

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>
29	2	2/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: White House Budget/Committee for the Re-Election of the President--Support. 1 pg.
29	2	2/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bruce Kehrli to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Committee for the Re-Election Support. This document discusses financial support for the committee. 20 pg.
29	2	2/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	From C.G. Rebozo to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Wallace...Nixon's Florida Fixer. 4 pgs.
29	2	2/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Donald Rumsfeld to Bob Haldeman. RE: "14,000 youths sign up to vote." (Attached article-for your information). 2 pgs.

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29	2	2/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Thomas B. Evans to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Memom of Jan. 31. Attachment concerns "Republican Registration." 13 pgs.
29	2	2/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gary Bauer to Ed DeBolt. RE: State Digests. 3 pgs.
29	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	To Cliff Miller. RE: Anaylsis of Polling. Handwritten note without signature. 1 pg.
29	2	3/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the Attorney General. RE: Candidacy of Ben Reifel of South Dakota. 2 pgs.
29	2	3/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	For John Mitchell and Bob Haldeman. RE: Wilmur Mills and the New Hampshire primary vote. 1 pg.

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29	2	2/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the President. RE: 1972 U.S. Senate Races. This document discusses the Senate races in the 33 states with large percentages of Republican voters. 14 pgs.
29	2	2/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the President. RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races. 4 pgs.
29	2	2/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the President. RE: 1972 Governor's Races. 6 pgs.
29	2	2/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>		Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the Attorney General (bc: Bob Haldeman). This document discusses Governor John West of South Carolina and upcoming elections. 1 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman  
Box Number: 309

Folder: Campaign 17 Book I Feb. 17-Mar. 3, '72

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>	
16	Retain	Open
17	Retain	Open
18	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 2-16-72
19	Return	Private/Political Memo, Kehrli to HRH, 2-3-72
20	Return	Private/Political Ad, "Wallace in Nixon's..." n.d.
21	Return	Private/Political Note, Rumsfeld to HRH, 2-22-72
22	Return	Private/Political Memo, Evans to HRH, 2-28-72
23	Return	Private/Political Memo, via DeBolt to Bauer, 2-21-72
24	Return	Private/Political Notes, "Cliff Miller," n.d.
25	Return	Private/Political Memo, Dent to the AG, 3-1-72
26	Return	Private/Political Memo to Mitchell & HRH 3-2-72
27	Retain	Open
28	Retain	Open
29	Return	Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 2-24-72
30	Return	Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 2-24-72
31	Return	Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 2-25-72
32	Return	Private/Political Memo, Dent to the A.G, 2-28-72
33	Retain	Open
34	Return	Private/Political Notes, "Jack Gleason," n.d.
35	Retain	Open

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

6

Administratively Confidential

February 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

White House Budget/  
Committee for the Re-Election  
of the President -- Support

You have Bruce Kehrli's January 29 memorandum regarding the financial support for the White House by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. This memorandum is in your talking paper drawer indicating that you wanted to cover the subject personally with the Attorney General.

At your meeting today with the Attorney General and Fred Malek it might be appropriate to discuss this budget subject because Fred Malek will serve on the budget committee under Secretary Stans at 1701. **AD**

Another alternative would be to have Malek discuss the subject directly with the Attorney General. **OK**

*or just have Bruce  
Give it to Jeb —  
then we can discuss later  
of any problem*

ADMINISTRATIVELY  
CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

BRUCE KEHRLI *BAK*

SUBJECT:

Committee for the  
Re-Election Support

On February 1, the source of financial support for the White House shifted from the RNC to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

The Attorney General has requested (via Jeb Magruder) a rough estimate of the support that the White House will need in 1972.

I have met with Dwight Chapin, Harry Dent, Bill Timmons, Herb Klein, Dick Howard, and Frank DeCosta of the Vice President's staff, to discuss their financial needs for 1972. All agreed that any budget estimate for the year should be divided into two parts -- one covering expenses before the Convention and a second covering post nomination costs.

The estimates for each of the categories are broken down as follows:

1. Presidential and First Family Travel -- The total of \$1,580,000 consists of \$680,000 for transportation, \$500,000 for promotion of events and arrangements, \$350,000 for advancement costs and \$50,000 for official gifts and photos. This last item includes the cost of reproducing and distributing a new official photo. A detailed summary and the rationale for these figures are included at Tab A.

A pre and post convention breakdown shows:

	<u>Pre-Convention</u>	<u>Convention and Post Nomination</u>	<u>Total</u>
Transportation (use of AF-1, Jetstars, Helos for political events)	55,000*	625,000	680,000
Promotion	50,000	450,000	500,000
Advancemen costs	200,000	150,000	350,000
Office gifts/photos	25,000	25,000	50,000
Total	<u>330,000</u>	<u>1,250,000</u>	<u>1,580,000</u>

\*Assuming total of 5 trips per month including President and family members.

2. Staff -- The total of \$100,000 will go for reimbursement to staff members who are carrying out political business for the President. Bill Timmons, Herb Klein, Harry Dent and John Dean will be receiving most of the money. This also covers travel expenses for non-political trips over and above the maximum amount allowed by law. Also, we have cracked down on staff members who had been reimbursed by outside organizations for non-political events and generally can expect to pick up more of their expenses.

3. Colson -- The \$900,000 for the Colson office consists of \$660,000 for mailings and information retrieval, \$150,000 to expand his mailing lists and about \$90,000 for "black" projects -- those that have to be done outside the RNC. These costs cover only White House requirements and not those of the Committee to Re-Elect the President.

Normally the costs of expanding mailing lists and information retrieval would not be included in an "RNC" Support budget; they would be hidden in another portion of the RNC budget by mutual agreement between the White House and RNC. However, since the RNC will be reimbursed by the Committee for all costs incurred by the White House, these are included to give the Attorney General a more accurate picture of the actual expenses.

4. Vice President -- The Attorney General has requested that no attempt be made to estimate the Vice President's expenses until he has met with the Vice President to determine his role in the campaign. The Attorney General (per Magruder) requested that last year's estimate of \$50,000 be used for budget purposes until a more accurate figure is determined.

This budget does not include White House polling expenses, which I understand will be handled in another manner.

In past years we have submitted budget figures to the RNC that were far under the actual estimates for the psychological advantage it provided of minimizing the amount of direct support that the RNC provided (summary at Tab B). This also put the RNC in a better position vis-a-vis the amount of money they had to request from the Finance Committee. Since the actual amounts provided were always far above the budgeted amount and this year we're all on the same team, I recommend that the actual estimate be submitted.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve submission of only the pre-convention budget (Tab C) at this time and as plans for Presidential travel are finalized, submit a convention and post nomination budget in June.

APPROVE H - unless AB wants whole

Submit whole budget budget - if so, give it to

OTHER him w/ understanding it is a  
very rough guess.



A

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY  
CONFIDENTIAL

January 21, 1972

FOR: BRUCE KEHRLI  
FROM: STEPHEN BULL *SB*  
RE: Political Budget for 1972

Following is a breakdown of expenses for Presidential activities for 1972. For your information, but not for distribution to any outside individual, I am providing you copies of the bases for compilation of each of the below listed categories and budgets:

Political Budget for 1972

Presidential Activities - Jan. 20 - Aug. 20	\$ 115,200.00
First Family Activities - Jan. 20 - Aug. 20	162,994.00
Advance Budget (Pre-Convention Seminar)	30,950.00
Convention and Campaign Activities	<u>1,259,250.00</u>
TOTAL	\$1,568,394.00

TRAVEL BUDGET FOR FIRST FAMILY  
PRIOR TO CONVENTION

The following budget is based on these assumptions:

- A) Julie and Tricia making four trips per month, and trips averaging two (2) hours flying time.
- B) Mrs. Nixon, one trip per month, averaging three (3) hours flying time.

EXPENSE ESTIMATE

Transportation:

A) Jetstar - Julie and Tricia (16 hrs/mo. x 6 mos. x \$365/hr) =	35,040
B) C-137 (970, etc.) Mrs. Nixon (3 hrs/mo x 6 mos. x \$1173/hr) =	21,114
C) Busses (wild guess)	<u>1,000</u>
Total Transportation	\$57,154.

Advancemen:

Assumption: Average advance three (3) days  
Average number of advancemen: 2

Airfare - (\$200/trip x 9 trips/mo x 6 mos x 2 A'men)	21,600
Hotel - (54 advances x 3 day/advance x 2 A'men x \$50/day)	16,200
Autos - (54 x 3 x 2 x \$25/day)	8,100
Personal - (54 x 3 x 2 x \$25/day)	8,100
Misc. - (54 x 3 x 2 x \$10/day)	<u>3,240</u>
	\$57,240

Promotional Expenses:

Printing:	\$500 x 54 stops	27,000
Telephone:	\$300 x 54	16,200
Misc:	\$100 x 54	<u>5,400</u>
		48,600

TOTAL BUDGET: \$162,994.00

## ADVANCE BUDGET PRIOR TO CONVENTION

The following is based on a projection of 15 domestic stops prior to August 1, 1972

Assumption: Average advance - 6 days  
Average number of advancements - 6  
NOTE: Number of advancements estimated high because of training of new men.

