall issue a list of the individuals generally advocated by the national news media to be potential presidential candidates for each party's nomination by the political parties for which a presidential primary election will be held pursuant to section 613.

(2) By 4 p.m. of the Tuesday following the first Friday in March in each presidential election year, the state central committee of each political party for which a presidential primary election will be held pursuant to section 613 shall file with the secretary of state a list of individuals whom they consider to be potential presidential candidates for their party.

(3) Forthwith after the issuance of his list and then again after receipt of any names from the various state central committees, the secretary of state shall notify each potential presidential candidate so listed of the provisions of this act relating to the presidential primary election.

Sec. 615. (1) The secretary of state shall cause to be printed on the ballots for the presidential primary under the appropriate political party the name of each presidential candidate who has provided the secretary of state with an affidavit indicating his party preference and willingness to have his name printed on the ballot no later than 4 p.m. of the third Friday in March in each presidential election year. A presidential candidate may withdraw his name from the ballot by notifying the secretary of state no later than 4 p.m. of the third Friday in March in each presidential year. The names of the presidential candidates shall be rotated on the ballot. The ballot shall contain a space for the elector to vote "uncommitted".

(2) An individual who is not listed as a potential presidential candidate in accordance with section 614 shall have his name printed on the ballot and for the purposes of this act, shall be considered in the same manner as all presidential candidates listed, upon presentation to the secretary of state, no later than 4 p.m. of the third Friday in March, nominating petitions for that individual along with an affidavit signed by the individual indicating his party preference and willingness to have his name printed on the ballot. The nominating petitions shall contain the valid signatures of registered qualified electors whose number is at least equal to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1% of the total vote cast in the state at the previous

presidential election for the presidential candidate of the political party of the individual. Signatures shall be obtained starting on January 1 except that in 1972, signatures shall be obtained starting on the effective date of this section. The petitions shall conform to the requirements of this act.

Sec. 616. The secretary of state shall certify the statewide and congressional district results of the presidential primary to the chairman of the state central committee of each participating political party.

Sec. 617. (1) In presidential election years the county convention before the national convention shall be held before the time set for holding the state convention of its political party but no earlier than 7 days following the presidential primary election. The county conventions of the same political party shall be held on the same day and time. The time and place shall be fixed by the state central committee of its political party. In all counties having, or which may hereafter have, 2 or more congressional districts or parts of congressional districts within the boundaries of the county, such congressional districts, or a part of any congressional district within the counties, each shall be considered a county within the provisions of this section for the holding of the county conventions provided for in this section, which shall be in lieu of the county convention.

(2) The delegates to the county conventions of each political party who are elected at the presidential primary election shall convene in a county convention. The county convention shall elect delegates and alternates to a state convention from among candidates who have first designated openly to the county convention the presidential candidate for whom they are committed to vote or that they are uncommitted. Delegates and alternates to the state convention shall be elected through procedures established by the state central committees of the respective political parties participating in the presidential primary. The allotment of state delegates to counties or districts considered a county under section 592 shall be made to insure, as near as is practicable, equal apportionment based upon the total state vote for the secretary of state candidate of the respective party cast in the last general election. Political parties not participating in the presidential primary shall elect their delegates and alternates as provided in section 611.

Sec. 618. The allocation of all delegates and alternates to a national convention shall be made by the state central committee of each party in accordance with the provisions of this act and shall be certified to the secretary of state at least 10 days before the holding of the state convention of this political party. A minimum of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the state's delegates shall be allocated to congressional districts and at least 2 delegates shall be allocated to each district. All delegates shall be registered electors of this state. Delegates elected from congressional districts shall be registered electors of those districts. All national convention delegates shall be chosen according to procedures and any other qualifications, as long as they are not inconsistent with those in this act, as may be established by the state central committee of that political party. Such procedures and qualifications may include, but are not necessarily limited to, provisions to insure representation of minority groups, young persons and women and persons 65 years old or older in reasonable relation to their presence in the population and to guarantee that discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, sex, age, national origin or economic status does not occur.

Sec. 619. (1) The state convention shall be held at least 10 days before the holding of the national convention of its political party. Before the state convention and at a time and place designated by the state central committee, the delegates elected by the respective county conventions shall convene in caucus in congressional districts and the delegates of each congressional district shall elect the number of national convention delegates and alternates that are allocated for that district under section 618 from among candidates who have first designated openly to the caucus the presidential candidate for whom they are committed to vote or that they are uncommitted. The congressional district caucuses shall report to the state convention the names of the delegates elected.

(2) The state convention shall convene and shall elect the balance of the delegates to the national convention of its political party to which it is entitled under the call of the national convention as delegates at large. The delegates shall be elected from among candidates who have first designated openly to the state convention the presidential candidate for whom they are committed to vote or that they are uncommitted.

(3) National convention delegates elected pursuant to this act shall be elected on a basis that insures that the proportion of the total national convention delegation that is uncommitted or is committed to each presidential candidate equals, as near as is practicable, the proportion of the statewide popular vote that was cast as uncommitted or for each respective presidential candidate of the particular political party's total statewide popular vote. The determination of these proportions shall only include the votes cast as uncommitted, or for a particular presidential candidate, if the total statewide vote cast as uncommitted, or for that particular presidential candidate, equals at least 5% of the total statewide vote cast for all presidential candidates or as uncommitted for that political party.

(4) Delegates and alternates to the national convention chosen by the respective congressional districts and reported to the state convention and national convention delegates elected at large at the state convention shall be certified as the state delegation of the political party to its national convention by the chairman and secretary of the state convention. All the national convention delegates shall be bound to vote for the presidential candidate for whom they designated commitment, if any, when they were elected as national delegates, until the end of the second ballot at the national convention, until released from that commitment by the withdrawal of that presidential candidate from contention for that party's nomination or by written release of that presidential candidate to the chairman of the national convention whichever is earliest.

(5) If a vacancy occurs in the elected delegation, it shall be filled by an alternate selected by the caucus for the candidate to whom the original delegate was committed, and the alternate shall be required to meet the same qualifications of the delegate being replaced.

(6) A person who is a delegate to a state or county convention of his political party only by virtue of being a member of the state legislature in such capacity shall not participate directly in the process of selecting delegates to his political party's national convention. Neither this provision nor any other provision of law shall be understood to restrict the opportunity of any registered elector in the state, including all public officials, to be elected as a

delegate to any county, district, state or national convention of his political party.

Sec. 620. All rules, procedures, allocation of national delegates, additional qualifications for delegates and delegations of authority, by any state central committee under the provision of this act relating to presidential primary elections, shall be filed with the secretary of state no later than December 31 of the year preceding the presidential election except that in 1972, such rules, procedures, allocation of national delegates, additional qualifications for delegates or delegations of authority shall be filed with the secretary of state no later than the second Friday of March. If the state central committee of any political party, for which a presidential primary is to be held under section 613, fails to file any rules, procedures, allocation of national delegates, additional qualifications for delegates and delegations of authority necessary for the appropriate implementation of this act relating to presidential primary elections, the secretary of state forthwith shall issue them to the extent necessary. The secretary of state shall insure that all such rules, procedures, allocation of national convention delegates, additional qualifications for delegates, delegations of authority and the general provisions of this act relating to the presidential primary election shall be widely publicized in the mass communications media and made easily available to the public.

Sec. 623a. (1) The chairman of the county committee or district committee considered a county under section 592 of each political party shall forward by mail or deliver to the board of election commissioners in each county on or before the second Tuesday in January in presidential election years a certificate showing the number of delegates to the county conventions to which each precinct of the county is entitled except that for the 1972 presidential primary election, the certificate shall be forwarded by mail or delivered to the board of election commissioners no later than the second Friday in March.

(2) In even numbered years which are not presidential election years the certificate shall be forwarded by mail or delivered to the board of election commissioners at least 90 days before the August primary.

(3) If the chairman fails to have such a certificate forwarded by mail or delivered to the board of election commissioners of any county by the day specified, then that board of election commissioners shall determine forthwith the number of delegates to the county convention which each precinct should elect which is necessary for the appropriate implementation of the provisions of this act.

(4) The allotment of delegates to all precincts in the state shall be made to insure, as near as is practicable, equal apportionment based upon the total vote cast for the candidate of each political party for either president of the United States or secretary of state at the last general election when elections for those offices were held, whichever is later, but each precinct shall have at least 1 delegate.

(5) The apportionment shall be based on the precincts as they exist on January 1 of the presidential election year and as they exist on May 1 in even numbered years which are not presidential election years. Notwithstanding the provisions of sections 656 and 661, the presidential primary election shall be conducted in precincts as they exist on January 1 of the year of a presidential primary election, except that for the 1972 presidential primary election, as they exist on March 1, 1972. The effective date of division of precincts

provided for in sections 656 and 661 shall be the day following the presidential primary election in years in which a presidential primary election is held.

(6) As many delegates in each precinct as a political party is entitled to according to the certificate authorized by the chairman of the county committee or the board of election commissioners shall be elected at the presidential primary in presidential election years and at the August primary in even numbered years which are not presidential election years by direct vote of the registered electors of each political party in the county.

Sec. 624b. (1) In presidential election years the nominating petition of candidates for the office of delegate to the county conventions of each political party may include the name of 1 of the candidates for president of the United States, of the same party as the delegate candidate, whose names are to be printed on the ballots for the presidential primary, as provided in section 615 for whom he will be bound to vote at each stage of the nominating process. If the candidate for the office of delegate wishes to be uncommitted regarding the candidates for president, the petition shall state "uncommitted". The candidate for the office of delegate may indicate his commitment among such presidential candidates, or uncommitted status, on the face of the nominating petition, before obtaining any signatures on the nominating petition. The board of election commissioners shall not accept for filing any petition which does not comply with this subsection.

(2) If elected, the delegate to the county convention shall be bound to vote at each stage of the presidential nomination process for the candidate for president of the United States which was indicated on the delegate ballot, if any.

