

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>
30	2	3/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dailey, through Magruder, to Mitchell RE: information on a DNC telethon. 1 pg.
30	2	3/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Joanou to Dailey RE: a scheduled Democratic National Committee Telethon. 1 pg.
30	2	3/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dailey, through Magruder, to Mitchell RE: information from the American Broadcasting Company on a Democratic National Committee telethon. 1 pg.
30	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten note for Strachan RE: list of state CRP chairmen. Eight lists of announced and confidential state chairmen attached. 9 pgs.

<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>
30	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: recently discussed campaign topics. 2 pgs.
30	2	3/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to plans for the 1972 Republican National Convention. 1 pg.
30	2	2/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: preventing disruptions at the Republican National Convention. 1 pg.
30	2	2/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dean to Haldeman RE: information on potential disruptions of the Republican National Convention. 3 pgs.
30	2	3/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Joanou to Strachan RE: attached documents. 1 pg.

<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>
30	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Competitive Analysis Report of various Democratic candidates for president. 9 pgs.
30	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Second Competitive Analysis Report of Democratic presidential candidates. 30 pgs.
30	2	3/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dailey, through Magruder, to Mitchell RE: the third competitive analysis report. 1 pg.
30	2		<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Third Competitive Analysis Report of Democrats running for president in 1972. 27 pgs.
30	2	3/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dailey, through Magruder, to Mitchell RE: Competitive Analysis Report number four. 1 pg.

<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>
30	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Fourth Competitive Analysis Report of Democratic candidates for president in 1972. 30 pgs.
30	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to "K," Scali, Perot, and others. 1 pg.
30	2	3/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on various topics, such as Ed Nixon and information from Dailey, obtained from "K." 1 pg.
30	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on "Time" and Mao obtained from "K." 1 pg.
30	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	Handwritten notes on Seversen and various political figures. 1 pg.

<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>
30	2	2/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	Handwritten notes on Severson a House vote relating to housing development. 1 pg.
30	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on campaign figures. 1 pg.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

March 21, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM TO: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: PETER H. DAILEY

Attached is further information on the telethon planned by the Democratic National Committee prior to their convention.



CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

TO: PETE DAILEY
FROM: PHIL JOANOU
SUBJECT: Democratic Telethon

Following is an interim report on the Democratic Committee Telethon on ABC. The show is to begin Saturday, July 8, at 10:00 p.m., ending Sunday, July 9 at 5:00 p.m.

Time costs are \$610,000. This does not include cable charges and studio time. These additional costs are still being negotiated, and could raise the total package costs to over \$1,000,000. ABC reports that it will be 2 to 3 weeks until the final costs are worked out. ABC stations have an option whether to run the show or not. Most of them will.

ABC believes the Democrats will use the show for fund-raising, although subject matter has not been discussed.

ABC will give us an equal opportunity as soon as they have finalized this deal. George Karalekas is in touch with ABC and will keep us posted on developments.

cc: Bill Novelli
Mike Scott
Mike Lesser
George Karalekas

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

March 20, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: PETER H. DAILEY *PHD*
SUBJECT: Democratic Pre-Convention Telethon

We have just been informed by the American Broadcasting Company that the Democratic Committee has purchased time for a 19 hour telethon to begin Saturday, July 8, at 10:00 p.m., ending at 5:00 p.m. on Sunday, July 9. It is our understanding that it may be interrupted with newscasts. We do not have full information as to its content. Probably it will be used as a fundraiser.

Similar time has been offered to the Republican National Committee (or the Committee for the Re-Election of the President -- ABC is somewhat confused on this matter). They have asked us to respond prior to the close of business on Friday, March 24. Since details are rather limited at this time, this is for your information only. Further details and a recommendation will follow.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Gordon Strachan

- your state
Chairmen list
updated sheets.



Announcement date: December 15, 1972

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE:	MARYLAND COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT 7979 Old Georgetown Road Bethesda, Maryland	(no phone at present)
----------------------	---	-----------------------

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN:	Edward P. Thomas Senate of Maryland	(301) 267-5467
office:	Carroll and Frederick County Annapolis, Maryland	or (301) 662-2777
home:	710 Wyngate Drive Frederick, Maryland	(301) 663-5765

* * * * *

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:	David Neideffer c/o Headquarters	
home:	#3 Pooks Hill, Apt. 806 Bethesda, Maryland 20014	(301) 530-8375

* * * * *

1st Vice-Chairman	Robert H. Marks, Jr. home: 3933 Fox Hill Drive Ellicott City, Md. 21042	home: (301)-465-2492 office: (301) 477-6067
-------------------	---	--

* * * * *

CHAIRMAN Nationalities Committee	John Shmorhun 3125 W. Ivory Road West Friendship, Md. 21794	home: (301) 442-2329 office: (301) 765-6508
----------------------------------	---	--

* * * * *

* indicates entry not in previous listing

March 17, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

* DELAWARE

Announcement date: not announced to date

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE	William R. Campbell, Jr.	(302) 656-5483
CHAIRMAN:	office: President, John W. Rollins and Assoc.	
	2401 Pennsylvania Avenue	
	Wilmington, Delaware 19806	
	home: 2605 Pennington Drive	(302) 475-3794
	Wilmington, Delaware 19810	

* * * * *

*indicates entry not in previous listing, or change

March 14, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

CALIFORNIA

Announcement date: February 4, 1972

HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE:

* CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
1670 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, California 90017

* (213) 484-1330

* * * * *

NIXON STATE
CHAIRMAN:

Governor Ronald Reagan
State Capitol
Sacramento, California 95814

(916) 445-2841

* * * * *

address EXECUTIVE
mail to: DIRECTOR:

Mr. Lyn Nofziger
c/o of HEADQUARTERS
(address above)

* * * * *

temporary
residence:

Mr. Lyn Nofziger
Airport Marina Hotel
Los Angeles, California 90045

(213) 670-8111

March 6, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

NEW YORK

Announcement date; December 15, 1971

NIXON STATE
CHAIRMAN:

Governor Nelson Rockefeller
Executive Chambers
Albany, New York 12224

(518) GR4-7000 (Albany)

(212) 582-7030 (NYC)

* * * * *

* indicates entry not in previous listing

Confidential

March 17, 1972

MISSOURI

Announcement date: December 22, 1971

HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE:

MISSOURI COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
130 S. Bemiston, Suite 309
St. Louis, Missouri 63105
Exec.Secy. - Mrs. Mildred Huffman

(314) 862-2460
if no answer call
(314) 727-7963

* * * * *

NIXON STATE
CHAIRMAN:

Lawrence K. Roos
c/o of Headquarters
(address above)

office: Supervisor, St. Louis County

(314) 889-2016

home: 943 Tirrill Farms Road
St. Louis County, Missouri

(314) WY3-3766

* * * * *

* CAMPAIGN
COORDINATOR:

* Mr. Warren Morgens
c/o of Headquarters
(address above)

home: 300 Mansion House Apt. 2315
St. Louis, Missouri 63102

(314) 241-0455

* indicates not in previous listing

March 20, 1972

MONTANA

Announcement date: March 6, 1972

* HEADQUARTERS
MAIL:

MONTANA COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
Drawer "P"
Missoula, Montana 59801

* * * * *

NIXON STATE
CHAIRMAN:

G. W. Deschamps (State Senator)
District No. 26, Missoula County
Route 2, Mullen Road
Missoula, Montana 59801

(406) 549-0535

* * * * *

* indicates not in previous listing

March 20, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NORTH DAKOTA

NO HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE
CHAIRMAN:

John Rouzie
216 Avenue F
West Bismarck, North Dakota 58501

(701) 223-7750
or
(701) 523-3261

* * * * *

* CO-CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Winston Register
3209 Belmont
Grand Forks, North Dakota 58201

(701) 772-4324

CONFIDENTIAL

March 8, 1972

SOUTH DAKOTA

Announcement date: March 8, 1972

NO HEADQUARTERS OFFICE
AT PRESENT

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN . W. E. "Obie" O'Brien
office: Dakota State College (605) 256-3551
c/o Karl Mundt Library Ext. 228
Madison, South Dakota

home: 215 North Chicago Avenue (605) 256-4898
Madison, South Dakota 57042

* * * * *

VICE-CHAIRMAN - EAST SOUTH DAKOTA.