Airfare: \$200.00 per trip (average) X 4 X 15 = \$ 12,000

Daily Expenses: Hotel \$50.00  
Autos \$25.00  
Personal \$25.00  
Misc. \$20.00  
\$120.00 X 4 X 6 X 15 = \$ 43,200

Promotional Printing \$3,000.00 X 15 = \$ 45,000  
Expenses: Telephone \$750.00 X 10 = \$ 7,500  
Misc. \$500.00 X 15 = \$ 7,500

Total Advance Expenses: \$115,200

### Seminar Expense:

The following is based on holding 5 seminars prior to June 1, each seminar having 15 men invited and one grand refresher about mid June for approximately 50 men.

Airfare: 12 men X 5 seminars X \$200 per man = \$ 12,000  
50 men X 1 refresher X \$200 per man = \$ 10,000  
Hotel: 120 men X 2 nights X \$15.00/night = \$ 3,600  
Personal: \$15/day X 2 days X 120 = \$ 3,600  
Refreshments & 5 X \$200/seminar = \$ 1,000  
Reception: 1 Refresher = \$ 750

Total Seminar Expenses: \$ 30,950

Political Budget for 1972 - CONVENTION AND CAMPAIGN

Principal Categories of Expense

Transportation

Advancemen:

Campaign  
Convention

WHCA

Promotional Expenses

The Event

Miscellaneous

\* \* \* \* \*

Miscellaneous Facts and Figures

- (a) Air transportation expenses - 1970 (Oct. and Nov.):  

President, First Family, A.G., Bob Finch - \$105,000  
(excluding food and beverage of approximately \$4,000).
- (b) There was a charge only for the principal's (i.e., President or First Family member) aircraft.
- (c) Backup plane should not be used for political purposes or carry any political people. However, when the Spirit of '76 is used politically, it can carry anyone the President wants whether it be a County Chairman or U.S. Senator.

(d) Cost breakdown of planes:

C-137 (e.g., #26000) - \$1173/hour  
Jet Star - \$365/hour  
Convair - \$290/hour  
Helicopters - \$260/hour

(e) If any aircraft other than the President's aircraft is used for political purposes, which by law it should not, theoretically we should be charged the commercial rate. For a C-137 this would be \$3,000 per hour.

(f) In 1968 the President travelled to 79 cities, covering 50,083 air miles.

Assumptions

- (a) Much of the time members of the First Family will be doing their political travelling independently, utilizing separate aircraft.
- (b) For planning purposes, we can figure 50% of the 1968 activity which comes out to 40 cities and 25,000 miles.
- (c) Although theoretically most of the costs of an event are borne by the locals, 60% ends up being paid by the National Committee.
- (d) All Presidential travel up until the Convention is non-political.

\* \* \* \* \*

Expense Estimate - 1972

Transportation Expense

	(a) Spirit of '76 - (25,000 miles) - 500 hours at \$1173/hour:	\$586,500	
	(b) Food and beverage:	10,000	
	(c) Mrs. Nixon (10,000 miles, 20 hrs.):	7,300	
JetStar (\$365/ Hour	(d) Julie (10,000 miles, 20 hrs.):	7,300	
	(e) Tricia (10,000 miles, 20 hrs.):	7,300	
	(f) Helicopters (\$260/hour - 25 hrs.):	6,500	
	(g) Busses:	<u>1,500</u>	
			Total \$626,400

Advancemen Expense - 1972

Campaign

Assumption: Average advance - 6 days  
Average number of advancemen - 3

Airfare - round trip - (average): \$ 200

Following expenses per <sup>ADVANCEMAN</sup> day:

Hotel (6 days - \$50/day):	300
Car Rental (6 days - \$25/day):	150
Office equipment:	50
Telephone:	15
Miscellaneous (tips, taxies) - (6 days at \$10/day):	60
Personal (6 days at \$25/day):	150
	<u>\$ 925 per advance</u>
	x3 advancemen
	<u>\$ 2,775 x 40 stops</u>

Campaign Advancemen - Total \$111,000

Convention - August 21-25

July 15-Aug. 25 (41 days) - 5 Advancemen	205 Advanceman Days
August 1-25 (25 days) - 5 Advancemen	125 Advanceman Days
August 16-25 (10 days) - 20 Advancemen	<u>200 Advanceman Days</u>
Total	530 Advanceman Days
	<u>\$ 95/day</u>

Daily expenses for all advancemen:	\$50,350
Transportation (\$200 - 30 advancemen):	<u>6,000</u>
<u>Total Advancemen costs for Convention --</u>	<u>\$56,350</u>

Advanceman costs/day

Hotel -	\$50
Personal -	25
Tips & Taxies -	10
Miscellaneous -	<u>10</u>
	\$95/day/advanceman

CAMPAIGN ADVANCEMEN:	\$111,000	
CONVENTION ADVANCEMEN:	<u>56,350</u>	
	\$167,350	TOTAL ADVANCEMEN
		<u>\$167,350</u>

WHCA Expense - 1972

For political purposes, the local Committee bears the cost for audio-visual only. As President, we are entitled to radio and telephone support. The range for audio-visual would be \$2,000 - \$3,000 per event. \$2500 for a workable average.

40 cities at \$2500 apiece: \$100,000      Total: \$100,000

Promotional Expenses (50% reduction applies) - 1972

(a) Handbills & Tickets - (\$4,000/event - 40 events):	\$160,000	
(b) Telephone (25 phones - 3 days) - (\$750/event - 40 events):	30,000	
(c) Radio, TV advertising and Newspaper advertising - (\$1500/event - 40 events):	60,000	
(d) Invitations - (\$1750/event - 20 events):	35,000	
(e) Miscellaneous (e.g., sound trucks) - (\$1000/event - 40 events):	<u>40,000</u>	
	\$325,000	
	-50%	
		Total \$162,500

The Event Expense (50% reduction applies) - 1972

(a) Hall rentals -		
(\$1200/event - 40 events):	\$ 48,000	
(b) Platform construction -		
(\$1000/event - 40 events):	40,000	
(c) Bands - (\$200/event - 20 events):	4,000	
(d) Color materials -		
(\$1000/event - 40 events):	40,000	
(e) Courtesy ushers -		
(\$1500/event - 40 events):	60,000	
(f) Miscellaneous -		
(\$1000/event - 40 events):	<u>40,000</u>	
	\$232,000	
	-50%	
		Total \$116,000

Miscellaneous - 1972

Gifts:

\$ 15,000

*Too Low - \$26K IN 1971  
\$50K IS MORE REALISTIC  
B.K.*

Donations:

(a) \$200/event - 35 events - \$7,000

42,000

(b) \$7,000/event - 5 events - \$35,000

Salaries: (10 men for 2 months -  
\$1500/month):

30,000

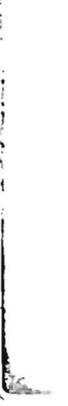
Total \$87,000

Total Political Budget for 1972

Transportation	\$ 626,400
Advancemen.	167,350
WHCA	100,000
Promotional Expenses	162,500
The Event	116,000
Miscellaneous	<u>87,000</u>
TOTAL	\$1,259,250



B



RNC BUDGET SUPPORT

	1970		1971	
	<u>Estimate</u>	<u>Actual</u>	<u>Estimate</u>	<u>Actual</u> (thru. Nov. (5))
I. Presidential and First Family Travel	\$200,000	200,000	200,000	36,000
II. Staff Support	95,000	76,000	100,000	130,000
III. Colson's Mailing Operation	330,000	690,000	750,000	300,000
IV. V.P. Travel	100,000	350,000	50,000	96,000
V.		12,000 (1)		15,000 (2)
VI.		n/a		26,000 (3)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	725,000	1,328,000	1,100,000 (6)	603,000
Acct. Ø		40,000 (4)		108,000 (4)
Total	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	725,000	1,368,000	1,100,000	711,000

NOTES

1. Activity V added to take care of Cabinet expenses related to the campaign that were not picked up by the departments or agencies.
2. Account V was set up to pay campaign '70 expenses that were carried over into 1971.
3. Account VI covered the salaries of the people on the RNC staff working for the Citizens' Committee for the Re-Election of the President before it was announced and became a separate entity.
4. Account Ø is the cash account which has been used for expenses that couldnot be carried in another account for fear of audit. The large increase in this account for 1971 is due to the fact that all expenses related to a White House staff member were handled in account Ø so that if the RNC's accounts were audited, there would be no record of them paying for a White House staff member's political expenses.
5. Books for December have not been closed yet because of delay of about one month in receiving bills.
6. The dollar amount requested was \$700,000 as some costs were buried in other parts of the RNC Budget. The figure accepted by the RNC was \$500,000.