(3) Those who are not elected as delegates to the county convention but who are elected as delegates to the state convention, shall be bound to vote at each stage of the presidential nomination process for the candidate for president of the United States for whom they first designated openly they are committed to vote, if any, before their election. Delegates to the county conventions and state conventions shall be so bound unless released from that commitment by written notice by the presidential candidate to the chairman of the state central committee or his public withdrawal from contention for that party's nomination.

Sec. 624c. In the presidential primary of 1972, and in each succeeding presidential election year the candidates for the office of delegate to the county conventions of each political party shall file prior to 4 p.m., eastern standard time on the fourth Friday in March and may withdraw no later than 4 p.m. on the following Tuesday. A complaint respecting the validity or genuineness of signatures on a petition shall not be acted upon unless received by the county clerk by 4 p.m. on the Tuesday following the fourth Friday in March.

Sec. 624d. (1) Delegates to county conventions shall not be elected at the primary on August 8, 1972 nor at the primary election in each succeeding presidential election year.

(2) Delegates to county conventions elected August 4, 1970 shall not serve after the 1972 presidential primary election.

(3) Vacancies in precincts resulting from death, written resignation to the county chairman or any other reason, may be filled for the balance of the unexpired term by a majority vote at the county convention of the delegates elected and serving. A vacancy must be filled by a registered elector of the precinct in which the vacancy occurs.

Sec. 624c. (1) The state shall reimburse each county, city and township for the cost of conducting the presidential primary election in the amounts and in the manner as set out herein. Payment shall be made to each county at a rate of \$150.00 for each precinct therein. Five-sixths of that payment shall be paid by the county to the cities and townships in the county in proportion to the number of precincts in each local unit of government.

(2) The state shall reimburse each city and township over 90,000 in population for the actual cost of conducting the presidential primary election to the extent such costs exceed \$150.00 for each precinct therein. Costs shall not include salaries of permanent officials and staff and shall not be allowed in excess of the rate of expenditure per precinct at the last statewide primary election. Payment shall not be made until a verified account of such actual costs has been presented to and approved by the bureau of elections.

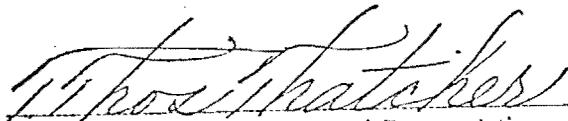
(3) The legislature shall appropriate from the general fund of the state an amount necessary to implement this section.

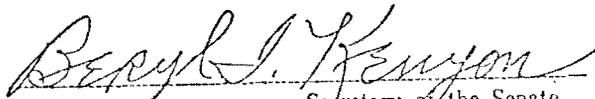
Sec. 744. It shall be unlawful for any inspector of election, or any person in the polling room or any compartment therewith connected, to persuade or endeavor to persuade any person to vote for or against any particular candidate or party ticket, or for or against any proposition which is being voted on at such election. It shall be unlawful for any person to place or distribute stickers, other than stickers provided by the election officials pursuant to law, in the polling room or any compartment therewith connected or within 100 feet from any entrance to the building in which said polling place is located.

It shall be unlawful for any person to solicit donations, gifts, contributions, purchase of tickets, or similar demands, or to request or obtain signatures on petitions in the polling room or any compartment therewith connected or within 100 feet from any entrance to the building in which the polling place is located.

Section 2. Section 623 of Act No. 116 of the Public Acts of 1954, being section 168.623 of the Compiled Laws of 1948, is repealed.

This act is ordered to take immediate effect.

  
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

  
Secretary of the Senate.

Approved \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Governor.





*Michigan*  
Department of State

Lansing, Michigan 48918

RICHARD H. AUSTIN  
Secretary of State

February 28, 1972

The President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

The Michigan Legislature recently enacted a bill providing for a presidential preference primary to be held in this state on May 16, 1972, (Act 60, Public Acts of 1972).

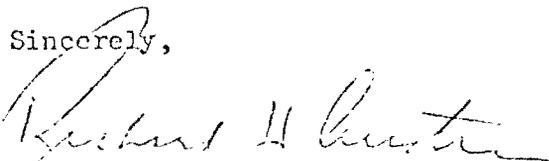
One of the provisions of this bill requires that I, as Secretary of State, prepare a list containing the names of individuals generally advocated by the national news media to be potential presidential candidates. This list must be issued by March 3, 1972.

A candidate whose name has been placed on the list and who desires to have his name printed on the ballot in Michigan must provide the Secretary of State with an affidavit indicating his party preference and his willingness to have his name printed on the ballot. This affidavit must be filed with the Secretary of State no later than 4 p.m. (EST) March 17, 1972. The name of no candidate will be printed on our ballots unless the affidavit signed by him is received by that date. If an affidavit is filed, the name will appear on the ballot unless a withdrawal is filed with the Secretary of State no later than 4 p.m. (EST) March 17, 1972.

At present I am preparing the required list. It is my plan to include your name on this list. This letter is an indication of my intention to do so, thereby affording you a few extra days in which to file the needed affidavit if you wish to appear on the preferential ballot. Please do not date any such reply prior to March 3.

I have enclosed a copy of Act 60 for your information.

Sincerely,

  
RICHARD H. AUSTIN  
SECRETARY OF STATE

RHA/bat

Enclosure

STATE OF MICHIGAN  
76TH LEGISLATURE  
REGULAR SESSION OF 1972

Introduced by Reps. Damman and Defebaugh  
Reps. Bradley, Brodhead, Thomas H. Brown, Cramton, Del Rio,  
Dively, Guastello, Kildee, Mahalak, Mahoney, Mastin, Mro-  
zowski, Smart, Smit, Roy Smith, Warner and Davis named as  
co-sponsors

## Enrolled House Bill No. 4901

AN ACT to amend sections 608 and 744 of Act No. 116 of the Public Acts of 1954, entitled "An act to reorganize, consolidate and add to the election laws; to provide for election officials and prescribe their powers and duties; to provide for the nomination and election of candidates for public office; to provide for the resignation, removal and recall of certain public officers; to provide for the filling of vacancies in public office; to provide for and regulate primaries and elections; to provide for the purity of elections; to guard against the abuse of the elective franchise; to define violations of this act; to prescribe the penalties therefor; and to repeal certain acts and all other acts inconsistent herewith," being sections 168.608 and 168.744 of the Compiled Laws of 1948; to add sections 562a, 613 to 620, 623a, 624b, 624c, 624d and 624e; and to repeal certain acts and parts of acts.

*The People of the State of Michigan enact:*

Section 1. Sections 608 and 744 of Act No. 116 of the Public Acts of 1954, being sections 168.608 and 168.744 of the Compiled Laws of 1948, are amended and sections 562a, 613 to 620, 623a, 624b, 624c, 624d and 624e are added to read as follows:

Sec. 562a. In each presidential election year, the delegate ballot shall state that the delegate is uncommitted or shall list the name of the candidate for president of the United States for whom the delegate stated a commitment on his nominating petition pursuant to section 624b. A write-in candidate who is elected pursuant to this act shall be designated as uncommitted. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 626, the names of the candidates for delegates shall be printed on the same ballot and under the same party heading as the candidates for president of that party are printed. Any ballot on which votes are cast under more than 1 party heading is void.

Sec. 608. The board of primary election inspectors shall certify to the county clerk the names of the electors so elected as delegates, naming the political party upon whose ballot such electors were elected and in presidential

election years, the preferences for president or uncommitted status indicated on the delegate ballot pursuant to section 562a. The county clerk shall record the names of the delegates so elected in a book to be kept for that purpose and shall file the book among the records of his office, and no later than 7 days following the primary election, shall notify each delegate so elected of his election as delegate, and shall certify to the chairman of the committee of each political party of the county the delegates elected by such political party as delegates to the county conventions, and in presidential election years, the preferences for president or uncommitted status indicated on the delegate ballot pursuant to section 562a.

Sec. 613. On the third Tuesday in May, in each presidential election year, a statewide presidential primary election shall be conducted in accordance with this act for each political party that received greater than 5% of the total vote cast nationwide in the last presidential election. In each presidential election year, beginning in 1972, delegates to county conventions shall be elected at the presidential primary election and shall serve until a successor is elected and qualified.

Sec. 614. (1) By 4 p.m. of the first Friday in March in each presidential election year, the secretary of state shall issue a list of the individuals generally advocated by the national news media to be potential presidential candidates for each party's nomination by the political parties for which a presidential primary election will be held pursuant to section 613.

(2) By 4 p.m. of the Tuesday following the first Friday in March in each presidential election year, the state central committee of each political party for which a presidential primary election will be held pursuant to section 613 shall file with the secretary of state a list of individuals whom they consider to be potential presidential candidates for their party.

(3) Forthwith after the issuance of his list and then again after receipt of any names from the various state central committees, the secretary of state shall notify each potential presidential candidate so listed of the provisions of this act relating to the presidential primary election.

Sec. 615. (1) The secretary of state shall cause to be printed on the ballots for the presidential primary under the appropriate political party the name of each presidential candidate who has provided the secretary of state with an affidavit indicating his party preference and willingness to have his name printed on the ballot no later than 4 p.m. of the third Friday in March in each presidential election year. A presidential candidate may withdraw his name from the ballot by notifying the secretary of state no later than 4 p.m. of the third Friday in March in each presidential year. The names of the presidential candidates shall be rotated on the ballot. The ballot shall contain a space for the elector to vote "uncommitted".