Mrs. M. O. Lee (Wanda)
home: 438 Jefferson Blvd. (605) 352-5038
Huron, South Dakota

VICE-CHAIRMAN - WEST SOUTH DAKOTA

Mrs. Robert Lee (Dode)
home: Boulder Canyon Route (605) 347-3225
Sturgis, South Dakota 57768

* * * * *

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Recent items from
the campaign include:

- 3/4-
3/4
- 1) Nofziger's California reports to Reagan;
 - 2) Wisconsin primary rally information;
 - 3) Peter Dailey's concerns about advertising expenditures within the Campaign Spending Act;
 - 4) Schedules of spokesmen

Date:

J. R. HADENMAN

TO:

JORDON STRACHAN

FROM:

Recent terms from
the composition include:
1) *subscript* *subscript*
; *subscript* *subscript*

primary *subscript* *subscript*
; *subscript* *subscript*
subrogates in use
and *subscript*

11/11/11

RNC Convention

Cong Rhodes, Bill Timmons, Bob Flanigan,
Al ^{Cooperman} ~~Kuperman~~ (Madison Sq Gar), La Rue

Program of Convention: Bob Flanigan
- Kuperman devel ideas for camp.

- ① Script it - w/ spars spe set on teleprompter + cut
- ② Close circ TV to get color outside ~~lower center~~ arena
- ③ Use stars - Taft Schieber lists handle 15-20 min forums Rhodes - keep another man last.

GOP - Government of the People
 Al Kuperman - source of Nixon's the
 One song leadership by coverage of Conventions
 Schieber celeb write columns for 1 mo before Convention to build audience

Platform - while announced
 set on screen (15' x 20')
 on 3 sides, explained w/ slides, pictures
 \$200,000
 Soapbox - de moris
 Danny Todd Conf of Agents

Peter
 Bailey
 Film
 Wolper

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 10, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY 

Keep riding herd on John with regard to the possible disruptions at the RNC. Also, one of the points you should raise with John is the fact that even though diversions haven't been too successful, the fact that we have a diversion going on that shows good kids doing a constructive thing, versus the people trying to disrupt the demonstration will probably be helpful.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: JOHN DEAN 
SUBJECT: Potential Disruptions at the
Republican National Convention

In response to my memorandum of January 31, 1972 summarizing present intelligence regarding the potential for disruptions at the GOP Convention in San Diego, you have requested information regarding the "positive things that are planned."

At the outset, I might say that I find that the present intelligence information does have some positive elements. First, it indicates that the "anti" groups are disorganized, that there is more talk than action, and that there is friction between the national organizations and the local San Diego organizations. Rest assured that nothing is being done to change this situation and, in fact, everything possible is being done to preserve it as long as possible. Second, I find virtually no serious discussion among the "anti" groups regarding use of confrontation techniques (a la May Day variety) at the San Diego Convention. Their goal is numbers -- large numbers. In fact, such old warriors as Hayden, Rubin, Hoffman and Dellinger have privately confided that they feel that they will only succeed if they have a mass demonstration, without incident!

By way of planning, there is little that can be done to affect the "anti" groups until they get down to serious planning themselves. At this time, we are doing what is possible to keep their plans from developing in a manner that will cause difficulty in holding the convention.

I also find a very positive situation in the preparedness planning by the city and state officials for any type of demonstration. From the Governor's office to the Mayor's office to the Sheriff's and Police Chief's offices, detailed plans are being made. When I first began focusing on the San Diego demonstration potential I was alarmed at the lack of understanding and appreciation of the demonstration potential by the responsible officials. In the ensuing months, however, I have found them taking every step necessary to deal with and control any demonstration. The city has some 20 different task forces working on this one problem. The task forces are composed -- depending on the focus of study -- of city, state and federal officials. While many of the task forces are primarily studying the law enforcement and related problems, others are reviewing such matters as rock festivals, surfing contests, etc.

Your memorandum to me (via Strachan) specifically raises the matter of "football games, surfing contests, and rock concerts...." as things we should be planning for. While I agree that some such activity is appropriate, I also feel that such planning is not an answer to the potential problems. Activities of this nature might serve two purposes: divert the kids from the convention and/or keep them busy while there. I seriously question the diversionary tactic. It has been tried on several occasions and has failed. As an observer of every major demonstration in the United States in the last three years, I know of it only partially succeeding once, i. e., Portland, Oregon, American Legion Convention. If such activities are employed as a means of giving the kids something to do to keep them out of trouble, I agree it has some potential; but we should keep in mind the fact that such activities can also attract, as well as divert and I don't think we should do anything to attract more kids to California during August of 1972.

Mayor Wilson has promised to send me copies of the reports of all the task forces, which should give us the details of all the planning activities.

In brief, the picture is not that horrible. Yes, there may be a large number of long haired freaks roaming around San Diego during our convention, but the plans have been made to control them -- should that be necessary. I have no hesitation in offering this prediction:

-- there will be somewhere between 250,000 -
450,000 (maximum) demonstrators --

-- the great majority will be orderly -- and --

-- there will be ample law enforcement people
trained and able to deal with any situation
which may arise.

There is also this very positive thought -- the demonstrations
could very well completely fizzle. As you know, the leaders are
calling for no less than a million kids. However, if the national
climate is calm, they might have trouble getting 100,000 interested
in San Diego. How's that for a pollyanna?

I will keep you posted on the positive as well as negative sides of
this situation as they develop.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

March 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM

TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: PHIL JOANOU

Attached are #1 and #2 of the Competitive Analysis reports.
We would appreciate your comments and suggestions.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "P. Joanou", is written in dark ink. The signature is fluid and somewhat stylized, with a large loop at the end.

COMPETITIVE ANALYSIS REPORT

Report #1, Week of 2/28-3/3/72

MUSKIE

Travel

2/21 Beverly Hills: fund-raising dinner;
2/22 San Francisco: fund-raising dinner;
2/23 Wisconsin: walking tour;
2/24 Chicago: meeting with Cook County Democratic Comm.;
Oak Park, Ill.: speech at Rosary College;
2/25 Sarasota; Clearwater; Tampa; St. Petersburg, Fla.
campaigning;
2/26 Concord; Franklin; Laconia, N.H.; campaigning;
Hartford, Conn.: Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner.

Media

TV . Not available

Radio Manchester, N.H., 2/28, station WGRR, commercial
Senior Citizens: proposed we establish a program
of housing security to provide regular monthly
payments that could meet property taxes, or
mortgage payments, or rental payments that reflect
higher property taxes.

Miami, Fla., 3/1, station WFAB, commercial
Anti-Wallace Statement: implied that Wallace
would run the country as a dictator without
Congress and that only Muskie would truly
represent all Americans.

Miami, Fla., 3/1, station WFUN, commercial
Inflation: stated we have not come to grips with
the forces that produce inflation and that
managing the economy is going to be a first-
priority item.

Analysis Not enough data to develop meaningful analysis of
Muskie's media thrust.

Finances

Personal Stated personal worth is \$153,141, and income
in 1971 totaled \$64,485.

Campaign Appears to be in trouble, financially, although
Aides say not in the red yet. Six or seven staffers
were transferred to state organizations while six
others were let go. Many staffers asked to take pay
cut or work on volunteer basis. Herb Hadad, Deputy
Press Secretary, was let go and his duties absorbed
by Hadley Roff whose salary is being paid by Sen.
John Tunney.

(MUSKIE)

Muskie's whistle-stop campaign in Fla. came to \$5,852.52.

Endorsements

Former Governor of Connecticut, Chester Bowles, endorsed Muskie. In California, both Mexican-American members of the State Legislature endorsed Muskie and announced formation of "Viva Muskie", a national drive for support of Spanish speaking Americans.

Polls

- California 2/4-2/7 indicated that President Nixon leads Muskie in a four-way race by 4% (44% to 40%). In a head-to-head confrontation, Muskie leads Nixon by 3% (48% to 45%). A poll of State Democrats shows Muskie leading HHH by 5% (28% to 23%), although Kennedy edged Muskie in the personal preference column (24% to 23%). Muskie was far ahead as best candidate to beat Nixon (30%).
- New Hampshire Results of a "straw vote" taken at Keene State College showed McGovern with 227 of the 735 votes cast and Muskie pulling only 97 votes (running fourth behind McCloskey with 177 and Nixon with 146). A poll conducted by N.H. public TV network (2/1 - 2/3) showed Muskie receiving 58% of the votes in the Primary and McGovern second with 19%.
- Tennessee A poll commissioned by Muskie showed him trailing Wallace by 6% (29% to 23%), and HHH third with 17%.
- Minnesota A poll conducted by the Minnesota Tribune in February showed Muskie to be the strongest Democratic candidate by 38%. He leads HHH in his home state by 9% (38% to 29%).
- Gallup Poll of Democrat voters (conducted 1/7 - 10 and 2/4 - 7) showed Muskie leading Kennedy by 5% (29% to 24%), and without Kennedy, Muskie leads HHH by 10% (39% to 29%). Muskie showed strongest in the East with 47% and weakest in the South with 28%.