c

BUDGET FOR 1972

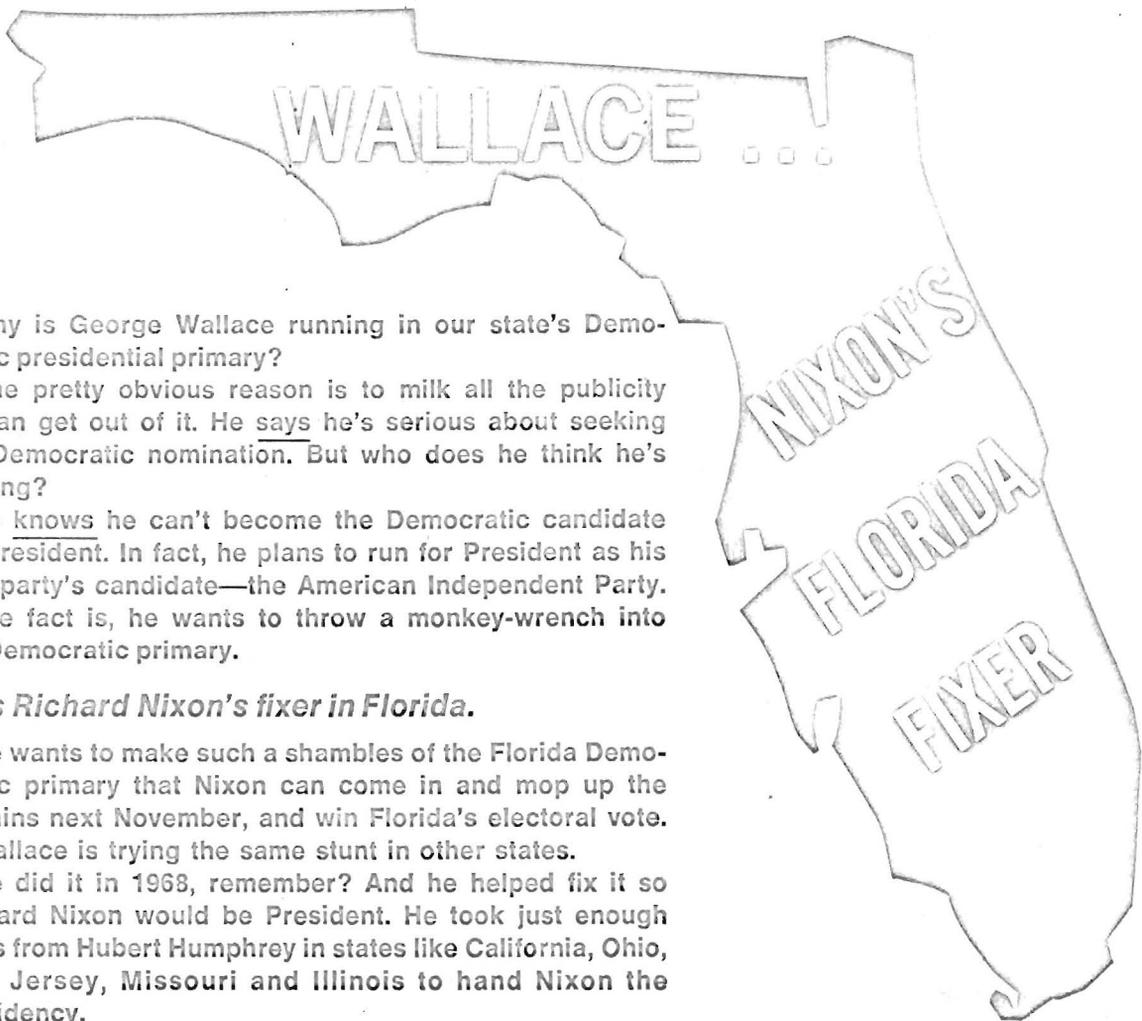
	<u>Pre-Convention</u>	<u>Convention and Post Nomination</u>	<u>Total</u>
I. President and First Family Travel	330,000	1,250,000	1,580,000
II. Staff Support	50,000	50,000	100,000
III. Colson's Mailing Operation	300,000	600,000	900,000
IV. V.P. Travel	50,000		50,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	730,000	1,900,000	2,630,000

6

*For your information,  
No acknowledgment necessary.*



*C. G. Rebozo*



Why is George Wallace running in our state's Democratic presidential primary?

One pretty obvious reason is to milk all the publicity he can get out of it. He says he's serious about seeking the Democratic nomination. But who does he think he's kidding?

He knows he can't become the Democratic candidate for President. In fact, he plans to run for President as his own party's candidate—the American Independent Party.

The fact is, he wants to throw a monkey-wrench into the Democratic primary.

***He's Richard Nixon's fixer in Florida.***

He wants to make such a shambles of the Florida Democratic primary that Nixon can come in and mop up the remains next November, and win Florida's electoral vote.

Wallace is trying the same stunt in other states.

He did it in 1968, remember? And he helped fix it so Richard Nixon would be President. He took just enough votes from Hubert Humphrey in states like California, Ohio, New Jersey, Missouri and Illinois to hand Nixon the Presidency.

***And Wallace is still boasting about that:***

“ . . . Our movement . . . was effective enough to defeat Mr. Humphrey for the Presidency of the United States.”  
This is what Wallace himself said in Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 9, 1971.  
So, it comes down to this . . .

**A Vote for Wallace in March  
Is A Vote for Nixon in November**

*Do you want to use your vote that way?*



**FLORIDA AFL-CIO**

**CHARLIE HARRIS**  
PRESIDENT

**ART HALLGREN**  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

**WM. E. ALLEN**  
SECRETARY-TREASURER

# URGENT

TO EVERY AFL-CIO MEMBER

*Florida afl-cio*

AFFILIATED WITH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR  
AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

P. O. BOX 7097

TAMPA, FLORIDA 33603



Non-Profit  
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Tampa, Florida  
Permit No. 462

"YOUR DEDICATED DOLLAR  
AT WORK"

JANUARY, 1972

"Hand in Hand Florida  
Grows with Organized Labor"

101-1506  
E. R. HARTMAN  
6708 PANSY DR.  
W. HOLLYWOOD, FL 33023

"WE have a JOB  
to DO!!!"

IN '72

RECEIVED FEB 14 1972

*C. G. Rebozo*

KEY BISCAYNE BANK BUILDING  
KEY BISCAYNE, FLORIDA 33149



Mr. H. R. Halderman  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 22, 1972

MEMORADNUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN  
FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

For your information.

## ✓ 14,000 youths sign up to vote

An estimated 14,000 persons between 18 and 21 qualified to vote during a special registration day in Cook County suburbs, it was announced Wednesday.

Thomas King, supervisor of the election division of Cook County Clerk Edward J. Barrett's office, said between 18,000 and 20,000 persons registered Tuesday at 95 special suburban locations and that about 70 per cent of them were newly enfranchised young people.

King estimated that there are 90,000 to 100,000 persons aged 18 to 21 who live in suburban areas under the county clerk's jurisdiction. That includes all of Cook County except the communities of Cicero, Berwyn, Lyons and Stickney, which fall under the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners. The board will hold a registration day at all 3,372 polling places next Tuesday.

Before Tuesday's registration at special locations, mostly in high schools, 39,000 young people had registered to vote. New registrants are qualified to vote in the March 21 primary election.



Republican  
National  
Committee.

Thomas B. Evans, Jr., Co-Chairman

February 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HON. H. R. HALDEMAN

Thought you might be interested in the attached which is a follow up to our initial memo of January 31 on registration efforts.

mjm  
attachment



Republican  
National  
Committee.

February 24, 1972

TO: CO-CHAIRMAN TOM EVANS  
FROM: ED DeBOLT  
RE: REPUBLICAN REGISTRATION

Even though spring is about a month away, GOP organizations around the country are already responding to the call for early registration efforts. Evidence is in that state and local Republican organizations, at their own expense, have conducted successful pilot projects or have geared up their existing apparatus to increase the rolls of registered Republicans. These pre-spring pilot projects and registration drives by Republican Party organizations have resulted in over 85,000 new Republican registrations around the country. Even more encouraging is the response by state and local Party leadership to the call from Attorney General Mitchell and the Republican national leadership to make plans and set dates for spring registration drives. Every day the Party comes closer to reaching our first goal of causing substantial spring registration activity throughout the country. To date, 35 states, including 80 major counties, have committed their Party organizations to this activity. By the close of the Leadership Conference next week, all 50 states should be involved. X

State and county Republican Party organizations in FLORIDA and TEXAS have completed several successful pilot registration projects, utilizing the RNC TARGET '72 blitz day techniques for recruiting the volunteers necessary to conduct these registration drives. In Duval County, Florida, where registration is seven to one Democrat and where a very weak Republican organization was floundering, and in Pinellas County, a Republican county where the Republican registration percentage is very high, 200 new Republican workers were recruited to conduct registration drives in targeted precincts where over 6,000 households were contacted and 1,500 unregistered favorable Republican were uncovered. These were registered prior to registration closing for the Florida Presidential primary. X

On February 19, the Harris County (Houston) Republican organization turned out 220 new Republican workers in the first of a series of weekend efforts and they contacted 8,658 households. This drive resulted in 2,500 new Republican registrations, an average of more than 10 registrations per volunteer working on blitz day.