(2) An individual who is not listed as a potential presidential candidate in accordance with section 614 shall have his name printed on the ballot and for the purposes of this act, shall be considered in the same manner as all presidential candidates listed, upon presentation to the secretary of state, no later than 4 p.m. of the third Friday in March, nominating petitions for that individual along with an affidavit signed by the individual indicating his party preference and willingness to have his name printed on the ballot. The nominating petitions shall contain the valid signatures of registered qualified electors whose number is at least equal to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1% of the total vote cast in the state at the previous

presidential election for the presidential candidate of the political party of the individual. Signatures shall be obtained starting on January 1 except that in 1972, signatures shall be obtained starting on the effective date of this section. The petitions shall conform to the requirements of this act.

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Sec. 617. (1) In presidential election years the county convention before the national convention shall be held before the time set for holding the state convention of its political party but no earlier than 7 days following the presidential primary election. The county conventions of the same political party shall be held on the same day and time. The time and place shall be fixed by the state central committee of its political party. In all counties having, or which may hereafter have, 2 or more congressional districts or parts of congressional districts within the boundaries of the county, such congressional districts, or a part of any congressional district within the counties, each shall be considered a county within the provisions of this section for the holding of the county conventions provided for in this section, which shall be in lieu of the county convention.

(2) The delegates to the county conventions of each political party who are elected at the presidential primary election shall convene in a county convention. The county convention shall elect delegates and alternates to a state convention from among candidates who have first designated openly to the county convention the presidential candidate for whom they are committed to vote or that they are uncommitted. Delegates and alternates to the state convention shall be elected through procedures established by the state central committees of the respective political parties participating in the presidential primary. The allotment of state delegates to counties or districts considered a county under section 502 shall be made to insure, as near as is practicable, equal apportionment based upon the total state vote for the secretary of state candidate of the respective party cast in the last general election. Political parties not participating in the presidential primary shall elect their delegates and alternates as provided in section 611.

Sec. 618. The allocation of all delegates and alternates to a national convention shall be made by the state central committee of each party in accordance with the provisions of this act and shall be certified to the secretary of state at least 10 days before the holding of the state convention of this political party. A minimum of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the state's delegates shall be allocated to congressional districts and at least 2 delegates shall be allocated to each district. All delegates shall be registered electors of this state. Delegates elected from congressional districts shall be registered electors of those districts. All national convention delegates shall be chosen according to procedures and any other qualifications, as long as they are not inconsistent with those in this act, as may be established by the state central committee of that political party. Such procedures and qualifications may include, but are not necessarily limited to, provisions to insure representation of minority groups, young persons and women and persons 65 years old or older in reasonable relation to their presence in the population and to guarantee that discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, sex, age, national origin or economic status does not occur.

Sec. 619. (1) The state convention shall be held at least 10 days before the holding of the national convention of its political party. Before the state convention and at a time and place designated by the state central committee, the delegates elected by the respective county conventions shall convene in caucus in congressional districts and the delegates of each congressional district shall elect the number of national convention delegates and alternates that are allocated for that district under section 618 from among candidates who have first designated openly to the caucus the presidential candidate for whom they are committed to vote or that they are uncommitted. The congressional district caucuses shall report to the state convention the names of the delegates elected.

(2) The state convention shall convene and shall elect the balance of the delegates to the national convention of its political party to which it is entitled under the call of the national convention as delegates at large. The delegates shall be elected from among candidates who have first designated openly to the state convention the presidential candidate for whom they are committed to vote or that they are uncommitted.

(3) National convention delegates elected pursuant to this act shall be elected on a basis that insures that the proportion of the total national convention delegation that is uncommitted or is committed to each presidential candidate equals, as near as is practicable, the proportion of the statewide popular vote that was cast as uncommitted or for each respective presidential candidate of the particular political party's total statewide popular vote. The determination of these proportions shall only include the votes cast as uncommitted, or for a particular presidential candidate, if the total statewide vote cast as uncommitted, or for that particular presidential candidate, equals at least 5% of the total statewide vote cast for all presidential candidates or as uncommitted for that political party.

(4) Delegates and alternates to the national convention chosen by the respective congressional districts and reported to the state convention and national convention delegates elected at large at the state convention shall be certified as the state delegation of the political party to its national convention by the chairman and secretary of the state convention. All the national convention delegates shall be bound to vote for the presidential candidate for whom they designated commitment, if any, when they were elected as national delegates, until the end of the second ballot at the national convention, until released from that commitment by the withdrawal of that presidential candidate from contention for that party's nomination or by written release of that presidential candidate to the chairman of the national convention whichever is earliest.

(5) If a vacancy occurs in the elected delegation, it shall be filled by an alternate selected by the caucus for the candidate to whom the original delegate was committed, and the alternate shall be required to meet the same qualifications of the delegate being replaced.

(6) A person who is a delegate to a state or county convention of his political party only by virtue of being a member of the state legislature in such capacity shall not participate directly in the process of selecting delegates to his political party's national convention. Neither this provision nor any other provision of law shall be understood to restrict the opportunity of any registered elector in the state, including all public officials, to be elected as a

delegate to any county, district, state or national convention of his political party.

Sec. 620. All rules, procedures, allocation of national delegates, additional qualifications for delegates and delegations of authority, by any state central committee under the provision of this act relating to presidential primary elections, shall be filed with the secretary of state no later than December 31 of the year preceding the presidential election except that in 1972, such rules, procedures, allocation of national delegates, additional qualifications for delegates or delegations of authority shall be filed with the secretary of state no later than the second Friday of March. If the state central committee of any political party, for which a presidential primary is to be held under section 613, fails to file any rules, procedures, allocation of national delegates, additional qualifications for delegates and delegations of authority necessary for the appropriate implementation of this act relating to presidential primary elections, the secretary of state forthwith shall issue them to the extent necessary. The secretary of state shall insure that all such rules, procedures, allocation of national convention delegates, additional qualifications for delegates, delegations of authority and the general provisions of this act relating to the presidential primary election shall be widely publicized in the mass communications media and made easily available to the public.

Sec. 623a. (1) The chairman of the county committee or district committee considered a county under section 592 of each political party shall forward by mail or deliver to the board of election commissioners in each county on or before the second Tuesday in January in presidential election years a certificate showing the number of delegates to the county conventions to which each precinct of the county is entitled except that for the 1972 presidential primary election, the certificate shall be forwarded by mail or delivered to the board of election commissioners no later than the second Friday in March.

(2) In even numbered years which are not presidential election years the certificate shall be forwarded by mail or delivered to the board of election commissioners at least 90 days before the August primary.

(3) If the chairman fails to have such a certificate forwarded by mail or delivered to the board of election commissioners of any county by the day specified, then that board of election commissioners shall determine forthwith the number of delegates to the county convention which each precinct should elect which is necessary for the appropriate implementation of the provisions of this act.

(4) The allotment of delegates to all precincts in the state shall be made to insure, as near as is practicable, equal apportionment based upon the total vote cast for the candidate of each political party for either president of the United States or secretary of state at the last general election when elections for those offices were held, whichever is later, but each precinct shall have at least 1 delegate.

(5) The apportionment shall be based on the precincts as they exist on January 1 of the presidential election year and as they exist on May 1 in even numbered years which are not presidential election years. Notwithstanding the provisions of sections 656 and 661, the presidential primary election shall be conducted in precincts as they exist on January 1 of the year of a presidential primary election, except that for the 1972 presidential primary election, as they exist on March 1, 1972. The effective date of division of precincts

provided for in sections 656 and 661 shall be the day following the presidential primary election in years in which a presidential primary election is held.

(6) As many delegates in each precinct as a political party is entitled to according to the certificate authorized by the chairman of the county committee or the board of election commissioners shall be elected at the presidential primary in presidential election years and at the August primary in even numbered years which are not presidential election years by direct vote of the registered electors of each political party in the county.

Sec. 624b. (1) In presidential election years the nominating petition of candidates for the office of delegate to the county conventions of each political party may include the name of 1 of the candidates for president of the United States, of the same party as the delegate candidate, whose names are to be printed on the ballots for the presidential primary, as provided in section 615 for whom he will be bound to vote at each stage of the nominating process. If the candidate for the office of delegate wishes to be uncommitted regarding the candidates for president, the petition shall state "uncommitted". The candidate for the office of delegate may indicate his commitment among such presidential candidates, or uncommitted status, on the face of the nominating petition, before obtaining any signatures on the nominating petition. The board of election commissioners shall not accept for filing any petition which does not comply with this subsection.

(2) If elected, the delegate to the county convention shall be bound to vote at each stage of the presidential nomination process for the candidate for president of the United States which was indicated on the delegate ballot, if any.

(3) Those who are not elected as delegates to the county convention but who are elected as delegates to the state convention, shall be bound to vote at each stage of the presidential nomination process for the candidate for president of the United States for whom they first designated openly they are committed to vote, if any, before their election. Delegates to the county conventions and state conventions shall be so bound unless released from that commitment by written notice by the presidential candidate to the chairman of the state central committee or his public withdrawal from contention for that party's nomination.

Sec. 624c. In the presidential primary of 1972, and in each succeeding presidential election year the candidates for the office of delegate to the county conventions of each political party shall file prior to 4 p.m., eastern standard time on the fourth Friday in March and may withdraw no later than 4 p.m. on the following Tuesday. A complaint respecting the validity or genuineness of signatures on a petition shall not be acted upon unless received by the county clerk by 4 p.m. on the Tuesday following the fourth Friday in March.

Sec. 624d. (1) Delegates to county conventions shall not be elected at the primary on August 8, 1972 nor at the primary election in each succeeding presidential election year.

(2) Delegates to county conventions elected August 4, 1970 shall not serve after the 1972 presidential primary election.

(3) Vacancies in precincts resulting from death, written resignation to the county chairman or any other reason, may be filled for the balance of the unexpired term by a majority vote at the county convention of the delegates elected and serving. A vacancy must be filled by a registered elector of the precinct in which the vacancy occurs.

Sec. 624e. (1) The state shall reimburse each county, city and township for the cost of conducting the presidential primary election in the amounts and in the manner as set out herein. Payment shall be made to each county at a rate of \$150.00 for each precinct therein. Five-sixths of that payment shall be paid by the county to the cities and townships in the county in proportion to the number of precincts in each local unit of government.