(more)

(MUSKIE)

AFL-CIO Polls Humphrey leads Muskie in the local COPE polls taken in Atlanta (35.3% to 33.9%), in Dallas (42.9% to 38.1%), and in Cincinnati (49.5% to 36.5%), In the Florida branch of COPE, Jackson is the first choice and Muskie is third.

Issues

Busing Rejected outright any Constitutional Amendment prohibiting court-ordered busing and added, "I don't believe we ought to clutter up the Constitution with that kind of matter." (Chicago Tribune, 2/19)

Health Recommended Government spend \$90 million next year to establish 180 health maintenance organizations across the country to which people would pay low annual fee for comprehensive low-cost health care. (Miami, AP wire, 2/15)

Sr. Citizens Proposed a \$50 million addition to Law Enforcement Assistance Administration for granting local police department funds to protect older citizens from crime. (Press release, 2/17)

Space Told Florida AFL-CIO he does not favor ending all space programs: "I don't propose discontinuing the kind of program that finds out where pollution is coming from." (UPI wire, 2/17)

China Thinks President had a difficult task in Peking.

Vietnam Believes Vietnam war stands between us and the future of this country and that if the money spent on the war had been applied to problems at home we wouldn't need to worry about busing now. (Fund-raising dinner speech, Beverly Hills, 2/22)

Analysis

The "straw vote" question on busing on the March 14 ballot may help Muskie - those who oppose busing can still vote for Muskie if they agree with him on most other issues. If the question were not on the ballot, they might have voted for Wallace solely as protest against busing.

Muskie continues to look strong: in Georgia he appears to be well ahead in the battle for Convention delegates, although most of the delegation is running uncommitted.

(more)

(MUSKIE)

Muskie's "cool" overheated twice last week: once in New Hampshire when he tearfully berated Loeb for insulting his wife and once in Florida when the "yippie" leader Rubin heckled him about Vietnam. According to the press, however, New Hampshire voters are about evenly divided on the Loeb incident, some are glad Muskie "stood up to Loeb", others think he is a "cry baby" and not presidential material.

As of today, Muskie still appears to be the strongest contender for the Democratic nomination.

Muskie versus Nixon: a recent telephone poll conducted for the Boston Globe showed that of 2,000 Massachusetts residents who are planning to vote in the April 25 primary, Muskie is favored over President Nixon by a 2-to-1 margin.

HUMPHREY

Travel Not available

Media Not available

Finances Not available

Endorsements Florida Attorney General, Robert Shevin, recently endorsed HHH. This is the highest Florida State official to endorse any candidate at this point.

Vince Exley, President, Florida Chapter of the American Federation of Teachers gave endorsement.

People Maryland Attorney General, Francis Burch, was named State campaign manager.

Issues

China Applauded Nixon's efforts to restore diplomatic relations with Peking, BUT noted that concessions were made by Nixon and none by the Chinese, adding "it is now clear that the rug has been pulled out from under the Taiwanese."

Agriculture Criticized Agriculture Department's new plan of delivering full payment to feed grain growers in July - and calls for the previous advance payment system to be reinstated.

(more)

(HUMPHREY)

Busing Continues anti-busing stand: "it hasn't helped the child, it hasn't brought about quality education, it hasn't solved our racial problems... quality education is the issue, not busing."

HHH voted against the Griffin Amendment and for the compromise (2/29/72).

Analysis

HHH continues to court the labor and farm vote. Appears also to be courting minority groups, too, if his California slate to the Miami convention is any indication: 48% women, 17% blacks, 16% Spanish surname, 20% youth, 26% labor, and 9% older Americans.

JACKSON

Travel Not available, but note he failed to return to Washington to vote on the Griffin Amendment.

Media

TV Not available

Radio Miami, Fla. 2/29, station WGBS, commercial
Busing: explained his Constitutional amendment against busing by saying:
"The Constitution should specify that no governmental body has the right to transport children against the wishes of their parents from their home neighborhood to distant schools solely for the purpose of achieving a racial balance, and it (meaning his amendment) would abolish once and for all a system of unequal schools in America."

Analysis According to a recent Gallup Poll, Jackson has 3% of the electorate (the same as McCarthy)! To overcome this, he appears to be pulling out the stops in his Florida media campaign. Some estimates are that he already has purchased \$170,000 of air time - well above the \$133,000 limit set by the National Democratic Committee. Jackson has said that the limit gives an unfair advantage to the better known candidates.

(more)

(JACKSON)

Issues

Unemployment/ Environment	Jackson seems to be zeroing in on issues relating to his forte of technological solution to problems. In Wisconsin, he predicted U.S. airlines will have to buy S.S.T's from foreign manufacturers with a corresponding loss of jobs for Americans. He proposed unemployed technical workers be put to work on the problems of ecology.
Defense	Advocates embarking on new major weapons and space systems to meet a threat of Soviet lodgments in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean.
Vietnam	Advocates even faster withdrawal of U.S. ground troops, but warns that war frustrations may lead to resurgent isolationism and the neglect of a credible defense posture.
Busing	Categorically opposes the mandatory busing of children for the sole purpose of achieving racial balance; approves of busing only if "quality education is assured at the end of the bus ride."
Crime	Promises more federal funds for additional judges, prosecutors, public defenders and police. In return, wants local jurisdictions to bring those charged with crime to trial within 60 days.
Economy	Sees this as the over-riding issue and emphasizes the re-establishment of a growing, expanding economy.

Analysis

Of all the candidates, Jackson seems to have the most specific "platform" regarding pertinent issues. He does not talk in vague generalities, but seems to take strong positions on the issues. He is spending heavily, particularly in Florida where his ability to stay in the race will undoubtedly be decided. A recent poll conducted by Premack & Associates in Florida, showed Jackson with 8.47% (versus Wallace with 25.1%, HHH with 12.86%, Muskie with 12.76%), a rise of 3.47% in the past month. He has set up a campaign team of 98 workers for the April 4 primary in Wisconsin and was the first Democrat to enter the New Mexico primary. In another recent popularity poll taken in Pennsylvania, he was listed as the candidate most likely to win the primary there.

(more)

McGOVERNTravel

Not available.

Media

TV

Not available.

Radio

Manchester, N.H., 2/27, station WGRR, commercial
Taxation: proposes eliminating "outrageous" loopholes that enable large corporations to shift their tax load to the working man. He proposes relieving the property tax burden by having the Government assume the major part of education and welfare costs and he seeks to phase out oil and gas depletion allowances.

Economy: proposes to increase foreign outlets for American goods, government contracting to private industry, and expanded public service employment to assure a job for everyone. And, reduction of the "main source of inflationary pressure, wasteful and non-productive military spending."

Health: proposes a federally funded comprehensive program of guaranteed health insurance for all Americans and that the cost of prescription drugs and hospital medical treatment be covered by Medicare.

Sr. Citizens: proposes total social security benefits to start at age sixty-two and an increased minimum payment of \$150 a month. Proposes expanded housing programs for the elderly.

Vietnam: somewhat dramatic reading of a letter from a soldier in Vietnam who supports McGovern's "proposal to build a better, different and more moral America" and who offers to join McGovern's campaign organization.

Manchester, N.H., 2/28, station WGIR, commercial
Crime: backs up his tough stand on drugs by listing the legislation he has proposed: the Controlled Substance Act (to strengthen existing drug laws); the Federal Drug Abuse and Drug Dependence Act (to set up a national center for research and treatment); the Drug Offenders' Treatment and Rehabilitation Act (offering professional help to convicted addicts).

(more)

(McGOVERN)

Sen. Kennedy Speaking for McGovern: tells how McGovern fought and won against the old "bureaucratic machinery in Washington" and effectively gave direction and control to the Food for Peace program. This statement from Kennedy was made in 1968.

Sen. Kennedy Speaking for McGovern: again Robert Kennedy's voice (taped in 1968) praising McGovern's courage in speaking out on issues and the course we followed in Southeast Asia.

Analysis

Definitely taking stands on the issues via the media. Will be interesting to see how and where and the extent to which McGovern uses same commercials throughout the primaries.

Issues

Busing

Lists this as a top priority issue, followed by Vietnam, pollution, hunger, senior citizens. Has accused Nixon of trying to make busing the number one issue in the 1972 campaign. McGovern missed the Griffin vote on busing, but did return to the Senate to help defeat a subsequent vote on the amendment.

Drugs

Denied he had even advocated legalization of marijuana, but in an earlier statement he indicated that a more promising route would be to regulate marijuana along the same lines as alcohol.