The results from other Republican Party organization-caused registration activities include the following:

FLORIDA Chairman Tommy Thomas reports that the State Party's "one and one" registration program has had a net gain of approximately 6,000 Republican voters. Ken Rietz reports that The Committee's registration activities in Orange County resulted in approximately 3,000 favorable registrations and Party efforts in Brevard and Dade Counties have resulted in 3,100 new GOP registrations since the beginning of the year.

In Dallas, TEXAS the Party's on-going registration effort has caused 15,800 favorable unregistered voters to join the Republican ranks there this winter.

The Party organization in NORTH CAROLINA, under former Chairman Jim Holshouser and newly-elected State Chairman Frank Rouse, has produced a net gain of almost 5,300 new Republican registrations since December.

Republican Mayor Ralph Perk's victory in November has put new life into the Cuyahoga County, OHIO Republican organization and almost 21,000 new Republicans have been registered since the November election and the implementation of their precinct registration effort.

Davidson and Shelby Counties in TENNESSEE report 5,900 and 1,100, respectively, new Republican registrations since the first of the year.

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Heavy emphasis will be placed on the importance of early registration by state and local Party organizations at the March 1 Leadership Conference in Washington, D. C. , where more than 1,000 Party leaders are expected to gather. The national leadership of Republican auxiliaries, such as the Young Republicans, National Federation of Republican Women and College Republicans, has enthusiastically endorsed the Party's effort to cause registration. The leadership of these auxiliaries is now articulating the importance of registration and urging their members to participate to the fullest in causing the Party to be successful in its efforts.

The Republican National Committee's TARGET '72 registration operation has established regional coordinating desks to continue to encourage and educate state and local Party organizations to the importance of early registration efforts. Through these coordinating desks we will be able to determine the status of registration activities in the various states and follow the Party's response to the challenge of the national leadership to cause a substantial increase in the Party's membership. This operation can continuously pinpoint areas where the Party is either unwilling or unable to perform its assigned tasks of registration and cause appropriate follow-up.

The next complete registration report will be issued on March 10.

/jrg



Republican  
National  
Committee.

February 24, 1972

TO: GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM: ED DeBOLT  
RE: REPUBLICAN REGISTRATION

Even though spring is about a month away, GOP organizations around the country are already responding to the call for early registration efforts. Evidence is in that state and local Republican organizations, at their own expense, have conducted successful pilot projects or have geared up their existing apparatus to increase the rolls of registered Republicans. These pre-spring pilot projects and registration drives by Republican Party organizations have resulted in over 85,000 new Republican registrations around the country. Even more encouraging is the response by state and local Party leadership to the call from Attorney General Mitchell and the Republican national leadership to make plans and set dates for spring registration drives. Every day the Party comes closer to reaching our first goal of causing substantial spring registration activity throughout the country. To date, 35 states, including 80 major counties, have committed their Party organizations to this activity. By the close of the Leadership Conference next week, all 50 states should be involved.

State and county Republican Party organizations in FLORIDA and TEXAS have completed several successful pilot registration projects, utilizing the RNC TARGET '72 blitz day techniques for recruiting the volunteers necessary to conduct these registration drives. In Duval County, Florida, where registration is seven to one Democrat and where a very weak Republican organization was floundering, and in Pinellas County, a Republican county where the Republican registration percentage is very high, 200 new Republican workers were recruited to conduct registration drives in targeted precincts where over 6,000 households were contacted and 1,500 unregistered favorable Republican were uncovered. These were registered prior to registration closing for the Florida Presidential primary.

On February 19, the Harris County (Houston) Republican organization turned out 220 new Republican workers in the first of a series of weekend efforts and they contacted 8,658 households. This drive resulted in 2,500 new Republican registrations, an average of more than 10 registrations per volunteer working on blitz day.

The results from other Republican Party organization-caused registration activities include the following:

FLORIDA Chairman Tommy Thomas reports that the State Party's "one and one" registration program has had a net gain of approximately 6,000 Republican voters. Ken Rietz reports that The Committee's registration activities in Orange County resulted in approximately 3,000 favorable registrations and Party efforts in Brevard and Dade Counties have resulted in 3,100 new GOP registrations since the beginning of the year.

In Dallas, TEXAS the Party's on-going registration effort has caused 15,800 favorable unregistered voters to join the Republican ranks there this winter.

The Party organization in NORTH CAROLINA, under former Chairman Jim Holshouser and newly-elected State Chairman Frank Rouse, has produced a net gain of almost 5,300 new Republican registrations since December.

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/jrg



Republican  
National  
Committee.

February 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FROM: Gary Bauer  
VIA: Ed DeBolt  
RE: State Digests

This is the first in a series of bi-monthly reports which will serve to highlight state developments affecting and relating to delegate selection of the Democratic Party.

These reports will provide only a brief overview and are supplemented by the more detailed individual state reports on delegate selection that are issued as each state completes its delegate selection process.

DEMOCRAT DELEGATE HUNT

STATE DIGEST

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ALABAMA

- The Democratic Executive Committee ended any possibility that George Wallace would be on the ticket in November in that state as a Democrat. (as he was in 1968) Nine electors were handpicked, pledged to cast their votes for the nominee of the convention in Miami.

ARIZONA & IOWA

- Larry O'Brien is pleased with the participation in the Democrat precinct caucuses in these two states. 36,00 participated in the former, 40,000 in the latter.

CALIFORNIA

- Democrats held 387 mini-conventions on February 12th to unofficially pick delegates to put on the slates of each of the contenders in the primary. Observers noted that Hubert Humphrey's turnout lagged behind that of his opponents. McGovern and Muskie were in a "dead heat" for the lead in participation by Democrats.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

- The one place in the country where the Democrat reform effort is being openly ignored is in the nation's Capital. Walter Fauntroy, running as a favorite son has effectively deprived residents of the city of a chance to vote for other Democrats. No other candidate wants to buck Fauntroy's machine.

MICHIGAN

- The odds are that Governor Milliken of Michigan will sign into law soon a bill establishing a Presidential Primary in that state (May 16). After the bill goes into effect, nine of the largest 10 states in the country will have primaries. (Texas is the only exception) The bill is supported by Democrats in the state because their party procedures were not in compliance with the McGovern Commission reforms.

MINNESOTA

- Precinct caucuses will be on February 22nd - look for them to be an early indication of whether McCarthy has any residual strength.

MISSISSIPPI

- Governor Waller signed into law a bill increasing the size of the Democratic state executive committee from 15 to 25. The Governor will try to come to terms with reformers in his state by offering blacks some of the seats. The ploy probably won't work. Governor Waller and his "regular" Democrats still haven't agreed to support the nominee of the party in Miami.

X

Cliff Miller

Lloyd Free - w/ Rockefeller

P personally doing well,  
50-50; a hard campaign

Re - must be re-elected  
must contribute.

Who made polling info avail  
to Free for private  
analysis

WH → Car.

X

March 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: HARRY S. DENT 

SUBJECT: Candidacy of Ben Reifel,  
of South Dakota

BACKGROUND

Ben Reifel is considering running for Mundt's Senate seat in South Dakota. He has not made a final decision and has been contacting old Washington friends for their advice. It has evidently been mixed. I have contacted party officials and some of those concerned here in Washington.

ANALYSIS

Reifel was a Member of Congress for ten years. He did not seek re-election in 1970 in order to be with his wife. She died recently and he has been urged by many "friends" to seek the GOP nomination for the U. S. Senate.

There are advantages and disadvantages to his entering the primary race.

A. Advantages:

1. He can win the primaries without difficulty. Reifel was popular in S. D. and constantly ran ahead of the rest of the party.
2. He can probably win the Senate seat, though it could be tough.
3. He would be a good candidate, according to many observers.

Page 2  
The Attorney General  
March 1, 1972

B. Disadvantages:

1. There are currently five contenders for the GOP nomination (three announced). All are evidently quite committed.
2. Reifel could be an extremely divisive influence. It is doubtful the schisms would heal well.
3. Reifel is 66. This is the age at which Mundt last ran. Age would be the Democrats' chief issue and it would be a good one.

The consensus of most party people is that he should not seek the Senate seat, though some have urged him to do so. Nearly everyone I contacted would like to see him run for the Governor's office. Everyone thought he could easily win and would not divide S. D. Republicans in the process. Evidently, Ben is not as interested in the Gubernatorial race as in the Senate.

RECOMMENDATION

The consensus seemed to be that Reifel ought to be dissuaded from running for Mundt's seat, but urge him to consider the Gubernatorial race.

The people who could best approach him would be Bob Dole or Jerry Ford. Reifel has great confidence in them.

✓ bcc: H. R. Haldeman

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March 2, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By ef NARS, Date 3-29-82

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL  
BOB HALDEMAN

A friend of mine in Arkansas had lunch with Wilbur Mills this week. Wilbur showed him a poll indicating that he, Wilbur Mills, would get between 20 and 30 per cent of the New Hampshire primary vote. That is all I know, but it sounded high to me and I thought you might be interested.

DR:mel

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: Harry S. Dent *ASD*  
SUBJECT: 1972 U. S. Senate Races

Since the last report, our potential seems to have slipped in Virginia and Kentucky and picked up in New Mexico. At present, the Senate lineup is 55-45 (Byrd as a Democrat). If we win 19 of the 33 seats up and Byrd comes over, we can still start 1973 with a net gain of one, as reported last time.