(2) The state shall reimburse each city and township over 90,000 in population for the actual cost of conducting the presidential primary election to the extent such costs exceed \$150.00 for each precinct therein. Costs shall not include salaries of permanent officials and staff and shall not be allowed in excess of the rate of expenditure per precinct at the last statewide primary election. Payment shall not be made until a verified account of such actual costs has been presented to and approved by the bureau of elections.

(3) The legislature shall appropriate from the general fund of the state an amount necessary to implement this section.

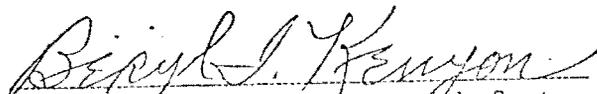
Sec. 744. It shall be unlawful for any inspector of election, or any person in the polling room or any compartment therewith connected, to persuade or endeavor to persuade any person to vote for or against any particular candidate or party ticket, or for or against any proposition which is being voted on at such election. It shall be unlawful for any person to place or distribute stickers, other than stickers provided by the election officials pursuant to law, in the polling room or any compartment therewith connected or within 100 feet from any entrance to the building in which said polling place is located.

It shall be unlawful for any person to solicit donations, gifts, contributions, purchase of tickets, or similar demands, or to request or obtain signatures on petitions in the polling room or any compartment therewith connected or within 100 feet from any entrance to the building in which the polling place is located.

Section 2. Section 623 of Act No. 116 of the Public Acts of 1954, being section 16S.623 of the Compiled Laws of 1948, is repealed.

This act is ordered to take immediate effect.

  
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

  
Secretary of the Senate.

Approved \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Governor.



JS

March 1, 1972

Dear Mr. Musante:

Mr. Haldeman had departed for China when your note dated February 15, 1972 arrived, so I am responding in his absence.

I have learned from the Veterans Administration that your wife has accepted a job, and we are pleased to learn that all has worked out for you.

I'm sure Mr. Haldeman would want me to extend his best wishes.

Sincerely,

Gordon Strachan  
Staff Assistant  
to H. R. Haldeman

Mr. John E. Musante  
Post Office Box 1348  
Santa Monica, California 90406

GS:bef

March 1, 1972 ~~PU~~ ~~XXR~~ March 4

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB MARIK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Maryland Primary

Attached is a copy of the letter to the President regarding whether he will enter the Maryland Presidential Preference Primary. The original is held by Noble Melencamp.

Will you please advise me of your decision regarding this matter at your earliest convenience? You will notice that an affidavit must be executed by March 23, 1972.

By the way, how are we doing with the North Carolina matter? I believe the deadline is March 6.

GS:car

6754

STATE OF MARYLAND  
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT  
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND 21404

FRED L. WINELAND  
SECRETARY OF STATE

February 28, 1972

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

It is my pleasure to inform you that pursuant to the provisions of Article 33, Section 12-2(a)(1), Annotated Code of Maryland (1971 Supplement), I shall direct that your name be placed on the Maryland Presidential Preference Primary Ballot unless I receive from you within the time set forth by law an affidavit stating without qualification that you are not and do not intend to become a candidate for the office of President of the United States at the forthcoming 1972 Presidential Election.

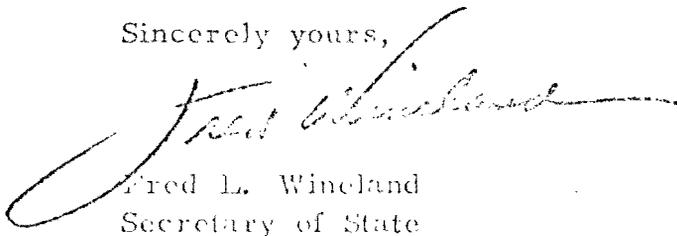
For your convenience, I have enclosed an excerpt from the current Primary Election Law of Maryland, and direct your special attention to the section and subsection referenced above.

If you should desire that your name not appear on the Maryland Presidential Preference Primary Ballot, I must be in receipt of an affidavit executed by you no later than 5:00 p.m., Eastern Standard Time, Thursday, March 23, 1972. For your further convenience, I have enclosed a form of affidavit which complies with the requirements of Maryland law.

If you should have any questions, please contact me at your earliest possible convenience. My telephone number in Annapolis is (301) 267-5421.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,



Fred L. Wineland  
Secretary of State

AFFIDAVIT

I, \_\_\_\_\_, being first duly

sworn, do solemnly declare and affirm without qualification that I am not now and do not intend to become a candidate for the office of President of the United States at the forthcoming 1972 Presidential Election.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Affiant

State of: \_\_\_\_\_

County of: \_\_\_\_\_, to wit:

I hereby certify that on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 1972, before me, the subscriber, a notary public of the State of \_\_\_\_\_, in and for the county of \_\_\_\_\_, personally appeared \_\_\_\_\_ and made oath (or affirmation) in due form of law that the matters and facts set forth in the Affidavit appearing above are true.

As witness, my hand and notarial seal.

(Notary Seal)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Notary Public

\_\_\_\_\_  
Typed or Printed Name of Notary

My Commission Expires: \_\_\_\_\_

Send or Deliver in Person To: The Honorable Fred L. Winland  
Secretary of State  
State House  
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

## § 12-1. Delegates to national conventions.

(a) *Selection of delegates.*—The total number of delegates and alternate delegates to represent the respective political parties at their respective national conventions shall be ascertained and determined by the governing body of each party and certified to the State Administrative Board of Election Laws not later than the first day of March in each year in which national conventions for the nomination of President and Vice-President are held. The selection of delegates shall be as follows:

(1) *Election of District Delegates.* Of the number of delegates allotted to Maryland, with the exception of those provided for in paragraph (3) of this subsection, there shall be elected from each congressional district an equal number of district delegates from the list of candidates certified to the boards by the State Administrative Board of Election Laws. In ascertaining the number of delegates to be elected from each congressional district, the State Administrative Board of Election Laws shall determine the highest whole number that can be multiplied by the current number of congressional districts in Maryland to obtain a product closest to but not greater than 100% of the delegates allotted to Maryland by the respective national party committee. Each delegate may have placed adjacent to his name on the ballot the name of a presidential candidate, provided that the written permission of the presidential candidate has been received by the State Administrative Board of Election Laws at least 53 days prior to the date of the primary election.

(2) *Election of At-Large Delegates.* After the election of the district delegates in accordance with § 12-1 (a) (1), those elected district delegates from any national political party shall meet in convention not more than 21 days after that election and shall elect, as "At-Large Delegates," the remainder of delegates allotted to Maryland by the respective national party committee and not elected under section 12-1 (a) (2).

(3) *Ex Officio Delegates.*

(i) The Governor of the State shall be an ex officio delegate to the national party convention of the party upon whose ticket he ran in the last preceding gubernatorial election.

(ii) If provided for in the party constitution, the national committeeman, the national committeewoman and the State party chairman of each party shall be ex officio delegates.

(4) *Selection of Alternates for Elected Delegates.* The elected delegation to the national party convention shall elect the alternate delegates to the convention.

(5) *Filling of Vacancies.* The entire delegation to a national party convention shall fill vacancies occurring in the office of delegate or alternate delegate.

(b) *Candidate for whom delegates bound to vote.*—All the district delegates to a national convention shall be bound to vote for the candidate of their party for the office of President of the United States who receives the highest number of votes within their respective congressional district at the primary election, and the ex officio delegates and the at-large delegates elected by the district delegates as herein provided shall be bound to vote for the candidate who receives the highest total number of votes at the primary election in the State. All delegates shall be so bound until the candidate for President of the United States is nominated by the convention, receives less than 35 percent of the votes for nomination by the convention, or releases the delegation, or until two convention nominating ballots have been taken.

(c) *Election at party convention.*—In the case of a political party which is not entitled to nominate candidates for public office by means of primary elections, subsections (a) and (b) of this section shall not apply and in lieu thereof delegates and alternate delegates to represent the said political party at its respective national convention shall be elected at a party convention in accordance with the lawful rules and practices of the said political party. (1957, ch. 759, § 1; 1965, ch. 784; 1967, ch. 392, § 1; 1969, ch. 560; 1970, chs. 103, 440; 1971, chs. 268, 354.)

*Effect of amendments.*—Chapter 163, "ive Board of Election Laws" for "Secretary of State" in the first paragraph of

subsection (a) and three times in paragraph (1) of that subsection.

Chapter 440, Acts 1970, added "District" in the catchline for paragraph (1) of subsection (a), added the exception in the first sentence of that paragraph, substituted "but not greater than 100%" for "75%" in the second sentence of that paragraph, rewrote paragraph (2), added present paragraph (3), redesignated former paragraphs (3) and (4) as (4) and (5), respectively, substituted "elect the alternate delegates to the convention" for "select their alternates" at the end of present paragraph (4), substituted "district" for "elected" near the beginning of subsection (b), and substituted "at-large delegates elected by the district delegates" for "delegates elected by a State party convention" near the middle of that subsection.

Neither amendment to subsection (a)

gave effect to the other, but both have been given effect in the subsection as set out above.

Chapter 268, Acts 1971, effective July 1, 1971, divided subsection (b) into two sentences, added "ex officio delegates and the" in the first sentence and added "All delegates shall be so bound" at the beginning of the present second sentence.

Chapter 354, Acts 1971, effective July 1, 1971, added subsection (c).

Editor's note.—Chapter 560, Acts 1969, effective July 1, 1969, repealed former §§ 12-1 and 12-2, comprising the subtitle "Presidential Conventions," and enacted in lieu thereof present §§ 12-1, 12-2 and 12-3, comprising the new subtitle "Presidential Primaries and Conventions." Former § 12-1 also related to delegates to national conventions and former § 12-2 was almost identical to present § 12-3.