Analysis

McGovern, like Jackson, is taking definite (and in some cases, strong) stands on the issues. While some strategists believe that McGovern and McCarthy may have no more than 30% of the delegates to the national convention to split between them, it is nevertheless the merit of the man that he has one of the best and most professional campaign organizations around. For example, in California, McGovern workers obtained 25,000 signatures (several thousand more than required) to place him at the top of the primary ballot. His aides think he will pick up 13 of the 46 Iowa delegates to the Democratic convention. His latest endorsement came from The Progressive, a national, liberal magazine published in Wisconsin. And, on February 28th he revealed a list of those who have contributed over \$1,000 to his campaign coffers which total \$1.2 million to date.

(more)

WALLACE

Analysis

Does not appear to be a strong contender in the Democratic race; however, he is definitely a power to be reckoned with in the South. In 1964, he received 43% of the total vote in Maryland and 34% of the vote in Wisconsin. Michigan State Democratic leaders are now saying he will get 25% of the votes there due to the busing issue. In short, he could end up with a sizeable delegation to the convention in July from the North in addition to his obvious Southern support. The upcoming Florida primary private polls show him carrying the State by a plurality of about 30%. He's third among the Democrat contenders according to a nationwide Harris poll taken in February - this is the first time Wallace has been placed among the "hopefuls".

On the other side of the fence: the Florida AFL-CIO is strongly anti-Wallace, as is the Wisconsin Governor, Patrick Lucey, who says he will actively campaign against Wallace if Wallace begins to develop real strength in his state. Florida Governor Askew may also decide to endorse and campaign strongly for another candidate as a means of heading off Wallace.

END

COMPETITIVE ANALYSIS REPORT #2

Table of Contents

SUMMARY	Section I
POLLS	Section II
CANDIDATES	Section III
Muskie	page 1
Humphrey	page 7
Wallace	page 10
Lindsay	page 12
Jackson	page 16
McGovern	page 19
Kennedy	page 22
Ashbrook	page 23
APPENDIX	Section IV

Competitive Analysis
Report # 2

Section I

SUMMARY and BRIEFS

McCloskey	Abandoned Presidential race and filed for the Republican nomination in the 17th Congressional District of California on March 10.
Hartke	Has withdrawn from Presidential primary race.
Sanford	Terry Sanford, president of Duke University and former Governor of North Carolina, announced on March 8, that he would seek the Democratic nomination for President. He is entered in the May 6 primary election in North Carolina. His candidacy was considered a blow to Muskie who had enjoyed uncontested possession of the middle ground in the race for North Carolina's 64 delegates.
Jackson	Elated by the New Hampshire results, now thinks he has a good chance of coming in second in the Florida race.
Humphrey	Also elated by the New Hampshire results, campaigned strenuously in Florida, but is still troubled by his "retread" image.
Wallace	Barnstorming on busing, as usual.
Lindsay	Ran the best organized and maybe the most expensive campaign in Florida - may be the most expensive campaign ever staged to win the Vice President spot in July.
Muskie	Tired and it shows, but hanging on.
McGovern	Not working very hard in Florida, already revving up for Wisconsin.
Kennedy	Lurking in the background.

Section II

POLLS

- Nixon A Gallup poll taken in late February, following President Nixon's China trip, showed his popularity at 56%, the highest point in 14 months. The President's latest popularity rating represents the second successive increase in popular approval since a January test.
- Labor Labor union leaders in the New York and New Jersey area meeting on 3/11, gave Muskie 32.2%; Humphrey 30.9%; Jackson 15.3%; McGovern 7.1%; Wallace 4.8%; Nixon 4.5%; Lindsay 2.5% and McCarthy 1.1%.
- Rhode Island A poll conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13 in Rhode Island by the Providence Journal-Bulletin gave Muskie 46%; Kennedy 21.3%; Humphrey 14.1%; Lindsay 7.2%; McGovern 5.2%; Jackson 3.1%; Wallace 3.1% of the votes in the May 23rd primary.

Section III

THE CANDIDATES

MUSKIE

A. ISSUES

Federal Tax Reforms

In a major speech on tax reform at the Miami YM-YWHA on March 9, Muskie proposed a reform program incorporating virtually every major proposal made during the last decade by liberal Democratic economists. He proposed:

- a 20% reduction in the oil depletion allowance;
- a one-fifth reduction in the depletion allowance for gold, copper and all other minerals;
- elimination of an exemption under which holders of state or municipal bonds do not pay Federal income taxes on the interest;
- imposition of Federal taxes on capital gains from property transferred at death;
- repeal of the 7% investment tax credit for purchase of new machinery and equipment and repeal of the accelerated depreciation rules under which businesses can deduct the cost of equipment over a short period of time;
- elimination of the system under which a U.S. corporation can defer payment of taxes on profits from a foreign subsidiary;
- abolition of the arrangement that permits a corporation that exports goods to defer taxes on 50% of its income so long as the exempted profits are reinvested in the company;
- strengthening of existing restrictions on the amount of investment interest that may be deducted;
- that investors in oil and gas wells no longer be permitted to write off in a single year the full production costs of a new well.

(more)

Section III con't

THE CANDIDATES

MUSKIE

In addition, Muskie said, "As President, I will fight to close an over-all total of \$14 billion in Federal tax loop-holes." He failed to indicate, however, precisely what he would do with the \$14 billion in new revenues. It should also be noted that Muskie's tax reform proposals followed by two months a pledge by McGovern to redistribute income by taxing the wealthy more heavily and giving grants to the nation's poor. (New York Times - 3/10/72)

Campaign Contributions Muskie has tentatively decided to reveal the sources of his campaign contributions, contingent upon clearance with 20 large contributors who might be reluctant to have their names made public. He also is said to be considering publishing his full Presidential campaign expenditures. (NY Post - 3/11/72)

Agriculture In a letter to Secretary Butz, Muskie urged the Agriculture Department to make an advance payment of 50% of expected Federal payments to wheat and feed grain farmers. (UPI - 3/1/72)

Foreign Aid "Today the bulk of our foreign aid dollars are wasted and misdirected. Too much of it goes for military assistance. If the program can't be improved it should be cancelled. I am certainly committed to reform in this area." (New Hampshire Political advertisement - 2/23/72)

Vietnam Again proposed an immediate cessation to the war and stated that if elected President, he would set a date, "an actual day on the calendar" for the withdrawal of all American troops. He says, "That is the best way, perhaps the only way, to get our prisoners of war home from communist prison camps." (New Hampshire political advertisement 2/23/72)

Section III con't

MUSKIE

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

Television	\$61,660 in Florida, covering Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando and Tampa. (as of 3/10/72)
Radio	\$11,985 in Florida, covering Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando and Tampa. (as of 3/10/72)
Newspaper	\$31,027 in Florida, covering Tallahassee, Panama City, Miami, Jacksonville, Tampa, St. Petersburg, and West Palm Beach. (as of 3/10/72)

Creative

West Palm Beach, Fla., 3/3/72, station WEAT-TV, commercial

Inflation: Muskie talks to Florida housewives about prices.

Miami, Fla., 3/3/72, station WPLG (TV), commercial

General: urges Americans to "pursue what they share together" and that by so doing "their different interests will be served as well..."

Comment

According to the New York Times (3/8/72), only Wallace and Muskie have cut back on their radio and television plans in Florida, one presumably because there is little doubt he will win the Florida primary (Wallace), the other because he still remains the Democratic front-runner. Florida (RNC rpt) Muskie media men scrapped a commercial spot aimed at blue-collar workers after they noticed a picture of Martin Luther King appeared in the film.

Since the most Muskie can hope for is "second-best" in Florida, he may be rechanneling a portion of media expenses allotted to Florida to Wisconsin where he potentially has a very good chance of winning the primary on April 4. Or, Muskie may very well have redirected a portion of those funds towards a stronger grass-roots effort in Florida, an area of obvious weakness in New Hampshire.

Section III con't

MUSKIE

C. STRATEGY

Jewish Vote in Florida	A handbill from Muskie's campaign headquarters in Miami hails him as "a winner fighting for a winning cause - the security of Israel."
Florida	Muskie supporters ran a full-page ad in the Miami Herald with a bigger-than-life-size photograph of Wallace and a caption that said "If you wouldn't give him the Presidency, don't give him our primary." Additionally, Muskie strengthened his speaking attacks on Wallace, taped new television commercials and considered flying to Key West, which has been marked by racial turmoil, to make an appeal for harmony.
District of Columbia	Muskie will not run in the D.C. primary, leaving Walter Fauntroy unopposed.
Georgia	Muskie efforts here appear hampered as Governor Carter wants an uncommitted delegation at the convention.
Idaho	All but six Democrat members of the State Legislature endorsed Muskie, but a liberal anti-Muskie coalition is hard at work in an effort to pick off delegates at the April 17 district caucuses.
Maine	The Main State Black Political Caucus wrote to Muskie urging him to meet with them, but so far, he has not agreed to such a meeting.
Massachusetts	Delegates pledged to Muskie won the top spot on 8 of 12 district primary ballots.
Missouri	Governor Hearnes wants at least 60 of the State's 73 delegates to be pledged to Muskie at the convention, but there is opposition from the reform wing of the party.
North Carolina	Muskie has become the first contender to officially file in the North Carolina primary.