Roudebush has won a U. S. Supreme Court ruling that he can get a recount in 11 counties on his 1970 loss to Hartke by 4,283 votes. Thus, there is a small chance we could get another seat if the Senate buys the recount results.

GOP Sure (10) -- Alaska, Idaho, Iowa, New Jersey, Texas, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Illinois, South Carolina and Wyoming.

GOP Possible (9) -- Nebraska, Maine, Colorado, Delaware, Kansas, Oregon, Michigan, New Mexico and Rhode Island.

Democrat Sure (6) -- Alabama, Mississippi, West Virginia, Minnesota, Louisiana and Arkansas.

Democrat Possible (8) -- South Dakota, Oklahoma, Georgia, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Montana, Virginia and Kentucky.

ALASKA: GOP Sure, Stevens (R)

There has been no appreciable change in the Stevens race. He should win. There still remains the possibility of a challenge from C. R. Lewis, a Bircher. Lewis has been a leading vote-getter in Anchorage for the State Senate. Democrat opposition will come from U.S. Representative Nick Begich, or Speaker Gene Guess. Guess is very well liked and has never lost an election, but has never run statewide. Begich could make it a tight race, but probably wants to wait for Gravel's seat in 1974.

The pipeline is still the most critical issue, though the Native Land Claims Act has helped (some conservatives are upset).

IDAHO: GOP Sure, Jordan (R)

The situation has not appreciably changed. Jordan has announced his retirement. Congressman Jim McClure appears way out front. A poll taken last fall indicated that McClure, Congressman Hansen (won't run) and former Governor Smylie in that order, were favored for the Senate seat. George Hansen has resigned his position at USDA to run, but has not announced. Smylie is showing some activity but with little apparent success. Bill Bergeson, a political unknown from Pocatello, has announced, as has Glen Wegner, of Finch's staff. Samuelson is definitely not a candidate. He hopes to run against Church in 1974.

The best contender likely to emerge among the Democrats is W. E. "Bud" Davis, President of Idaho State University. Edward Williams, AA to Governor Andrus, has decided to run for McClure's House seat. Attorney General Tony Park and State Legislator Vernon Ravenscroft are also interested in the Senate race. McClure should win.

IOWA: GOP Sure, Miller (R)

Miller is looking good. He currently has no primary opposition. The Cherokee Times recently conducted two polls, one among high school seniors and the other among 30% of the adult population in Cherokee County. Miller received 71% from the students and 69% from the adults.

Farm income is up (cattle and hog prices) and there appears to be no farm problem.

A potential threat, Stan Culver, announced for re-election to his House seat. Democrats have been polling and the results look bad for them. They may have to draft a candidate, unless FCC Bad Guy Nick Johnson goes home to run.

NEW JERSEY: GOP Sure, Case (R)

Case is considered unbeatable, and vulnerable only in a GOP primary. Sandman has announced he is considering a challenge to Case unless Case becomes a good Republican by supporting the President and does not push the state income tax in a Presidential year.

Sandman will be having a \$50 dinner on March 11. That is the outside date for him to announce his decision. He has implied White House support, but got shot down on this by us. Case is grateful.

The Democrats have only one announced candidate, Pat McGahan, of Atlantic County. If the Governor comes out, he will support Case. Adrian "Bud" Foley, of Governor Hughes' law office, has declined to run. An AP sampling is reputed to show Case has the bulk of the vote.

TEXAS: GOP Sure, Tower (R)

Tower is unopposed in the primaries and the outlook is good. The Democrats have three candidates seeking the nomination,

Ralph Yarborough, Barefoot Sanders and Hugh Wilson, a Port Arthur laboratory technician. Tower looks good in the polls taken late last year. The busing issue remains a drag on Tower and the state of the economy may be a significant influence on the outcome. Tower's finances are in good shape.

TENNESSEE: GOP Sure, Baker (R)

Baker appears to be doing well. There is no serious primary contender. The Executive Committee of the State GOP has endorsed Baker. The Democrats are badly split. Congressman Ray Blanton should be the Democratic contender. Busing remains a problem, but it is not as volatile as last fall. The President is looking increasingly better.

MASSACHUSETTS: GOP Sure, Brooke (R)

Brooke is in a very strong position. He is strong in the polls and has raised a good portion of his budget (\$200,000 from one dinner). In polls measuring acceptability, Brooke constantly rates over 70% approval and never above 10% disapproval. No primary opposition has as yet developed, and there is little likelihood of a third party entry. No Democrat of any stature has come forward. The Democrat Speaker, David Bartley, is mentioned but he has not announced.

ILLINOIS: GOP Sure, Percy (R)

Percy seems to be in very good shape. It is part of their strategy to keep a low profile and concentrate on organizing and building a foundation until June. Pucinski is a formidable opponent with excellent name identity. He has the pro forma endorsement of the AFL-CIO (COPE) state organization. Percy, however, got an endorsement from the Chicago UAW, and will have the tacit support of local union chapters. There have been no polls taken. Percy should win, but Pucinski's campaigning potential is of some concern.

RHODE ISLAND: GOP Possible, Pell (D)

Pell is running 2-1 to 3-1 behind Chafee, depending on which poll you use, but the polls may be questionable. The "Chafee '72 Committee" is organized and has nearly completed the state organization. Some 5,000 bumper stickers were mailed out the second week in February. Chafee will have no serious primary contention. His chief worry is money. It will be closer than some think, but we should get a pickup here.

SOUTH CAROLINA: GOP Sure, Thurmond (R)

Thurmond is unbeatable, but State Senator Nick Ziegler is being made to run. Thurmond moved from a 2-point deficit a year ago to a 26-point lead over ex-Governor McNair, who won't run.

WYOMING: GOP Sure, Hansen (R)

Hansen continues to look very good. No primary opposition has emerged. Among the Democrats, two Casper lawyers are talking about running but have not announced. Mayne Miller and Jim Fagan have little political experience and would not represent much of a threat. Roncalio will probably seek re-election to his own House seat.

The Executive Order restricting the use on Federal lands of chemical toxicants issued February 8, 1972, is bringing howls here and in other Western states. Morton has been told.

COLORADO: GOP Possible, Allott (R)

The Allott picture is beginning to brighten. There is no primary opposition. Frank Evans is the most formidable opposition that could arise. Evans, however, probably will not challenge Allott unless he is adversely redistricted.

That is highly unlikely. There are several other probable weaker challengers. Allott's greatest handicap is his age (65). Because of Allott's position of leadership and the relatively small money involved in a Colorado campaign, the National Democrats can be expected to target this race.

OREGON: GOP Possible, Hatfield (R)

Several months ago, Hatfield was losing in the polls to Governor Tom McCall, Representative Wendell Wyatt, or Representative Edith Green, but now none of them is running. Green and Wyatt have announced for re-election. It is too late for McCall to put together a primary challenge now. He has talked of running as an independent, but the State Chairman publicly told McCall that if he wanted Republican support he would have to do it as a Republican. The Democrat challenger will be Wayne Morse. Morse has a credibility problem about his age. If McCall stays out, Hatfield should retain his seat. If McCall comes out as an independent (which is unlikely), things could be bad.

DELAWARE: GOP Possible, Boggs (R)

Boggs should retain his seat. He has no primary opposition. Boggs' chances would be better were the party not divided.

There are two possible Democrat contenders. Ex-Governor Elbert Carvel is interested - as is 29-year old County Councilman Joe Belden, of Wilmington.

MICHIGAN: GOP Possible, Griffin (R)

Griffin's chances are improving daily. There will be no primary opposition. There will, however, be third and fourth party candidates. Ex-State Senator Robert Huber and ex-Demo Chairman Zolten Farency. State GOP officials feel the Democrats will be hurt more than the Republicans by this.

The Democrats have four primary contenders. The present front-runner is Attorney General Frank Kelley. He would make the toughest opposition. Others are State Board of Education Member Marilyn Kelly (young and a real looker!); former Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanaugh; and the first Black to hold statewide elected office, Secretary of State Richard Austin. Senator Griffin is looking better because of his stand on busing and auto tax relief. The President is looking good. The Detroit Free Press polled a Detroit high school in January. The President walked away with it!

MAINE: GOP Possible, Smith (R)

Opinion remains mixed regarding the vulnerability of Senator Smith. Her primary opponent is Robert Monks, who has been in the state only two years and is married into a wealthy family. He is President of Sprague Associates, an oil and coal distribution company. The issues revolve around Senator Smith's age (74) and health, and the fact that Monk appears to be a newcomer trying to purchase the election. Monk has put together an excellent organization and is working hard. Congressman William Hathaway will be the Democrat nominee. He is a strong candidate and the GOP primary fight could give him a boost. Also, if Muskie is the Democrat Presidential nominee. This one is very much up in the air.