**§ 12-2. Primary election for candidate for President and delegates to national convention.**

(a) *Manner of becoming candidate for nomination for President; withdrawal of candidacy.*—Any person who is a candidate for the nomination of a party which must nominate candidates for State public office by means of primary elections under the provisions of this article, for the office of President of the United States, and who desires to obtain the vote of the delegates from Maryland of the party in its national convention, may become a candidate for nomination in primary elections to be held in accordance with the provisions of this article only:

(1) By direction of the Secretary of State who shall place the name of the candidate upon the ballot no sooner than 70 days nor later than 53 days preceding the date set by law for the primary election when he has determined in his sole discretion that the candidate's candidacy is generally advocated or recognized in national news media throughout the United States, unless the candidate executes and files with the Secretary of State an affidavit stating without qualification that he is not and does not intend to become a candidate for the office at the forthcoming election;

(2) By making the payment required and by filing with the State Administrative Board of Election Laws, a petition in the form prescribed by the State Administrative Board of Election Laws which shall contain the signatures of not less than 400 of the registered voters within each congressional district, at least 53 days preceding the date set by law for the primary election. Nothing in this section shall require compliance with § 7-1.

(3) Notwithstanding any other provisions of this article, whenever any person who has been nominated in any presidential primary election, in a writing signed by him and acknowledged before a justice of the peace or notary public, notifies the officer or board with whom the certificate of candidacy, or petition for nomination, or name is required to be filed by this article, at least forty-five (45) days before the primary that he desires to withdraw as a candidate for the nomination, his name shall be withdrawn and the name of any person so withdrawing shall not be printed upon the ballots to be used at the presidential primary election. The filing of a valid certificate of withdrawal of candidacy is a final act of withdrawal; and a person who files a certificate of withdrawal may not restate his candidacy, unless the time limit for the filing of candidacies has not expired. No filing fees shall be refunded to persons who withdraw in accordance with this section, subject, however, to § 4A-7 of this article. Nothing in this section shall apply to a candidate who qualifies under § 12-2 (a) (1).

(b) *Right to have name printed on official primary ballot.*—A candidate qualifying under this section shall be entitled to have his name printed upon the official primary ballot of his party in primary elections held under and in accordance with this article as a candidate for the nomination for President.

(c) *Duty of boards of supervisors of elections to have names printed on ballots.*—The board of supervisors of elections in each county and of Baltimore City shall have printed upon the official primary ballots of each of those political parties in each county of the State, and in each legislative district of Baltimore City at the primary election in each year in which a President of the United States is to be elected, the names of the candidates for President and names of candidates for election as delegates to conventions certified to them by the State Administrative Board of Election Laws in manner and form and in all respects similar to the way in

(d) *Arrangement of names on ballots; preparation and casting of ballots.*—The names of the candidates for the nomination for President of the United States and the names of the candidates for election as delegates to conventions of the several political parties upon the official primary ballots shall be arranged and the ballots shall be prepared and shall be marked and cast by voters in the same manner as is prescribed by the provisions of this article with respect to the nomination in the primary election of candidates for the office of Governor of Maryland.

(e) *Canvass, ascertainment and certification of results.*—The results of the primary elections in the several counties and legislative districts of Baltimore City in presidential years shall be canvassed, ascertained and certified in the same manner as provided by law with respect to the election of delegates from the several counties and legislative districts to State conventions of the respective parties to nominate candidates for State offices. The votes cast in each primary election in each county and legislative district of Baltimore City shall be canvassed and certified by the respective board of supervisor [boards of supervisors] of elections in Balti-

more City and the several counties of the State. The Board of State Canvassers then shall tabulate the votes so canvassed and certified in a manner plainly to indicate for each party which candidate for President and which candidates for election as delegates to a national convention received the highest number of votes in the State as a whole. (1969, ch. 560; 1970, ch. 103; 1971, ch. 354.)

*Cross reference.*—See note to § 12-1 of this article.

*Effect of amendments.*—The 1970 amendment substituted "State Administrative Board of Election Laws" for "Secretary of State" twice in the first sentence of subdivision (2) of subsection (a) and in subsection (c) and substituted "§ 7-1" for "§§ 7-1 and 7-2" at the end of subdivision (2) of subsection (a).

The 1971 amendment, effective July 1, 1971, substituted "which must nominate candidates for State public office by means of primary elections under the provisions of this article" for "subject to the provisions of this subtitle" near the beginning of subsection (a).

### § 12-3. Presidential electors.

(a) *Nomination.*—The State convention of any party shall nominate or provide for the nomination of candidates for presidential electors of the party in such manner as the convention determines.

(b) *Number of electors.*—The State convention shall nominate or provide for the nomination of as many candidates for presidential electors of the party as this State is entitled to appoint.

(c) *Certification of nominees to State Administrative Board of Election Laws.*—The names of persons nominated by the State convention as candidates for presidential electors shall be certified by the presiding officers of the State convention to the State Administrative Board of Election Laws. (1957, ch. 739, § 1; 1965, ch. 784; 1967, ch. 392, § 1; 1969, ch. 560; 1970, ch. 103.)

*Cross reference.*—See note to § 12-1 of this article.

*Effect of amendment.*—The 1970 amend-

ment substituted "State Administrative Board of Election Laws" for "Secretary of State" at the end of subsection (c).

March 23, 1972

Dear Sirs:

I heard a report on the radio that you were sponsoring a trip on April 22nd on an old fashioned railroad. I believe the destination was Harper's Ferry and that the trip was to last for one day. I would be very interested in reserving six tickets for this trip and receiving any other information you can give me about the trip. In particular, please advise me as to cost, departure, whether or not children can be taken, provisions for food, and other miscellaneous details.

Please send this information to:

Mr. Gordon Strachan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

If you have any questions or need to contact me by telephone please call 456-1414 and ask for Gordon Strachan.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Gordon Strachan

The Trip Committee  
National Railroad Historical Society  
Box 487  
Benjamin Franklin Station  
Washington, D.C.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

March 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JON ROSE

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Poll on Volunteer  
Service

You probably noticed last Thursday's Gallup poll indicating that 7 in 10 favor all young men giving one year's service to the nation. A copy of the Gallup release is attached. In light of the 70% approval of the idea and the progress you have made towards the volunteer army concept, what about using this nuance as a campaign issue during the upcoming election. The staff at the Committee for the Re-Election is currently preparing issue books and mailings targeted at groups such as young voters. I have taken the liberty of sending a copy of this memorandum to Bob Marik at the Committee in the hopes that you will be able to work with him in developing this into an advantageous issue for the President, if on the merits you think it is a good idea.

cc: Bob Marik

GS:lm

National Service Idea Backed for 30 Years

# 7 in 10 Favor All Young Men Giving One Year of Service to the Nation

By George Gallup  
 Copyright, 1972,  
 Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N. J., March 22 — For three decades, a substantial majority of U.S. citizens have favored legislation that would require every young man to give a period of service to the nation.

Continued support for such a law is seen in the latest survey which shows seven in ten Americans in favor of one year of service — either in the military forces or in non-military work.

The following question was asked of a national sample of 1503 adults, 18 and older, who were interviewed in more than 100 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period December 10 to 13:

*Would you favor or oppose requiring all young men to give a year of service to the nation — either in the military forces, or in non-military work here, or abroad, such as Vista or the Peace Corps?*

Here are the national results:

<b>Year of Service For All Young Men?</b>	
Favor .....	68%
Oppose .....	25
No opinion .....	7
	—
	100%

The proposal has bi-partisan backing, as seen on the basis of the political affiliation of respondents:

	Favor %	Oppose %	No Opin. %
Independents . . .	70	22	8
Republicans . . .	65	29	6
Democrats . . .	69	24	7

**Youth Themselves Vote In Favor**

In a special national survey of young persons, 16 to 29, nearly six in ten vote favorably on a proposal that would "require males at the age of 18, or after high school, to spend one year in some form of service to the nation — in the armed forces or in some public service, such as conservation, hospital work, Vista, the Peace Corps, and the like."

Following are the national results for the special study of 16-to-29-year olds:

Approve .....	58%
Disapprove .....	39
No opinion .....	3
	—
	100%

Even among the 16 to 19 age group — those who would be most immediately affected by such a plan — a majority of 56 per cent express approval.

A total of 1523 persons, 16 through 29, were interviewed in the special survey of youth, which was conducted nationwide during the middle of 1971.

**4 In 10 Males Opt for Military**

Males in the survey of 16-to-29-year olds were asked whether they would prefer military service or non-military service, in the event a program of national service were put into effect.

Some 39 per cent said they would opt for military service, while 55 per

cent chose non-military service and six per cent had no opinion.

**Would Provide Special Skills**

Proponents of the national service plan see in it a way to provide special training to young men who do not plan to go on to college, and to give all young people a better and more realistic view of the social problems of America, while offering them an opportunity to do something about them.

Those who support such a plan also see a chance to further desegregation by bringing young men of all races and social classes together in common undertakings.

March 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

KEN RIETZ

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

This is an interesting analysis of the youth vote. Bob wanted you to receive a copy of it for appropriate follow-up.

GS:lm

March 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB REISNER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

FACT

You mentioned in your February 8 memorandum that you had a subscription to the Democratic counter part to Monday, FACT. I have only received one copy since you sent the original copy over. If this publication is weekly, please send a copy over as soon as you finish reviewing it at the Committee.

Thank you.

GS:lm

March 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB TEETER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

You may have noticed in the April Saturday Review that Joseph Napolitan has written a long article entitled "Yes, the Democrats Can Beat Richard Nixon." It makes fascinating reading because he discusses many of the strategy points that we have considered but only sometimes acted upon. I have attached a copy of the article so that you can read it at your convenience if you missed it.