Section III con't

MUSKIE

D. ANALYSIS

Muskie's failure to garner the 50% victory he so hoped for in New Hampshire and McGovern's surprise showing of 37% have cast grave doubts upon Muskie's ability to go to the convention as the clear-cut Democratic candidate.

Several factors may have played a significant role in the New Hampshire outcome.

- Muskie's mistaken assumption that he would carry better than a 50% margin led him to slacken his campaign efforts in that State until a survey conducted by the Boston Globe showed he had slipped 23 points in five weeks. He then returned to the State and campaigned vigorously for the last week prior to the primary...perhaps a bit too late because in the meantime...
- McGovern's forces were exceptionally successful in gathering support at the grass-roots level. They scoured the State seeking old supporters of Eugene McCarthy and carefully built a ground-swell of voters in areas which Muskie had assumed were his (the blue-collar areas, for one).
- The Manchester Union Leader's persistent attacks on Muskie and its labeling of him as "Moscow Muskie" led to an incorrect perception of him in Manchester as being well to the left of the far more leftish McGovern. It is interesting to note Rowland Evans's and Robert Novak's comments in the Washington Post (3/10/72):
"If Muskie can be wrenched out of his centrist position into a leftish image in Manchester by one reactionary newspaper publisher, can the national Republican apparatus do the same nationwide come November?"
- Muskie's inability to come to grips with the pertinent issues may have left him a blur in the minds of many would-be voters. One of his big-name supporters there, in commenting after the primary, said Muskie was "not riding the issues and not in tune with the times."
- Muskie's initial disinclination to debate probably was a correct analysis of the situation, for, as it turned out, the great debate was a crashing bore and while it probably didn't cost him any votes, it's doubtful that it won him any, either.

Section III con't

MUSKIE

D. ANALYSIS con't

In Florida, Muskie's arduous campaign pace is taking its toll. His attack on Wallace on March 11 was delivered with "no more fervor than if he were giving a dissertation on citrus trees..." according to the New York Times (3/12/72). When tired, Muskie's temper becomes painfully short and he has been known to snap at both the press and members of his audiences. Several of his Florida supporters have expressed concern that Muskie's searches for funds and his widespread campaign for geographic support might collapse in exhaustion before the nominating convention.

Muskie's middle of the road stand in Florida isn't helping him to stand out from the "crowd" and the one issue on which he has taken a definite stand (the space shuttle program which he opposes) may cost him votes there. In fact, he has a reputation among many Floridians for "crawfishing" - a Florida term for scuttling sideways on the big issues, like busing. On the other hand, many Floridians who are anti-Wallace but not necessarily pro-Muskie, will vote for him because they think he has the best chance to beat Wallace.

Muskie's momentum as the national front-runner may carry him through the Florida race to second place, but there seems to be little doubt that President Nixon will carry this State in the November elections.

Section III con't

HUMPHREY

A. ISSUES

Crime	At the Greater Miami Crime Commission dinner (March 8), Humphrey called for a federal law, patterned after the anti-kidnaping "Lindbergh Law," to make the killing of a policeman, prison guard or fireman a federal offense.
Drugs	At the same dinner, HHH said that if he is elected President, one of his first acts will be to seek agreement with foreign countries which are the sources of narcotics, to halt the drug traffic. Further, that he would make it clear that they must either stop the flow or "be regarded as an enemy of the U.S." and be cut off from all military and economic aid.
Space Program	Humphrey favors the Space Shuttle proposal (which ought to sit well with Florida voters).
Social Security	He favors a 50% boost in Social Security pensions.
Cuba	Thinks it would be premature to establish diplomatic relations with Cuba.
Busing	He is taking a cautious approach and phrasing his statements carefully. Says some busing is justified for quality education, but thinks massive busing to achieve strict mathematical racial quotas has not worked.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures (as of 3/10/72)

TV	\$42,250, in Florida
Radio	\$5,612, in Florida
Newspapers	\$7,061, in Florida
Creative	Not available

Section III con't

HUMPHREY con't

B. MEDIA con't

Comment

Humphrey is putting about \$5,000 more into his Florida television campaign than he planned to a week ago, but it still remains relatively small at an estimated budget of \$65,000.

He has scheduled five, live, prime-time television broadcasts throughout the State, answering questions phoned in by the viewers.

C. STRATEGY

Appearance

The 1972 Humphrey looks right up to date in double-knit, wide-lapel suits, and chrome-rimmed blue sun-glasses. He is working hard to avoid the "has-been" and "loser" labels and his energy (considering he is 60) is awesome.

Lorne Greene

Humphrey has teamed up with Lorne Greene (of "Bonanza" fame) to add a bit of glamour to his campaign and to attract the crowds.

Jewish Vote

The Washington Avenue office of the Humphrey campaign headquarters in Miami is closed, according to a notice in the window, from sundown Friday evening until Sunday morning, out of respect for the Jewish Sabbath. Last week, Humphrey placed a two-page ad in The Jewish Floridian, a weekly newspaper, pointing out that Senator Humphrey is the only candidate who supports Israel's claims to the Jordanian section of Jerusalem.

Florida

In his final week of campaigning in Florida, HHH has been meeting people via helicopter. This is part of his over-all campaign theme that he is the "People's Democrat." He has emphasized that his nomination will be the result of the voter's wishes, not of the bosses.

Section III con't

HUMPHREY con't

C. STRATEGY

Pennsylvania	Delegates to the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor Convention indicated an overwhelming preference for HHH, giving him 83.7% of their vote.
Rhode Island	A full slate of delegates pledged to HHH has been entered in the Rhode Island primary. The slate includes 30% women; 20% youth; and 5% black.
Puerto Rico	The former mayoress of San Juan, Puerto Rico, <u>Dona Felisa Rincon</u> has endorsed the Senator and will be working among the Spanish-speaking communities.
California	HHH received the endorsements of three California union leaders: <u>Cornelius Wall</u> (ILGWU); <u>Joseph DeSilva</u> (Retail Clerks); and <u>Stella Epstein</u> (United Teachers of Los Angeles). Also, five California State Senators and three Assemblymen have joined HHH's campaign.

D. ANALYSIS

Buoyed by Muskie's less than 50% vote in New Hampshire, HHH is talking confidently of winning the number two spot in the Florida primary. He has been concentrating on the Jewish voters and the senior citizens in Florida and has spent considerable time wooing the youth vote there. But, in spite of his jazzy new appearance, Humphrey is still sounding as old-fashioned and virtuously simple as ever. The Humphrey message conveys feelings and attitudes, but is short on specific issues. His cautious approach to the busing issue in Florida places him with most of the other candidates, except Lindsay and Jackson, and thus does not provide him with much of a vehicle for getting votes. Most analysts continue to place Humphrey third or fourth in the primary and that's about the best he should do there on the 14th.

Competitive Analysis
Report # 2 con't

Section III con't

WALLACE

A. ISSUES

Supreme Court	Campaigning in Florida, Wallace said he will urge the Democratic National Convention to adopt a party plan requiring Supreme Court Justices to go before the Senate every six years and requiring district judges to run for office.
China	Hedging on his criticism of the President's trip to China, he said the U.S. should always be willing to talk, but that he didn't think "we should go to Peking to do the talking."
Busing	No change.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures (as of 3/10/72) in Florida

TV	\$34,030
Radio	\$2,819
Newspaper	\$8,692

Creative	West Palm Beach, Fla., 3/3, station WEAT-TV <u>Law and Order</u> : Wallace telling viewers that as President he would stand 100 per cent behind every policeman and law enforcement official.
----------	--

Comment	As the acknowledged front-runner in Florida, Wallace thought it wise to recently cut back on his television and radio spending in the State. And, since assorted continuing polls all show him with a healthy lead, he probably was correct to save the money on a sure winner and put it into his Alabama race.
---------	--

Section III con't

WALLACE con't

C. STRATEGY

Florida

Florida Secretary of State, Richard Stone, said nearly 3,000 Republican voters in six of the state's most populous counties have switched registration, apparently to vote for Wallace.