NEBRASKA: GOP Possible, Curtis (R)

The Curtis election is closely tied to the President's campaign and national issues, especially farming. If Vietnam and the summit meetings go well, Curtis will benefit. The economy is in good shape. Unemployment is approximately 2.2%. Curtis has two primary challengers, but neither is a threat. The Democrats are in a tough primary. There are seven contenders. The two most likely to win are State

Legislator Wayne Ziebart, and a Professor from the University of Nebraska, Dr. Wallace Peterson. Peterson is the Chairman of the Economics Department. No polls have been taken. Curtis is expected to win in a close race.

KANSAS: GOP Possible, Pearson (R)

Senator Pearson will have a tough race. There will be no primary race and the party is fairly united, but the response of party people to Pearson is only lukewarm. Governor Docking will be the Democrat nominee, though he won't make an announcement until the Legislature adjourns in mid-March or later. Docking is the first third-term Governor in Kansas history and as a conservative, he is a formidable vote-getter. (If not Docking, Attorney General Vern Miller would be strong too.) With a good campaign, Pearson can probably win.

KENTUCKY: Democrat Possible, Cooper (R)

Cooper has announced his retirement. The only possible GOP winner would be ex-Governor Louie Nunn, and that is questionable. However, he is not too willing and wants some reassurances and financial backing from the White House. Bob Gable is also talking about running. He was Parks Commissioner under Nunn. His name identity is not good throughout the state. Dee Huddleston, Majority Leader in the State Senate, will probably be the Democrat nominee. He has good name identity and has the strong backing of Democrat Governor Ford. There is a question whether Nunn is vulnerable on possible scandals and could hurt the Presidential race.

VIRGINIA: Democrat Possible, Spong (D)

Spong, who appeared to be a loser a year ago, is in better shape today. He will probably have little opposition in the primaries. The only announced GOP candidate is Rep. William Scott, a sure loser. Joel Broyhill doesn't want to

page 9

give up his spot on Ways and Means. However, he is trying to line up Democrat Dan Daniel to switch and unite Byrd and GOP forces. As usual, Holton is a problem, and Scott won't get out of the way. Jack Marsh has refused to go. Looks like we get Daniel or Broyhill, or we forfeit the seat. To get Daniel, Scott must get out and Holton must assent -- two real problems.

GEORGIA: Democrat Possible, Gambrell (D)

Former Governor Ernest Vandiver has announced against Gambrell in the Democrat primary. Vandiver is a nephew of Senator Russell by marriage and was allegedly promised the seat. Ex-Governor and liberal Carl Sanders may get in too. Gambrell will probably win, but it will be close.

Lester Maddox is still a factor, but no one knows what he will do. Most think he will wait for another run at the Governor's office.

Fletcher Thompson will be the GOP nominee. Bo Callaway is involved with a new business venture. Phil Campbell thinks Thompson could win, especially if Sanders gets the Democrat nod. Also, the President looks good and coattails could help. Probably Gambrell will win.

MONTANA: Democrat Possible, Metcalf (D)

Metcalf is fading, but may win despite himself. His temper and drinking are renowned throughout Montana. The only Republicans to file are State Senator Henry Hubbard and State Senator Fred Carl. Neither represent the dream candidate. Chet Huntley considered running GOP, but put his Big Sky effort first. Attorney General Bob Woodall has announced for re-election. Former Governor Tim Babcock is beginning to look like the most viable potential candidate. He has some carry-over liabilities. But, since 1968, his credibility has increased. His business ventures may have given him some

momentum. Babcock makes an attractive candidate. He has not announced, but is ahead of the field. The right candidate could get Metcalf; he is vulnerable.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Democrat Possible, McIntyre (D)

As yet no one has announced against McIntyre. Wes Powell says he wants to wait until after the Presidential primary. Bob Whalen, the State Chairman, thinks Powell is becoming reluctant. The strongest candidate would be Louis Wyman, but he won't run. He is looking at Cotton's seat. U.S. Attorney Dave Brock is also interested and has said he would run against Powell if no one else did. That is unlikely. McIntyre is in good shape at this point. Only Loeb is taking pot shots at him in the press. Other papers are generally supportive. McIntyre will probably retain his seat.

NEW MEXICO: GOP Possible, Anderson (D)

The Democrats have a wide open primary on their hands. The primary candidates include Dave Norvell, the Attorney General; Jack Daniels, ex-State Representative and candidate for Governor; ex-Congressman Tom Morris; Jesse Kornegay, State Treasurer with much experience in state administration. Lt. Gov. Robert Mondargon, a Mexican-American, may announce. He would make an attractive candidate. Jack Daniels is favored to win. The GOP has three announced candidates -- Pete Domenici, 1970 Governor nominee; David Cargo; and former Lt. Gov. E. Lee Francis. Domenici will win the GOP nod, and a poll indicates he could take the seat in a squeaker.

NORTH CAROLINA: Democrat Possible, Jordan (D)

There are two prime contenders in the GOP primary: Jesse Helms, a very conservative (WRAL-TV) broadcaster, and

State Rep. James C. Johnson. Among the Democrats, Rep. Nick Galifianakis is Jordan's major opposition. The Senator should get the nomination. With RN coattails, we have a chance though behind now in a poll.

OKLAHOMA: Democrat Possible, Harris (D)

The Democrats are in a bitter primary fight. Congressman Ed Edmondson is favored to win. His toughest opponent is State Corporation Commissioner Charles Nesbitt. There are several other contenders.

The GOP candidate will be Dewey Bartlett. The general election is going to be very tough, but the GOP does have a fighting chance. Bartlett is putting together a good organization and is working very hard. The President is looking good and should be a help to Bartlett's chances. Edmondson is favored.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Democrat Possible, Mundt (R)

Because of Senator Mundt's problem and farm woes, the GOP is in trouble. They are, however, fielding five candidates - three of whom have announced. Bob Hirsch, with 12 years experience in the legislature; Ken Stofferahan, an NFO official and farmer; and Tom Reardon, a banker with little political background. Two unannounced candidates are Chuck Lien, a businessman with party experience, and Gordon Midland, the State Attorney General. This will be a very close primary. Hirsch probably has the edge, but he must receive 35% of the vote. If a candidate fails to receive 35%, the top two go into convention. In convention Midland and Hirsch would be favored, but no one will make a guess at the outcome.

Democrat Congressman Abourezk, worse than McGovern, has announced. He will be tough to beat because of GOP woes and he is a good politician.

ALABAMA: Democrat Sure, Sparkman (D)

The GOP has a four-way primary race between Winton Blount, young State Rep. Bert Nettles, Jim Martin, and Doris Callahan. This is a very close primary and the first statewide GOP primary. It is probably between Blount and Nettles. Sparkman has some primary opposition but is expected to have no problems. He should retain his Senate seat.

ARKANSAS: Democrat Sure, McClellan (D)

McClellan is very much in the race, but has two announced primary candidates - Congressman David Pryor and Ted Boswell. Labor-backed Boswell ran for Governor in 1968 and missed by a narrow margin.

Republicans will probably not field a serious contender. They feel that McClellan is most vulnerable in the general election, not in the primary. They all also feel that the "White House" will give no encouragement to anyone challenging McClellan. Chairman Charles Bernard would like a chance at McClellan, but thinks it best to wait for Fulbright. McClellan wins.

LOUISIANA: Democrat Sure, Ellender (D)

Senator Ellender will run. Who will oppose him in the Democratic primary is still uncertain. Gov. McKeithen is less likely to challenge him (will probably take Presidency of LSU); also, he has scandal problems.

Tom Stagg, the GOP Committeeman, is still very interested and very weak, as are several other hopefuls from New Orleans.

The attitude for the President is very good.

MINNESOTA: Democrat Sure, Mondale (D)

Senator Mondale has no serious primary opposition and is in excellent shape. Some Republicans have gone so far as to argue that he should be allowed to run unopposed. The GOP, however, does have a field of potential candidates. They include Rudy Boschwitz, the National Committeeman; State Rep. James Ulland; State Rep. Ed Brandt; and Arlin A. Erdahl, Secretary of State. Mondale should retain his seat.