Attachment

# Yes, the Democrats Can Beat Richard Nixon

BY JOSEPH NAPOLITAN

What it will take, says this campaign strategist, is some negative thinking, imaginative use of polls and media, and a running start.

I start by assuming that Richard Nixon can be defeated in 1972. There are some elections that cannot be won—even on a Presidential level. I'd put the 1964 Johnson victory over Goldwater in this category; I don't see any way that Goldwater could have beaten Johnson that year. But I do think Nixon can be taken in 1972—that's not to say he will be, only that he can be.

Right now, of course, the Democrats are preoccupied with the internal problem of selecting a candidate, but I hope, and indeed I urge, that at least the leaders of the party concern themselves with the more distant but also more crucial matter of winning the general election once the candidate has been nominated. I say this now because what happens between the present time and the Democratic nominating convention in July will have incalculable impact on the outcome of the election. The status of the war in Vietnam and the economy of the country are the two major variables, and my crystal ball is muckier than most people's, so I wouldn't even hazard a guess about how those important factors will have developed by November 1972. But if I were to lay out a program to defeat Nixon, I would start now, and this is what I would do.

First I would plan a negative campaign. That is, the thrust of the effort would be aimed at influencing people to vote *against* Nixon rather than *for* my candidate, whoever he might be. Any incumbent President in turbulent times

Political consultant Joseph Napolitan was advertising director for the Humphrey campaign in 1968. This article is adapted from his book *The Election Game and How to Win It*, to be published this month by Doubleday. Copyright © 1972 by Joseph Napolitan.

must run on his record, or be forced to run on his record if he tries to seek another avenue. The powers of the Presidency are awesome, the resources of the President are unmatched by the party out of office, and the staff and services provided by the federal government are far too rich for the out party to match, particularly if the out party still is trying to pay off its 1968 debts.

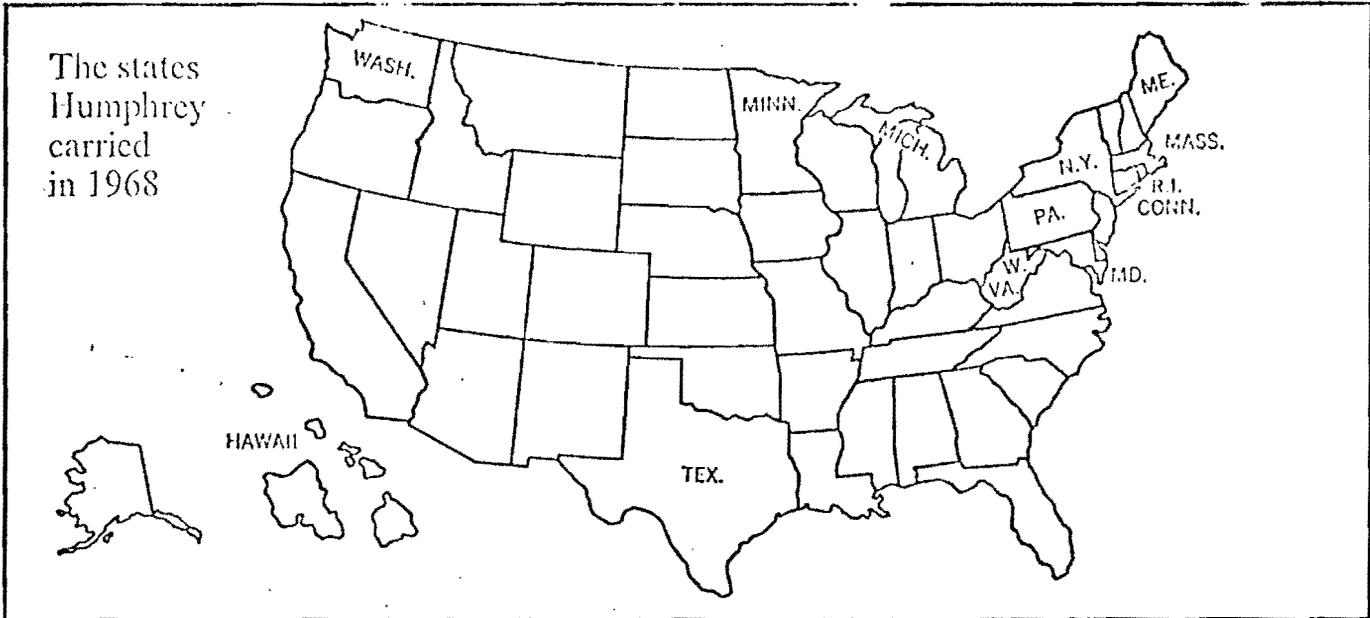
But there is one big disadvantage to running as the incumbent: You must accept responsibility for what has happened to the country in the four years of your stewardship.

I'd begin my campaign planning with polls. Starting immediately, I would try to make arrangements with the leading political polling firms, Democratic state committees, and Democratic candidates for statewide and Congressional offices to include a brief series of questions in all their polls about the Presidential election. The polling firms might have to get the permission of their political clients to include the questions, but this really shouldn't be a problem. If I were running a statewide campaign for a Democratic candidate in 1972, I'd certainly want a pretty clear look at the Presidential contest anyway. Even if it became necessary to pay the polling firms a few hundred dollars for adding the questions, and I don't think we would have to, it still would be worth it.

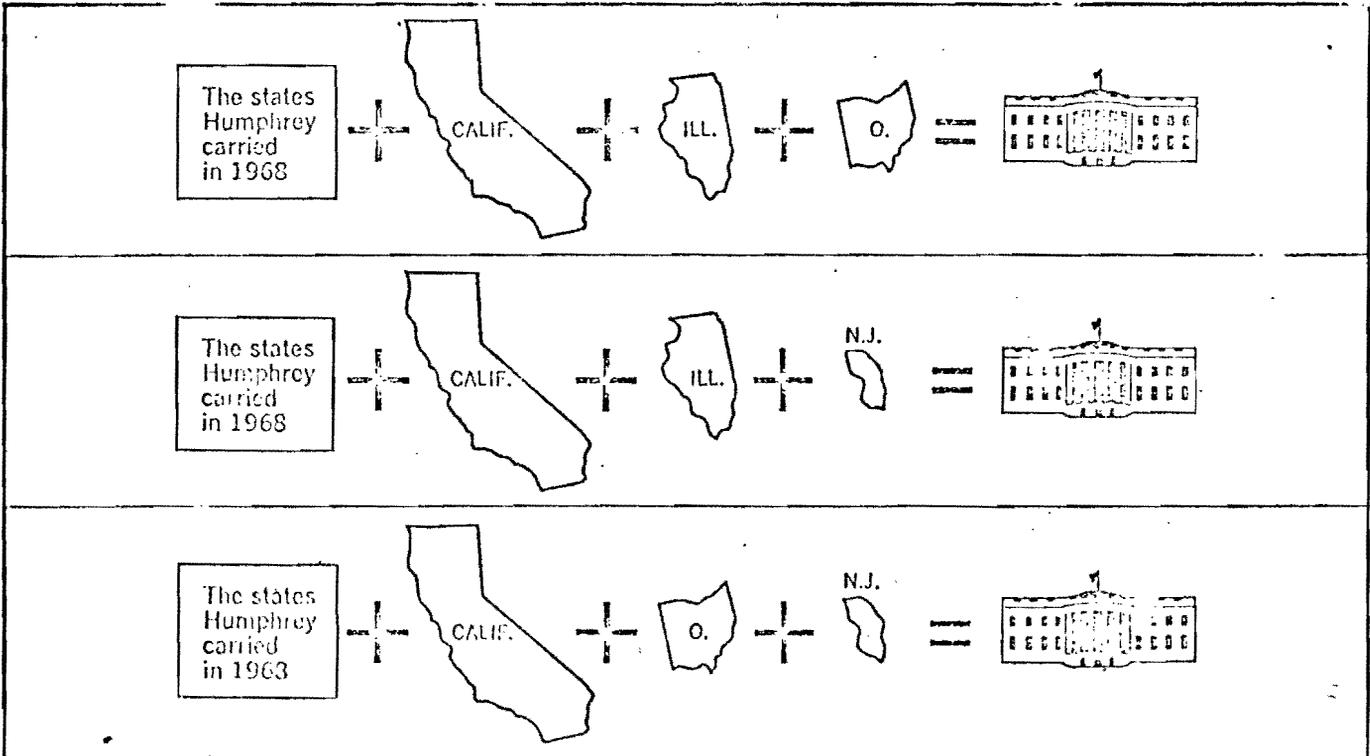
There are certain *kinds* of questions I'd like to see included in all polls, starting immediately, with exactly the same wording in each poll, and presented to demographic cross sections as similar as possible in each state. First I would list the candidates and ask the respondent if he had heard of each and

Heavy state polling

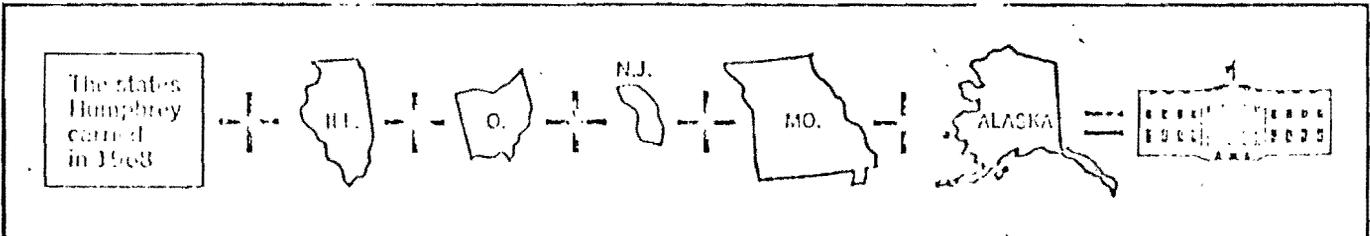
“If I had my druthers, I’d  
 much rather place  
 emphasis (i.e. money) in  
 states where I had a better  
 chance of winning.”