Michigan

Michigan Secretary of State informed Wallace that if he enters the May 16 primary as a Democrat, he cannot appear on the state's November election ballot as a third party candidate. Similar laws exist in Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

D. ANALYSIS

Running in the primaries enables Wallace to whip up enthusiasm among his supporters. Any adverse effect on the structure of the American Independent Party can be discounted for the party is nothing without Wallace. Entry in the primaries also cranks up the Wallace campaign's money-making machine. But, most importantly, his decision to enter the primaries has put him back on center stage. He's the focal point of the current Florida campaign and his fervent stand on the busing issue draws huge crowds, which he adores.

The busing issue, his campaign theme, may not carry him outside Florida and Alabama, however. President Nixon's reported forthcoming statement on busing (to be announced after the March 14 primary) hopefully will settle the dust and clear the air on the issue and, at the same time, leave Wallace without a cause. The big fear among Democrats, of course, is that Wallace will lead a third-party ticket, thus siphoning off some votes from the Democratic nominee. Since no one seems to be able to second guess the irrepressible Wallace, it's a "wait and see" situation.

Competitive Analysis
Report # 2 con't

Section III con't

LINDSAY

A. ISSUES

- Busing Is maintaining his strong pro-busing stance and criticized his Democratic rivals recently for their favorable votes on the compromise amendment. According to Lindsay, "the liberal leadership of the Senate caved in." (AP, March 1, 1972)
- Agriculture In a filmed address to the Convention of the National Farmers Union in Houston (Feb. 29, 1972) Lindsay made his first significant pronouncements in the field of agriculture. He stressed the need to preserve the small independent farm and stop the exodus from rural to urban America. He declared his support for the Smith and Melcher Bills and the Family Farm Act of 1972. He further stated he would like to see legislation which would facilitate collective bargaining between farmers on one side and handlers and processors on the other. He was critical of Secretary Butz and the Nixon Administration's agricultural policies in general.
- Legalized Abortion In a speech in St. Petersburg, Florida on March 6, Lindsay called for Federal legislation permitting abortions in all states.
- Crime At the March 8, Greater Miami Crime Commission Dinner, Lindsay directed a major portion of his address against Wallace, saying Wallace "talks tough about crime," but that in Alabama, the murder rate is 63% higher than the national average and 62% higher than in New York City.
- Kleindienst In Jacksonville, Fla. on March 5, Lindsay called on the Senate to reject the nomination of Richard G. Kleindienst as Attorney General, decrying what he called, "the marriage between a giant corporation and the Justice Department..."

Section III con't

LINDSAY con't

A. ISSUES con't

China Lindsay indicated he approved of the joint communique issued after President Nixon's China trip, adding that he welcomed "the indication of increasing friendliness between China and the United States..."

Gun Control Strongly favors a gun control program and a fire arms registration law.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures (as of 3/10/72)

Television	\$66,450, in Florida
Radio	\$8,830, in Florida
Newspaper	\$2,062, in Florida

Creative Miami, Fla., 3/2, station WCKT-TV
Charles Evers Endorsement: Mayor Evers endorsed Lindsay as a man who knows the problems of this country, who has proven that he (Lindsay) is for all the people, and has the courage to stand up and fight for the rights of Americans.

Comment According to one report, Lindsay has committed for \$170,000 in broadcast time in Florida, which will make him the biggest media spender there. Lindsay has recruited actor, Carroll O'Connor (Archie Bunker of TV's "All in the Family"), and Medgar Evers, the black mayor of Fayette, Mississippi, to spark a last-ditch television blitz in Florida. O'Connor will talk about Lindsay's Vietnam peace proposal that calls for withdrawal, while Evers will plug the mayor's record on civil rights in various one-minute spots.

Competitive Analysis
Report # 2 con't

Section III con't

LINDSAY con't

B. MEDIA con't

Comment con't

In addition, Lindsay is using television commercials reminiscent of his 1965 and 1969 campaigns for mayor in New York: Lindsay in shirt sleeves walking the streets; Lindsay talking on the issues of the day; Lindsay looking tall and handsome looming over crowds.

Lindsay, of all the candidates, is the most suited to the television medium for he comes across as attractive, strong and, to some, sexy. People will see the image he wishes to project and will not be too concerned with what he is saying.

C. STRATEGY

Rhode Island

Lindsay's name will appear on the May 23 Rhode Island primary, but no delegate slate will be offered. It appears that Lindsay will campaign in that State.

New York

His '72 campaign already has begun in New York, where Norman Levy, President of the City Tax Commission, and Mrs. Eileen Preiss, of Nassau County, will be co-chairmen of the campaign committee. To date, only two significant New York public officials - Assemblymen Antonio Olivieri of Manhattan and Leonard Simon of Brooklyn - have declared their support for Lindsay.

Florida

Distributed pamphlets listing the ways in which Lindsay serves New York's Jewish community, including special police protection on holy days and the funding of Head Start centers with an "exclusively Jewish clientele."

To date, Lindsay has spent 25 days campaigning in Florida and an estimated \$500,000.

Section III con't

LINDSAY con't

C. STRATEGY con't

Campaign Contributions

In the March 8, New York Times, Mayor Lindsay lists 1,000 donors who have contributed \$489,804 to his campaign. Lindsay's Florida committee reported on March 7 that \$25,426 had been raised there but did not list the contributors.

D. ANALYSIS

Lindsay has run the most exciting and professional campaign in Florida. His staff spotted local issues that others missed, for example, he was at Escambia Bay talking about "fishkills" (that's three or four acres of pollution-poisoned fish), and attacking American Cyanamid and Monsanto for dumping chemicals. His research was New York-style, his scheduling and stamina took him to twice as many places in a day, and his looks - well, no doubt, he will enjoy a large women's vote in the Sunshine State. The moot question, however, is whether his "let-me-entertain-you" campaign style will win him a place in the sun as runner-up to Wallace. It is doubtful. Lindsay will probably place third, possibly fourth, depending upon how well Muskie and Humphrey show. If Lindsay comes in second, it will be a new ball game since, with a strong showing in Florida, he will have exhibited his viability as a national contender for the Democratic nomination. It wouldn't be the first time that looks and style have upset brains and ability.

Section III con't

JACKSON

A. ISSUES

Social Security	In West Palm Beach, Fla., Jackson told a retirement community he would work for the following: (1) no restrictions on collecting other pensions, (2) automatic cost of living adjustments every 6 months, (3) payments for drugs and X-rays, (4) payments for dental care and glasses and (5) removal of work restrictions.
Busing	Still maintaining his strong anti-busing stance, but has been soundly criticized for his charge that the other candidates are hypocrites for sending their children to private schools.
Education	In Miami, Jackson urged increased federal spending for the education and training of retarded children.
Equal Rights	Jackson has come under fire from Florida women for his refusal to support the equal rights amendment.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures (as of 3/10/72)

TV	\$83,850 in Florida (estimated total \$113,500)
Radio	\$3,400 in Florida
Newspaper	\$24,383 in Florida. Note: Jackson bought an 8-page insert in papers in Tallahassee, Panama City, Miami, Jacksonville, Tampa-St. Petersburg, Ft. Myers and West Palm Beach.
Creative	Miami, Fla., 3/2, WCKT-TV, commercial: <u>Inflation</u> : Jackson criticizes the Nixon Administration policies on inflation.

Section III con't

JACKSON con't

B. MEDIA con't

Comment

Jackson had been a heavy media investor in Florida before most of his competition even arrived there and has added about \$12,000 to his budget in the last two weeks. Narrowing his TV commercials down to two, Jackson is running one on his public and political credentials and the other on busing of children to desegregated schools, which he opposes. Using a technique no other Democrat has tried, Jackson has localized television spots featuring Florida Congressmen who support him - Charles E. Bennett for the Jacksonville area and Robert L.F. Sikes in western Florida.

Jackson volunteers in Washington have started a direct mail effort which has deluged Florida with 250,000 letters.

Jackson, it is reported, has spent more money in Florida than any other candidate (estimates are between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000). Some of that went for polls and the 517 "Scoop" billboards scattered throughout the State.

C. STRATEGY

Wisconsin

Jackson is getting ready for the Wisconsin primary where he hopes to carry most of the rural areas and where he is counting on a large GOP cross-over vote to help him. In late February, he made a sweep through Wisconsin taking with him Wesley Tao, GOP Chinese-American Northwest director.

Rhode Island

He has prepared a slate for the Rhode Island primary which includes six State Legislators and several students.

Tennessee

That State's refusal to move up its primary date has forced Jackson to cut back on his efforts there, at least temporarily...he has closed his Tennessee campaign headquarters until the end of March.

Section III con't

JACKSON con't

C. STRATEGY con't

Florida

The key to Jackson's campaign here is a concerted hand-shaking campaign in heavily Jewish areas in Dade County where his pro-Israel position is widely known and appreciated. To a large degree he has solved his identity problems through a combination of television and radio advertising, billboards and personal appearances.