MISSISSIPPI: Democrat Sure, Eastland (D)

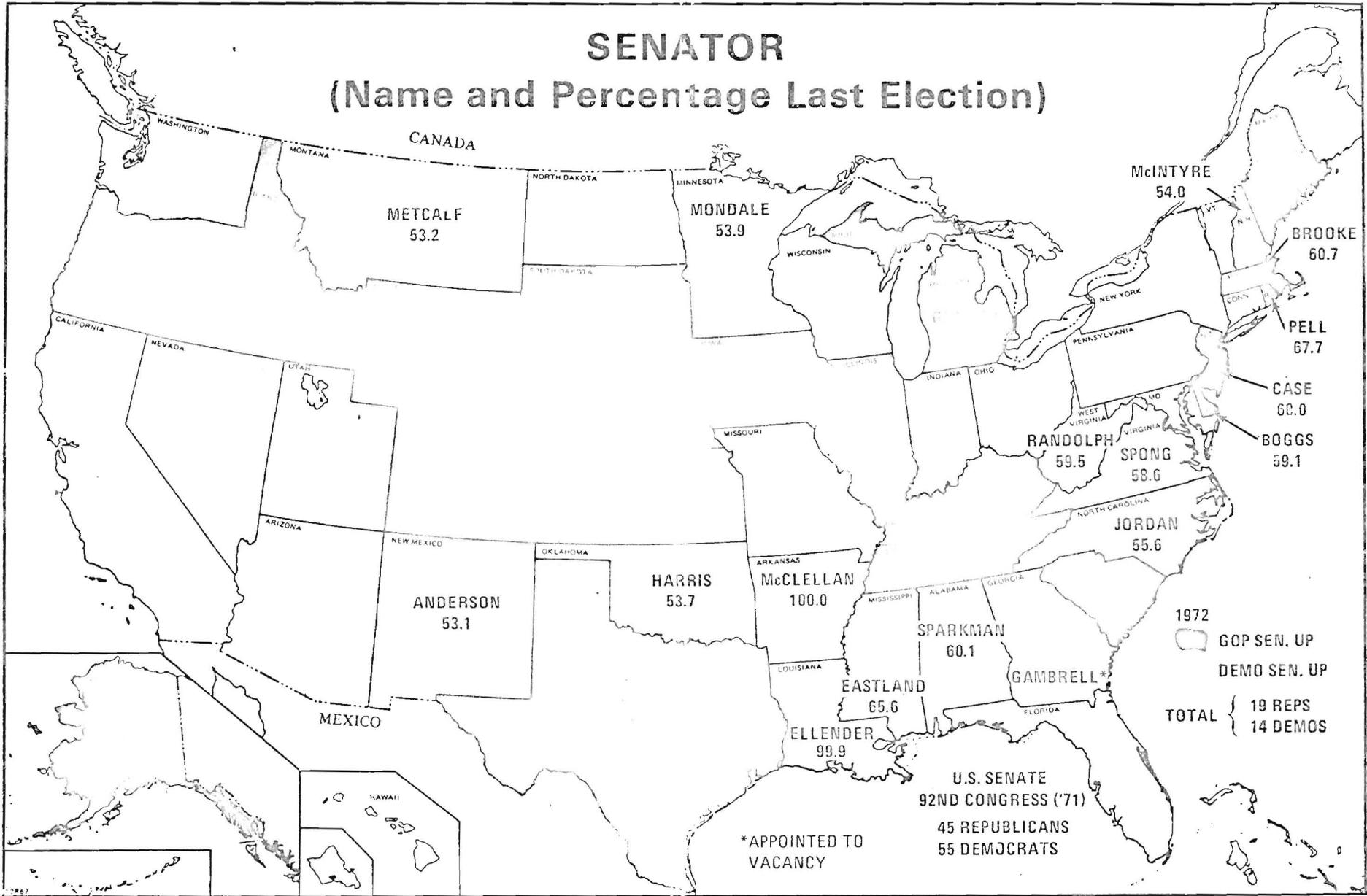
Eastland is unopposed and should retain the seat. There is no GOP candidate except James Meredith, and the state GOP is trying to find a way to keep him out. Ex-Lt. Gov. Sullivan is thinking about running as a Republican.

WEST VIRGINIA: Democrat Sure, Randolph (D)

Randolph has no major opposition since Arch Moore has filed for re-election. Ken Hechler has been redistricted and has filed both against Randolph and for his own redistricted seat. The GOP candidate is Mrs. Louise Leonard. She is a State Senator and won her seat in a heavy Democrat area. She is a viable candidate.

Tab "A" is a map showing Senate seats up for re-election in 1972.

# SENATOR (Name and Percentage Last Election)



Courtesy of:  
The Republican National Committee

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Harry S. Dent 

SUBJECT: 1972 U. S. Congressional Races

The Congressional Campaign Committee is privately predicting a House gain of 12-20 seats, depending on the strength of Presidential coattails. (They have been told to stop this type talk and swear they are only giving us an idea of what they expect.) They need 38 for control.

Currently, there are 178 Republicans, 2 vacancies, and 254 Democrats. We should win the 2 special elections in April (Illinois 15th, Reid, and Pennsylvania 27th, Fulton), although the Fulton seat will be tough because of heavy Democrat registration. Nevertheless, both will be okay after November because of reapportionment since Fulton's seat will be folded into John Heinz's seat.

Several of our ranking Members of important Committees have already announced their intended retirement. Though open seats in either Party are traditionally a battleground for the opposing Party to try to take over, these vacancies should pose no major problem for the '72 election. It is true that we are losing some very excellent legislators (Allen Smith, Springer, Byrnes, Jonas, Pelly, Bow and several others), but most of these men represent districts which should stay Republican, given good candidates to succeed them. It will be more expensive to defend these seats with new names as candidates, but other than that, we do not view this mass retirement as a very serious problem insofar as the numbers game for House control is concerned.

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The major opportunities for gains by Republicans will be in new seats created by redistricting, a few Democrat open seats, prospects of recapturing a few we lost in 1970 and the possibility of defeating a few other incumbent Democrats, particularly if the President runs strongly in certain areas. In net terms, redistricting, when finally accomplished in all states, will result in Republican advantages in 6 to 8 districts.

Tab "A" contains information on tentative target districts for November.

TENTATIVE TARGET DISTRICTS  
1972

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>INCUMBENT</u>	<u>PLURALITY</u>	<u>GOP % of TOTAL VOTE '70-'72</u>
Alaska - A.L.	Begich	8,190	44.9
Colorado - 4	Aspinall	14,075	44.9
Connecticut - 1	Cotter	1,165	48.1
Connecticut - 6	Grasso	4,063	48.9
Illinois - 22	Shipley	13,396	46.0-50.8
Indiana - 4	Roush	6,256	48.1-48.7
Indiana - 11	Jacobs	20,339	41.7-51.0
Kansas - 2	Roy	11,318	45.0-44.3
Maryland - 6	Byron	3,756	47.6-51.0
Massachusetts - 4	Drinan	3,367	35.7-37.0
Note: 3-way race			
R-60,575			
D-63,943			
Indiana (Philbin) 45,283			
Minnesota - 7	Bergland	12,082	45.9-46.1
New Mexico - 2	Runnels	3,444	48.1
South Dakota - 1	Denholm	15,306	44.0-44.1
Utah - 1	McKay	6,230	47.9-47.7
Washington - 4	McCormack	6,875	47.4
Wyoming - A.L.	Roncalio	608	49.7

OPEN DISTRICTS THROUGH RETIREMENT

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>REPUBLICAN</u>
California - old 20	Smith
Illinois - 21	Springer
N.C. - 9	Jonas
Ohio - 4	McCulloch
4	Betts
Ohio - 16	Bow
Pa. - new 9	Whalley
Virginia - 6	Poff
Wash. - 1	Pelly
Wisconsin - old 8	Byrnes

Open Districts Through Retirement (con't.)

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT</u>
Louisiana - 8	Long
Maryland - 3	Garmatz
Miss. - 3	Griffin
Missouri - 6	Hull
N.C. - 7	Lennon
Texas - 2	Dowdy

OPEN DISTRICTS THROUGH REDISTRICTING

California	5 new districts
Illinois	3, 10, 17
Maryland	4

INCUMBENTS OPPOSED THROUGH REDISTRICTING

Iowa	Kyl (R)-Smith (D)
North Dakota	Andrews (R)-Link (D)
Note: Link may run for Governor	
Texas	Price (R)-Purcell (D)
Wisconsin	O'Konski (R)-Obey (D)

OPEN DISTRICTS RUNNING FOR SENATE

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>REPUBLICAN</u>
Georgia - 5	Thompson
Idaho - 1	McClure
Virginia - 6	Scott

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT</u>
Arkansas - 4	Pryor
Illinois - 11	Pucinski
Maine - 2	Hathaway
N.C. - 4	Galifianakis
Oklahoma - 2	Edmondson
S.D. - 2	Abourezk

Note: Louisiana - 7 -- Edwards  
elected Governor 2/1/72

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: Harry S. Dent *HS*  
SUBJECT: 1972 Governors' Races

At present there are 29 Democrat Governors and 21 Republicans, plus our governorships in Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico - all now elective.

Of the 18 seats up this year, we could win 9 and lose 9, giving the same count next January of 29 to 21. Potential losers are: Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Montana, North Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Utah. Winners (some very close) should be: Delaware, Iowa, Missouri, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, and West Virginia. Luis Ferre should hold on in Puerto Rico.

Here are the Governor race comments:

ARKANSAS: Democrat Sure, Bumpers (D)

There is no way Bumpers can be successfully challenged this year. He has no big vulnerabilities.

DELAWARE: GOP Possible, Peterson (R)

Peterson should win, but he has had budget problems and some party trouble. He is now improving. Ex-Speaker Earl McGinnis has announced for the Democrat nod and a few more may try.

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ILLINOIS: Democrat Possible, Ogilvie (R)

Ogilvie is pulling up, but he's still behind. He has a primary challenge, Dr. John Mathis, but Ogilvie will win. There are no money problems. Looks like an uphill horse race against Lt. Gov. Paul Simon.

INDIANA: Democrat Possible, Whitcomb (R)

Ex-Gov. Matt Welsh is out front. Only Ruckelshaus would have a chance, and there's concern whether to risk him. Speaker Otis (Doc) Bowen has announced for us, but can't beat Welsh. The party is coming back together with a new chairman, James T. Neal.