California is probably the key to a Democratic victory in 1972.



But the Democrats could also win without carrying California.



## The thrust of the effort would be aimed at getting people to vote against Nixon rather than for my candidate.”

whether he regarded them favorably or unfavorably or had no opinion. Next I would ask him what he felt were the major accomplishments and failures of the Nixon administration. Then I would have him select who he thought would make the best Democratic candidate. Finally I would have him choose between Nixon and several of the more prominent Democratic contenders.

Obviously, this wouldn't be a survey in depth, but it would give the Democratic National Committee, which bears the ultimate responsibility for organizing the Presidential campaign, a constant and standardized flow of information from the various states. The DNC can feed this information to a computer and get figures and comparisons, broken down regionally and demographically (by age, for example, or by race, sex, income, education, religion, and so forth). And all for free, or practically nothing.

I can readily understand Presidential candidates' reluctance to share their private poll information, but if they would all agree to provide the national committee with this kind of information, with the understanding that all the candidates for the nomination would have access to it, they'd all benefit, and so would the committee.

Another thing I'd do now is line up half a dozen good polling firms, concentrate on the states that need to be polled, and assign them some specific states and dates. For example, I'd want a full-scale poll in the field about a week after the Democratic nominee is selected, probably another one the first week in September, and a third about the second week of October. I wouldn't assign more than three or four polls to any one polling firm, because none of the firms I know of can handle a lot of states simultaneously and turn out high-quality work on time. The questionnaire should be prepared at the DNC and the demographics be selected by someone appointed to supervise polling operations for the DNC so that the polls would be compatible and easily matched. Polling firms use various age breakdowns. My firm happens to use these: twenty-one through thirty, thirty-one through forty, forty-one through sixty, over sixty. We make a ten-year breakdown between twenty-one and forty, because those under thirty really grew up on television, those over thirty weren't as influenced

in their childhood by television. In 1972, obviously, the eighteen- through twenty-year olds should be included, and I'd put them in a separate category, to measure what impact, if any, they will have in the Presidential election. The breakdowns for income, education, and other factors also should be standardized.

I wouldn't advocate any national polls, because we don't have a national election; we have a series of state elections, and there are many states that the Democratic Party need not poll in 1972.

We tried to do some selective polling in 1968, but by the time we got going—after Labor Day—it was too late to achieve maximum effectiveness. We were in the awkward position of being forced to produce our media materials before the poll results were in hand. But if the Democratic National Committee follows the outline I've presented, or something similar, it will have the best set of polls ever produced for a Presidential candidate.

Another project I'd get started on early would be the selection of target states. We wasted a lot of money in 1968 because of poor advance planning; there's no excuse for allowing this to happen again in 1972.

Picking the target states is easy. In 1968 Nixon won thirty-two states with 301 electoral votes, Humphrey won thirteen and the District of Columbia with 191, and Wallace won five with 46. The clear and obvious Democratic targets for 1972 are the thirteen states Humphrey won in 1968—Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Washington, and West Virginia—plus the states Nixon won that the Democrats have a reasonable chance to carry in 1972. This is the critical list, and on it I would place, in order of importance, California, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Missouri, Wisconsin, Delaware, and Alaska. Those eight states delivered 137 electoral votes to Nixon in 1968; today, because of census reapportionment, they're worth 140. The states Nixon carried in 1968 now total 305 electoral votes instead of 301; Humphrey's states drop from 191 to 188; Wallace's from 46 to 45.

If the Democratic candidate can carry the thirteen states Humphrey carried in 1968, plus as few as three of

the states Nixon carried (California, Illinois, Ohio; or California, Illinois, New Jersey; or California, Ohio, New Jersey), he can accumulate the 270 electoral votes needed to win, regardless of what Nixon and any third- or fourth-party candidate may do. I don't see this as an impossible task.

The keystone state is California. That's the battleground for 1972. Gainer of 5 electoral votes—booming it to 45 while New York drops back to 41—California is the prize that could decide the election. A Democrat could win without California by carrying Humphrey's 1968 states plus, say, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Missouri, and Alaska, but it would be more difficult.

Of the states that Humphrey lost in 1968, I would say New Jersey, Missouri, and Alaska will be the easiest to switch into the Democratic column in 1972, closely followed by Delaware. California, Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin will be tougher—much tougher, but worth fighting for.

With the objectives clearly defined so early in the game, this is the time to begin tooling up in the target states—for whoever the Democratic candidate may be. Special television programs can be developed for these states. Registration drives should begin at once in Democratic strongholds in these states, among blacks and young people and the poor. The voters aren't hard to identify, but unless they are registered they won't do the Democratic Party any good in November.

I may give the impression here that I am writing off certain states, and I am. There are at least a dozen states I'm willing to concede immediately and avoid spending any money in at all, unless that money is raised in the state to be spent there. This may be a cold-blooded position not calculated to win friends among state chairmen and committeemen and women, but, to tell the truth, I'd rather win the election than make friends. (It's amazing how friendly everyone gets to be after you've won.)

There are some states that Nixon carried in 1968 that a Democrat conceivably could win in 1972—other than the eight I already have listed—but none in which I see the Democrats with a strong chance. Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee possibly—but if I had my druthers I'd much rather place emphasis on

the operation should be ready, the research completed, the techniques perfected."

money) in states where I had a better chance of winning than I do in these places. And I wouldn't bother with the Wallace states at all. It's conceivable a hawkish Democrat such as Senator Jackson might pull off one or two if he wins the nomination, but I wouldn't bet on it. And who knows at this point whether there will be a third-party candidate (Wallace) or maybe even a fourth-party nominee (Gene McCarthy or John Lindsay). But, for planning purposes at this stage, it really doesn't make much difference, because there is a minimum number of electoral votes required to win—270—and efforts should be directed at carrying enough states to accumulate that number of votes.

If this is going to be a negative campaign—and I don't see how it can be any other kind unless Nixon is not the candidate—then the DNC computer should be put to use right away. I'd begin feeding it every public statement Richard Nixon has made since he became a Congressman, properly coded and categorized. I'd also add the statements of Spiro Agnew and any other Republicans who might be targets of one sort or another in 1972—for example, Republican National Chairman Robert Dole. Then when I (i.e., the DNC, any of the Presidential candidates, eventually the Presidential candidate and his running mate, or any other prominent Democratic speech-makers) wanted to demonstrate the inconsistencies of Nixon's actions with his words, I could just punch the right buttons on my computer, and it would print out the material I needed.

This information-retrieval system can be a tremendous boon to speech writers, copywriters, film and radio producers, and local Democratic candidates. It's just a question of assembling, coding, storing, and retrieving. I assume something like this has and is being done, because the information it can provide, literally on a moment's notice, will be invaluable to the campaign.

My major interest in campaigns is political communication. This involves the use of mass media, particularly television and radio, but other media as well. When I became advertising director of the Humphrey organization late in the P-S campaign, I tried to implement some of my theories on the use of media in a Presidential election, with

a fair amount of success. But the shortage of time and funds caused us to fall short of our goal. We have the time now, and I expect there will be enough money around to finance an adequate campaign—not as much as the Republicans will have, but enough to cover the necessities if it is spent properly.

I would try some new approaches to the use of media in the 1972 election, some of which can be initiated before we even know who the Democratic candidate will be. In fact, there is no reason why the candidates could not be informed what is being done (notice I said "informed," not "consulted"; you don't produce good media by committee in consultation) on their behalf. Presumably, the eventual candidate might want to scrub everything, but I doubt it if the material I envision is produced the way it should be; and even if he doesn't want to use it, it will be prepared in such a way that Democratic candidates for Senate, the House, and statehouses will be able to make use of it.

Suppose I had carte blanche to organize and implement media planning and structure for the 1972 Presidential election: What would I do?

First I would take the seven big states I feel are essential to win in 1972—California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, and Texas—and get some tough research done on how the Nixon administration has failed to solve the problems in those states. I would deal in hard specifics, with problems directly related to the individual states. In New York, for example, this could include the massive problems of welfare and drug addiction; in California, the rampant unemployment in aerospace and the erosion of natural resources.

I would find out not only what the problems are and how the Republican administration has failed to solve them but also what solutions have been presented by the Democrats. We should also note that California, New York, Illinois, and Michigan have Republican governors, and that Pennsylvania and Ohio had Republican governors until the start of 1971.

As soon as I had assembled my research, and probably concomitantly, I would engage three or four of the best television documentary producers to make a thirty-minute film on each state. These films should be suitable for

both Presidential and regional candidates. Wherever and whenever possible, attractive local candidates should be included in the film.

By the late spring or early summer of 1972 I would have a package of half-hour documentaries for use in the major battleground states, specifically relating to their problems, revealing Republican failures and outlining Democratic programs. Remember one thing: We should never underestimate the intelligence of the American voter or overestimate the amount of information at his disposal. We should be giving him solid chunks of anti-Nixon information preparatory to presenting our own constructive proposals.

While I was producing these state documentaries, I also would be working on some *problem* (or, if you prefer, *issues*) documentaries on the major problems facing the country: lack of job opportunities, drug addiction, education, pollution and conservation, education, welfare, and poverty. Again, these would be definitive studies that would document Republican failures and present Democratic programs, and they'd work for whoever the nominee might be. I can't see that there would be sharp differences among Humphrey, Muskie, McGovern, Kennedy, or Jackson programs on drugs or poverty or protection of natural resources or education.

The basic footage could be filmed in the spring and early summer; after the candidate is nominated, he can be worked into each of the films, and there could be time and space provided for tie-ins with local candidates.

These problem-oriented films could, if desired, be shown on national network television, although I would be more inclined to make local purchases within states so that we would be paying for only the states we wanted to reach and not for states where we have no chance of winning anyway. I'd have all these films ready to go on the air by Labor Day, and perhaps run one a week for the next five or six weeks, making them available to state committees and candidates within each state for additional showings at their convenience and expense.