Jackson has received the endorsements of nine daily newspapers in the State, five more than Sen. Humphrey. He has obtained the backing of four of Florida's nine Democratic Congressmen (compared with two for McGovern) and has the endorsements of three Florida state cabinet officials (to just one for Humphrey).

D. ANALYSIS

Since the New Hampshire primary, Jackson has become deeply committed to the idea that he can beat either Muskie or Humphrey for the second spot in Florida. His intensive campaign in Florida has been costly, yet he is still not drawing the big crowds. In spite of considerable advance publicity for his speech at Hialeah, almost no one showed up. The same was true in Frostproof, where only 150 people came to hear him, in Fort Meade where he drew 30 people, in Auburndale only 20 came, and in Haines City, only 200, of which 40 were members of the high school band.

His greatest impact has been in the Miami area where he seems to have gathered excellent support among the Jewish community for his strongly pro-Israel stands. He may well have made inroads into Humphrey's Jewish support and may have overtaken Muskie among Jewish voters. (Although the Jewish voters make up less than 5% of the 2.1 million registered Democrats in Florida, they tend to turn out in much higher proportions on election day than most other groups.)

Although Jackson is one of the few candidates to take specific stands on the issues, and in spite of a whiz-bang campaign, it does not appear that he will come out the number two man in Florida - it is more likely that Jackson will end up in the fifth or sixth spot.

Section III con't

McGOVERN

A. ISSUES

Tax Reform	March 9, McGovern told the Florida state legislature that tax reform should be the campaign's major issue.
Busing	In an appearance March 9 on the NBC Today program, McGovern said he would "join with" Governor Reubin Askew in a bid to defeat the anti-busing referendum. <u>But</u> , aides indicated that McGovern will probably characterize the anti-busing flap as a "phony issue" used to divert people's attention from the real issues (which he considers to be tax reform, inflation and unemployment, and the war in Vietnam).
Soviet Jews	On March 1, McGovern called for a sustained worldwide protest of the Soviet Union's treatment of Jews who want to emigrate. He said a continued silence "can only mean indifference."

B. MEDIA

Expenditures (as of 3/10/72)

TV	\$13,970 in Florida
Radio	\$6,000 in Florida
Newspaper	\$1,236 in Florida
Creative	Not available
Comment	In light of his good showing in New Hampshire, McGovern has stepped up his television budget in Florida, to approximately \$16,000 from \$7,000 and his radio to \$12,000, but he early decided not to attempt a real challenge in the crowded Florida field. He spent his time and money on New Hampshire and it showed.

Section III con't

MCGOVERN con't

C. STRATEGY

Florida	In an interview on March 9, McGovern indicated he hoped only to win "a few delegates" from three or four of Florida's congressional districts and was not interested in his standing in the state-wide popularity contest. Although he has stepped up his media spending in the State in light of his new Hampshire showing, he does not appear to be doing much in Florida.
Midwest	The spending and the organizational effort in the McGovern campaign has been largely diverted toward the Senator's base in the Midwest.
Campaign contributions	McGovern has opened the books on his campaign contributions, listing 42,472 contributors for a total of \$1,255,910. Supporting his grass-roots image, he listed only 86 donors of \$1,000 or more, for a total of \$323,811.
Illinois	<u>McCarthy</u> said (March 6) he believes his supporters in the University of Illinois area will support delegates pledged to McGovern in the Illinois primary. UPI reporters believe this confirms stories of an alliance between McCarthy and McGovern forces in an attempt to stop Muskie in Illinois.
California	"Californians for Liberal Representation," with a membership of 10,000, endorsed McGovern this week.
Rhode Island	On Feb. 27, McGovern won the support of 13 of 22 uncommitted delegates at Rhode Island's New Democratic Coalition convention. This brings to six the number of such endorsements for McGovern.

Section III con't

MCGOVERN con't

D. ANALYSIS

McGovern's strong showing in New Hampshire undoubtedly has placed him among the top contenders for the Democratic nomination. His campaign organization in New Hampshire demonstrated an almost text-book-like formula for running a Presidential primary campaign. Its ability to gather strong grass-roots support, coupled with McGovern's ability to appeal to the blue-collar workers in America, may make him Muskie's most dangerous competition. McGovern is a straight-talker, he does not often straddle the fence and that factor has to be appealing to that sector of voters who are not easily swayed by rhetoric, good looks, or an elegant style. McGovern should appeal to those who have the ability to see through the sleek facade of a candidate such as Lindsay, or the demagoguery of a Wallace.

McGovern has spent little time, money or effort on the Florida primary and, no doubt, this will show in the results on the 14. Chances are that he will grab the fourth or fifth spot there but go on to stronger showings in the Midwest.

Section III

EDWARD KENNEDY

Analysis

Kennedy has been projected back into the scene, if indeed he ever left it, as a result of the New Hampshire primary. Democratic professionals think those results may indicate that no one will be able to assemble a first-ballot majority at the July convention. If that should happen, there probably would be a strong and concerted effort to draft Kennedy for the nomination.

No groundswell of support for Kennedy's hearings on amnesty appears to have risen. In fact, much of the evidence given at the hearings has presented serious argument against this proposition.

Kennedy's dreary carping on the situation in Northern Ireland continues and has resulted in a motion being introduced by several members of the British Parliament proposing "a British investigation of race relations in Massachusetts." (AP, Feb. 28, 1972)

Kennedy, although originally voting in favor of sending the nomination of acting Attorney General Kleindienst to the Senate floor, is now attacking Mr. Kleindienst over the ITT situation.

Kennedy recently said he was "in sympathy with the decision" of the California State Supreme Court to outlaw the death penalty in that state.

Competitive Analysis
Report #2

Section III

ASHBROOK

MEDIA

Expenditures

Television none

Radio none

Newspaper none

Creative not available

Comment

It appears that Ashbrook is counting on a heavy direct mail effort to bring his voice to the people in Florida, for that is precisely where he is spending his campaign funds.

He attended the national crime forum dinner sponsored by the Greater Miami Crime commission (3/8) and was scheduled to appear on a radio talk show after the crime forum.

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

41 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017, 697-5100

FOR THE NOVEMBER GROUP

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WFTS-TV

DATE MARCH 3, 1972

7:28 PM

CITY

WEST PALM BEACH

WALLACE

GEORGE WALLACE: You want to talk about law and order..
crime has decreased. Crime hasn't decreased when 127 policemen
were killed in this country last year as the result of a conspiracy
to assassinate police officers in this country, and I tell you,
as the President of the United States, I would stand 100 percent
behind every policeman and law enforcement official...

(ROARS AND SCREAMS OF CROWD)

MAN: Send your contribution to Wallace, Box 1972, Montgomery.

FOR THE NOVEMBER GROUP

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WCKT-TV

DATE MARCH 2, 1972

CITY MIAMI, FLORIDA

JACKSON COMMERCIAL

MAN: Senator Henry M. Jackson talks to the people of Florida.

HENRY JACKSON: Though inflation is the number-one problem, the administration sat on their hands for over two and a half years and did nothing about it. Then they put on a freeze and they didn't know what they'd frozen. The working people know that just an increase doesn't solve any problems, if everything else is going on up. We have to stabilize it. It's like a cat chasing his tail, going round and round and round.

(APPLAUSE)

MAN: The preceding announcement paid for by Floridians for Jackson, Democrat.

FOR THE NOVEMBER GROUP

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WEAT-TV

DATE MARCH 3, 1972

7:02 PM

CITY

WEST PALM BEACH

MUSKIE

MAN: Ed Muskie talks to Florida housewives about prices.

HOUSEWIFE: We notice the difference. Prices have gone up definitely.

HOUSEWIFE: Every day you come in the store, you find something higher. Like we used to pay for the green...seven cents. Now it's ten cents, seventeen cents sometimes.

HOUSEWIFE: I can tell you that I believe they are going up.

MAN: Let's do something about it. Let's send Ed Muskie to the White House. Muskie, for the country.

FOR THE NOVEMBER GROUP

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WPLG

DATE MARCH 3, 1972

7:33 PM

CITY MIAMI, FLA.

SENATOR MUSKIE

(MUSIC)

SENATOR MUSKIE: What our country needs at this time is to bring together in one fold the solid majority of Americans who understand that, notwithstanding their differences, what they share together is more important, and that if they will pursue what they share together, their different interests will be served as well, and indeed, better, than to divide amongst themselves.

ANNOUNCER: Muskie, for the country.

NOVEMBER
GROUP
INC.