IOWA: GOP Possible, Ray (R)

Ray will kill Jepsen in the primary and should go on to beat ex-State Treasurer Paul Franzenburg in November. Ray beat him in 1968 by 93,000 votes.

KANSAS: Democrat Possible, Docking (D)

Much depends on whether popular Docking goes for Governor or Senator. Atty. Gen. Vern Miller is also popular and waiting to go if Docking doesn't. We will run U.S. Atty. Robert Roth or ex-Gov. John Anderson. Our Lt. Gov., Reynolds Schultz, is weak. Democrat advantage here.

MISSOURI: GOP Possible, Hearnnes (D)

State Auditor Kit Bond is our best bet, says an MOR poll, and is only 1 point behind the Democrats. Our people feel we can win with this dynamic and articulate young man. The Democrat nod will go to Earl Blackwell, Joseph Teasdale, or William Morris. We have a few more interested also - Bus King, Steve Burns, Harvey Engie, and Gene McNary.

MONTANA: Democrat Possible, Anderson (D)

We would be better off with Anderson running for re-election, but he bailed out. Also, Atty. Gen. Woodhall and Speaker Lucas backed out on our side. Frank Dunkle, Game Commission Chairman, is the only GOP face on the scene now, and the Lt. Gov., Thomas Judge, can probably beat him. We still have time. What we need is a good candidate.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: GOP Possible, Peterson (R)

Peterson should survive Bob Hill and Roger Crowley, the only Democrat probable now. No final judgment can be reached until the Legislature finishes its tax troubles. Fiscal woes could undo Peterson in November.

NORTH CAROLINA: Democrat Possible, Scott (D)

Jim Gardner will beat Jim Holshouser 2-1 in the GOP primary and run a close race against Lt. Gov. Pat Taylor in November. If the President sweeps good in North Carolina, Gardner could win. Now he's 11-points behind Taylor. The Democrat field is crowded. Gardner is all out for the President this time and has the money.

NORTH DAKOTA: GOP Possible, Guy (D)

Guy is retiring, and Congressman Arthur Link is the Democrat leader. Lt. Gov. Dick Larsen is our best bet over Frank Larsen, a banker, and Robert McCarney. Our people feel Dick Larsen will win.

RHODE ISLAND: GOP Possible, Licht (D)

This is our brightest pickup possibility. Herb DeSimone lost by .3% in 1970 and a Becker poll now shows him way ahead because Licht promised no tax increase in beating Chaffee and then raised taxes.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Democrat Sure, Kneip (D)

Kneip will be hard to beat because he's doing okay and we have too many troubles and no first-rate candidate, though several should contest - Bob Bartron, Gordon Mydland, Joe Barnett, Earl Thompson, and Bob Burns.

TEXAS: Democrat Sure, Smith (D)

Smith has scandal problems but is fighting hard. Lt. Gov. Barnes is expected to take him and win in November. There are hints of Barnes scandals too. On our side, the leadership and Tower aren't encouraging any real effort except for Al Fay to stop maverick conservative State Senator Hank Grover in a primary with 7 contenders. The Democrats have 10 contenders.

UTAH: Democrat Possible, Rampton (D)

This will be a sure thing for the Democrats if Rampton runs again. He is expected to do so. The two most likely GOP candidates are State Senator W. Hughes Brockbank and Salt Lake County Commissioner William Dunn. Both credible individuals.

VERMONT: GOP Possible, Davis (R)

We can hold this if Gov. Dean Davis (70) goes again. He indicates he will. If not, it'll be tough.

WASHINGTON: GOP Possible, Evans (R)

Gov. Evans will have a tough fight against State Senator Martin Durkan (likely) or Seattle Mayor Wesley Uhlman. If Jackson is on the national ticket, Evans could lose. Polls show, however, that Evans is not being held responsible for unemployment there.

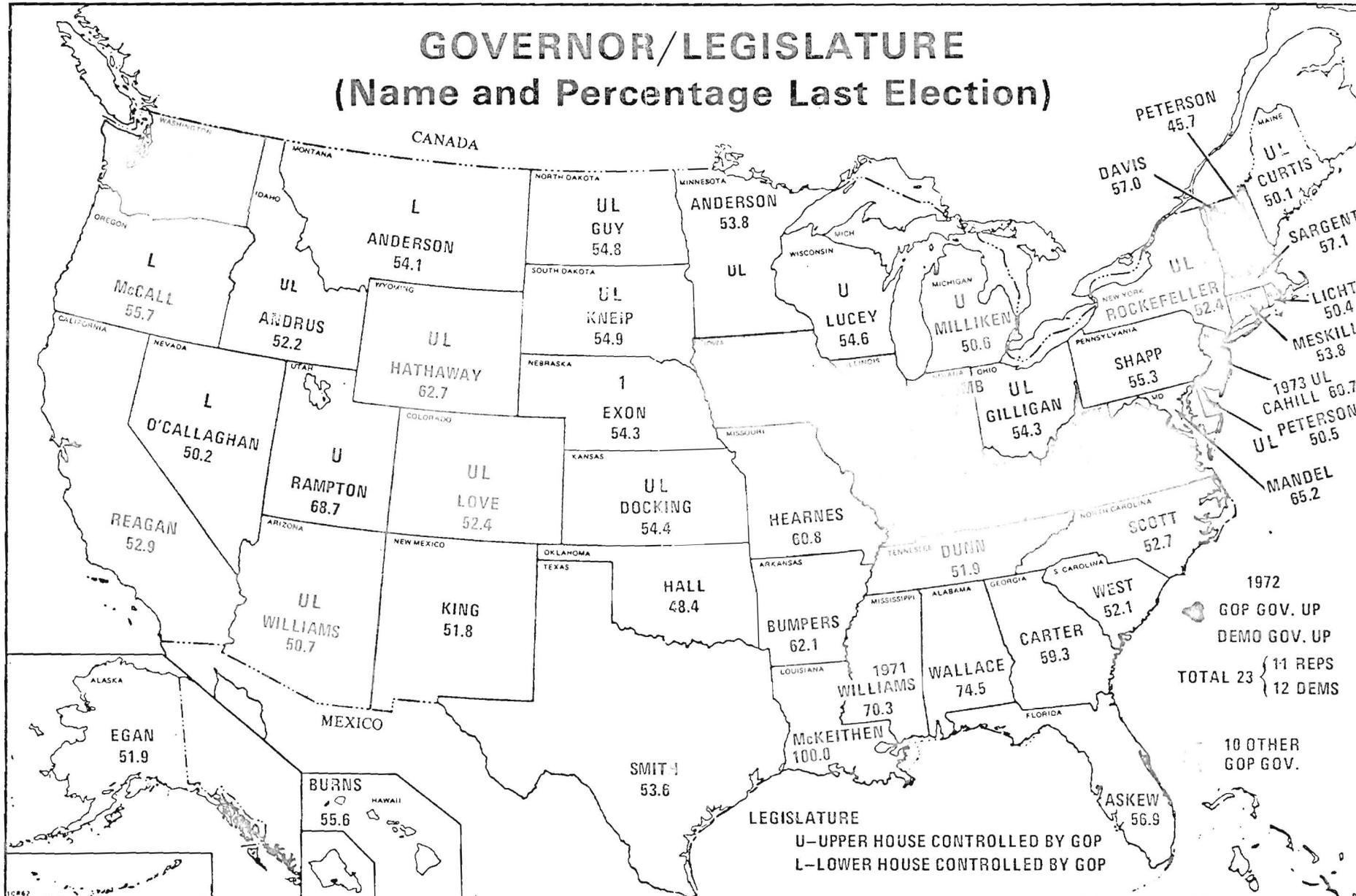
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WEST VIRGINIA: GOP Possible, Moore (R)

Arch Moore is slightly ahead of Jay Rockefeller now in the polls. Moore has improved since last year. Being Chairman of the National Governors has helped. The Jack Anderson efforts to hurt Moore on tax problems has not penetrated wild and wonderful West Virginia. Strip mining is an issue there. This hurt Rockefeller. Also, Byrd and Randolph should help Moore.

Tab "A" is a map showing the Governors races. (We already lost Louisiana, but Dave Trean did well with 43%.)

# GOVERNOR/LEGISLATURE (Name and Percentage Last Election)



February 28, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102  
By ef NAL, Date 3-29-82

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT

Governor John West of South Carolina is acting as Larry O'Brien's private agent in trying to handle George Wallace. West hinted in a South Carolina newspaper interview over the weekend that Wallace might be used by the Democrats in the general election as Thurmond was used by the Republicans in 1968.

West then went off the record to tell this reporter, Lee Bandy, who writes for the Nashville Banner and The State of Columbia, S. C., that he has actually been assigned the mission of making a deal with Wallace to get him to stay a Democrat in the fall and campaign for the Democrat nominee and the Democrat candidates generally. This is a slim hope unless their price is mighty high, but this explains why O'Brien and others are beginning to soften in their attitude on Wallace.

bc: Bob Haldeman

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