As soon as the candidate is nominated, I'd begin work on a biographical documentary of him and, perhaps, his running mate. This would be for use

any national  
polls, because we  
don't have a  
national election...."

later in the campaign, say from the middle of October on.

From all these films—the state documentaries and those on problems—five-minute programs and one-minute spots also could be culled. The candidate would go into the campaign armed with the greatest assortment of television weapons any candidate for President anywhere has ever had. What would this whole package cost? About \$1-million—or something less than 8 per cent of the total Republican television time budget in 1968, around 15 per cent of what the Democrats spent on television in the past election. And there would be some offsetting gains: Candidates for senator and governor might be induced to pick up part of the tab by acquiring the films they considered most useful to them in their own races and adapting them to their personal needs.

The key to the success of this project is the quality of the materials produced, as it so often is. That's why I would try to get a lock on the best film producers as early as possible and put them to work on these films before they get so committed in other races that they don't have time to work on the Presidential election. This happened in 1968, to Humphrey's detriment.

Nixon made much better use of radio in 1968 than Humphrey did. For 1972, a series of low-key, factual five-minute radio programs on important issues can be prepared early, utilizing the best speech writers in the Democratic stable, and go on the air during the summer. The cost is low, and the impact can be high.

I'd also make use of the *losing* Democratic contenders in films, perhaps a series of five-minute programs not unlike the one made with Humphrey and Ted Kennedy in 1968. These would not be used nationally but shown in the states where the losing candidate is particularly popular. For example, if Senator Jackson doesn't make it, a five-minute film of him and the Democratic nominee discussing the problems of the state of Washington should have favorable impact in that state. The same would be true with Harold Hughes in Iowa, Birch Bayh in Indiana, Kennedy in Massachusetts, George McGovern in the Dakotas, Humphrey in Minnesota, Edmund Muskie in New England. Not too costly, and potentially useful.

I'd get the best political time buyer available and have him chart the states where we wish to make our biggest push and outline budgets and potential time buys in those states. Buying network time isn't as difficult in a Presidential election, because the networks are, by law, forced to make equal time available to each of the Presidential candidates. The time buyer's skill can best be used within key states.

There also are some more esoteric areas of electronic communication that I would want the Democrats to take advantage of. One is instant reaction, and the other would be the establishment of videotape and radio files. I would establish an "instant-reaction" electronics team, a group of television and radio specialists who could capitalize on an event virtually instantaneously, be it a statement, a speech, or a piece of news, and through electric feeds make it available to the networks and key stations throughout the country. Often this could be news material offered to the stations for use on news programs; in other cases, paid spots produced in twenty-four hours or less and worked into previously purchased time.

No one knows when news that could affect the outcome of the election will break, or even when an opponent will commit a gaffe that could be capitalized on. Under conventional systems of producing television and radio spots, it takes days, sometimes weeks, to turn out reaction spots. Under the system I envision, these could be done in hours. What it takes is an alert electronics team, standing by twenty-four hours a day, ready to act on literally a moment's notice. The problem here really is not so much one of implementation, but of proper planning and having the right people ready to move when they must. I am convinced that the cost of such an operation would be far less than the value we would realize from it.

For years candidates have maintained newspaper clip files; sophisticated ones are beginning to use computer retrieval systems similar to the one I mentioned earlier. But now it is time for candidates, at least for Presidents, to establish data banks of video and audiotapes—not necessarily or exclusively of their opponents, but also of news events. These can be used for recall, to capitalize on the information

already inside everyone's brain. Consciously, we tend to forget fairly rapidly; subconsciously, we retain information for much longer periods, possibly forever. The audio/videotape banks would permit our television and radio producers to create instant recall of major events and to capitalize on both the emotionalism and the rational reactions that surrounded these events during the time they were taking place. For example, no one who lived in New York in July 1970 is likely to forget the suffocating smog that smothered the city for a few days during the middle of that month. Utilization of newsfilm clips and commentaries would instantly recall those horrendous conditions and could trigger the rage and frustration New Yorkers felt during those days.

These electronic data banks could be extraordinarily valuable in preparing television and radio materials for the Presidential election—but the time to start assembling them is *now*, not after the candidate has been nominated in the middle of July 1972. A candidate who goes into the campaign armed with this kind of backup material, and the availability of instant reaction facilities, possesses a big advantage over the candidate who doesn't, and this is the kind of thing the party apparatus can be doing prior to the election. By Labor Day 1972 the operation should be organized and ready to go, the material assembled, the technologists in place, the research completed, the techniques perfected.

This whole operation obviously requires planning, direction, and financing. The last may be the toughest, but I think it's not a question of whether the Democratic Party can afford to do it but whether the party can afford *not* to do it. And, in the long run, I don't think the program I have outlined would cost any more than the haphazard media programs both parties have had in the past; intelligent reallocation of resources would provide maximum value for every dollar—something we did not receive in past elections.

In any event, one aspect of the campaign has worked out well. Former Attorney General John Mitchell will run Nixon's campaign again. Anyone who can manage Nixon from a fifteen-point lead to a seven-tenths-of-a-point victory in seven weeks is too good a friend to lose. □

March 22, 1972

Dear Dave:

Thank you for forwarding the booklet from the Montgomery High School reunion. It was an interesting evening of reading!

Glad you enjoyed your brief stay in Washington-- it was good seeing you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Gordon Strachan

Mr. David F. Winkler, II  
318 High Brook Drive  
Richardson, Texas 75080

GS:lm

March 18, 1972

Dear Gordon,

Thank you again for arranging  
the tour of the White House and  
for lunch. Enjoyed talking about  
the old days in Santa Rosa and  
the intervening years. As I said  
in Washington, if you're ever in  
Dallas give me a call.

Enclosed is the booklet published  
for the reunion, keep it as long  
as you like, but I would appreciate  
its return.

Good luck in the coming  
campaign.

Dave

# MONTGOMERY HIGH ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

I wish to become a member of the Montgomery High School Alumni Association:

YES \_\_\_\_\_

NO \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_, State \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Present Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Interest in Association:

I can take an active part \_\_\_\_\_

I can take a limited part \_\_\_\_\_

I can not take an active part but wish to pay dues \_\_\_\_\_

We must have this returned by all recipients with a definite YES or NO. If yes, there must be \$8.00 with all information.

Please make checks payable to:

M.H.S. Alumni Association

MONTGOMERY HIGH ALUMNI ASS'N  
1837 Will Scarlet Lane  
Santa Rosa, Calif.

Administratively Confidential

March 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RON WALKER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Surrogate Advancing

Pursuant to our conversation, could you prepare a report for Bob which covers the following points:

- 1) The result of your meeting with Jack Kemp concerning his report that the advancing for the surrogate candidates in New Hampshire was lousy;
- 2) An analysis of what really happened in New Hampshire -- presumably this could be based on discussions with Ed Murphy and Allen Walker;
- 3) An analysis of how the surrogates who went to Florida were handled; and finally
- 4) Your suggestions for correcting whatever problems exist.

As we discussed on the telephone, discretion and confidentiality is crucial. Magruder, Porter, et al could become quite upset, so a low-key approach would seem to be best.

Bob has asked for your report by the close of business, Thursday, March 16.

Due Date; March 16, 1972

GS:lm

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 14, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM: L. HIGBY *L*

To follow-up on our conversation this morning -- Bob has received a report that Jack Kemp has reported that the advancing for surrogate candidates in New Hampshire was lousy. He would like someone to talk to Kemp and find out specifically what the problem was. Also, this person should talk to a couple of other of the surrogates to find out what the problems were. The person should also do some checking in Florida and see how we are handling the advance operation for surrogates there.

Bob would then like a memo from <sup>u</sup>whoever does the checking on what the problems were, what Kemp reported the problems were, and what we are doing to correct the problems.

Will you please follow-up on this and have the report in to Haldeman by close of business on Thursday.

Thank you.

If you are going to have Walker handle this project, you might want to let him know today so his office can at least be setting up an appointment with Kemp. This is a very delicate matter, obviously, that could easily upset Magruder, etc., so it has to be handled on a low-key basis and you should make this clear to Walker. Also, you should let Chapin know what we are doing here so he doesn't have the feeling we are getting in the middle of his operation without at least advising him.

Administratively Confidential

March 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

NELL YATES

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Attached is a memorandum from Maurice Stans concerning the September 26 nationwide closed-circuit TV fund raising dinner. I talked with Dave Parker and he mentioned that you had the original schedule request which approved the date "subject only to Presidential change". Would you please put Stans' memorandum in as back up to the original schedule proposal.

cc: Dave Parker

GS:lm

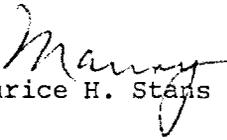
MAURICE H. STANS  
SUITE 272  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 333-8280

February 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

This is to confirm your participation and September 26 as the date for the Nationwide Closed-circuit Television Fund-raising Dinner sponsored by the Finance Committee for the Re-election of the President.

I have also asked the Vice President and the members of your Cabinet to hold this date open.

  
Maurice H. Stans

Administratively Confidential

March 31, 1972

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4/8  
Parker

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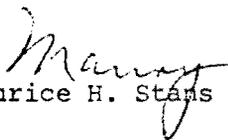
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Maurice H. Stans

3/7

12:30 pm -- I checked with Nell and they are  
still looking for this

So give this to me when they find it!

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: March 6, 1972

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Dave Parker mentioned that you confirmed to him that the only fund raising event the President would do is this September 26 event arranged by Stans

~~Yates~~  
Full  
Yates

FO  
3/2

Give  
to

Gordon

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2/25

to talk w/  
Parker

CA -  
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a schedule  
paper to  
Parker w/in  
last 3 weeks

schedule  
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