March 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: PETER H. DAILEY

Attached is the "Competitive Analysis Report", number 3,
covering the period 3/13 - 3/17/72.

cc: Messrs: Dwight Chapin
Harry S. Dent
Leonard Garment
✓ H. R. Haldeman
Clifford A. Miller
Richard Moore

Phil Joanou
Fred LaRue
Jeb S. Magruder
Fred Malek
Robert Marik
William D. Novelli
Bart Porter
Robert Teeter

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

COMPETITIVE ANALYSIS REPORT #3

Table of Contents

SUMMARY	Section I
NEWS BRIEFS	Section II
POLLS AND SURVEYS	Section III
CANDIDATES	Section IV
Muskie	page 7
Humphrey	page 11
McGovern	page 14
Jackson	page 16
Wallace	page 18
Lindsay	page 21
Ashbrook	page 23
Kennedy	page 24
McCarthy	page 25
ATTACHMENTS	Section V

Section I.

SUMMARY

MUSKIE

His poor fourth place showing in Florida and his recent disclosure of his campaign contributors has left Muskie's campaign in a critical position, both financially and politically. He must win, and win big, in both Illinois and Wisconsin to stay in the race.

HUMPHREY

Although his number two spot in Florida was not spectacular, he has proven himself an energetic campaigner and a viable candidate. Money should not be a problem now for HHH. Wisconsin, however, is crucial for him and he must make a very strong showing there to stay in the running.

McGOVERN

Certainly not running scared. The Florida outcome probably didn't affect McGovern's campaign much one way or the other -- he never planned to make much of an effort there. A good showing in Wisconsin is essential, however, for him at this point. Wherever he fully utilizes his excellent campaign organization he will make a good showing. His supporters will vote for McCarthy in Illinois to put a dent in Muskie's vote there.

WALLACE

Becoming more of a threat to the Democratic Party with each passing day. His near-sweep of the Florida delegates (75 of 81) makes him the current leader in the race for delegates.

JACKSON

Used his head and his money to come up with a good media blitz in Florida in which he spoke, as no one else did, directly to the issues. Still, he is not liable to pose any real threat to the other contenders.

LINDSAY

Maintaining his "fighter" image, Lindsay plans to continue if he can raise the money.

Ashbrook

Posing no real threat to President Nixon, but has a powerful ally in William Buckley.

Kennedy

Agitating about Ulster, again, and still claiming to be a non-candidate.

McCarthy

Running strong in Illinois and spending \$200,000 there in a stop-Muskie effort.

Section II

NEWS BRIEFS

Mayor Sam Yorty
(Wash. Post 3/16)

Has withdrawn from the Presidential race.

New Mexico Primary
(N.Y.T. 3/17)

Seven Democrats and two Republicans are listed on the New Mexico primary ballot: Wallace, Muskie, McGovern, Humphrey, Jackson, Lindsay, and Chisholm; Nixon and McCloskey.

Wisconsin Delegates
(N.Y.T. 3/17)

Wisconsin will elect 67 delegates to the convention - eleven will go to the state-wide winner and the rest will be divided among the victors in the nine Congressional districts.

Unofficial Florida Returns
(Wash. Post 3/16)

Wallace	515,916 votes (42%)
Humphrey	231,219 votes (18%)
Jackson	167,667 votes (13%)
Muskie	109,653 votes (9%)
Lindsay	81,322 votes (7%)
McGovern	74,880 votes (6%)

Nixon	357,356 votes (87%)
Ashbrook	35,983 votes (9%)

Delegates Won to Date
(Wash. Post 3/16)

Wallace	75
Muskie	22.5
McGovern	13.5
Humphrey	6
Lindsay	6
Chisholm	5
Mills	1
Jackson	0

Busing
(N.Y. Daily News 3/17)

The National Black Political Convention last week condemned busing to achieve school desegregation as "racist, suicidal methods (based on) the false notion that black children are unable to learn unless they are in the same setting as white children."

Busing: Florida
(N.Y.T. 3/15)

With 97% of the precincts in, the tally in Florida on the question of busing was:

- school busing ban: 74% for, 26% against
- equal education: 79% for, 21% against
- school prayer: 79% for, 21% against

Section II, con't

Gov. Rockefeller
for Nixon
(N.Y. Daily News
3/16)

The powerful Republican team that helped Gov. Rockefeller win a record four terms is being put together for President Nixon - and is headed by Rockefeller who has assigned himself as chairman.

*Times/Yankelovich, Inc.
Survey in Florida:
Nixon
(N.Y.T. 3/16)

- If the November election were held now, at least half of Florida Democrats would vote for Nixon in a two-party race;
- If Wallace were to conduct a third-party race at least in Florida, it would hurt Nixon far more than any present Democratic candidate;
- Well over half of Florida Democratic voters were satisfied with Nixon as President; only a quarter were seriously dissatisfied;
- If Nixon's Democratic opponent next November is Muskie, Humphrey or Wallace, about half would vote for Nixon;
- If Wallace were on the ballot, only a handful of his supporters would defect to Nixon - BUT if Wallace is not on the ballot, most of his supporters would vote for Nixon, regardless of who the Democratic candidate is.

*The Times/Yankelovich, Inc. survey in Florida was the first in a series to be conducted on election day in major primaries and is designed to assess the reasons for various candidates' performance. In the results noted above, a cross-section of 392 Democratic voters was interviewed in 11 counties in Florida.

Section III.

POLLS AND SURVEYS

Harris Poll:
Nixon's China Policy
(Wall St. Journal
3/17)

Showed more than 70% of the U.S. people favor closer ties with China and the Soviet Union. (No polling date given)

Gallup Poll:
Nixon's China Trip
(Wall St. Journal
3/17)

Showed 98% of the public knew of the trip to China - the highest awareness score ever recorded by the Gallup Poll; and that 68% believe it will prove worthwhile. (No date)

Harris Poll:
Economy
(Wall St. Journal
3/17)

Showed by a margin of 49-33 that Americans believe there still is a recession. Continuing inflation, because it touches everyone, will be a minus for Nixon.

Nixon's Vietnam
Peace Proposals
(Chicago Tribune
3/16)

In mid-February, a cross-section of 1,557 households were asked to approve or disapprove Nixon's six-point plan for negotiating an end to the Vietnam war. (No poll name given)

-To exchange all prisoners of war: 91% approved, 3% disapproved, 6% not sure.

-To have a cease-fire in all Indochina: 85% approved, 5% disapproved, 10% not sure.

-Hold new South Vietnam elections under international control: 64% approved, 12% disapproved, 24% not sure.

-Withdraw all U.S. troops six months after agreement: 80% approved, 10% disapproved, 10% not sure.

-Have Thieu Government resign a month before elections: 50% approved, 16% disapproved, 34% not sure.

-Send U.S. economic aid to all Vietnam after fighting ends: 34% approved, 45% disapproved, 21% not sure.

(Comment: in spite of the good support Nixon has received on his peace proposals, the war is not a dead issue among the majority of Americans. There is still considerable agitation to settle the war and the U.S.'s involvement in Vietnam.)

Section III. con't

Times/Yankelovich
Survey
(N.Y.T. 3/15-16)

Muskie

As voters emerged from the polls in Florida, they were asked to explain their ballots. The Muskie supporters were unable to give interviewers a clear reason for their choice. Five out of six thought the Maine Senator could beat Nixon, but they did not identify him with any major issue. They thought he was "experienced", could win the nomination, and would unify the country. Of those who voted for Muskie, about one-third were 60 years or older. Very few young voters supported him and only about one-third of his voters agreed strongly with his positions on issues.

Humphrey

Humphrey's supporters termed him "experienced" according to interviewers in Florida. One-third of them said he could best unify the country and understood the problems of "common people." Three out of every four thought he could beat President Nixon and about one-third picked Muskie as their second choice after Humphrey. The most important issue to Humphrey voters was the economy, but even that was an issue to only one out of four. Of those who voted for him, one-third were 60 years or older; almost one-half were blacks; almost as many women voted for him as voted for Wallace; and one-third of his voters were men.

McGovern

Interviewers reported that more than one-half of the McGovern voters emphasized issues, above all the Vietnam war, with the economy a poor second. Two out of every three said he could beat Nixon. More than three-fourths of his voters attended college, half of them were voting for the first time and more than half agreed with his stand on such issues as ending the Vietnam war, budget and tax reform, and changing the priorities of the nation.

Jackson

About half of the Jackson supporters said they voted for him on the basis of issues, by far the most important issue to them was the economy.

Section III. con't

Wallace

Three out of every five Wallace voters thought he could defeat Nixon, but only one in ten said they voted for him for this reason. They considered the busing issue most important, followed by crime. About one-third named Jackson as their second choice. One-half of the Wallace voters had less than a high school education and about one-third were high school graduates; about two-thirds were men; one in five was 60 years or older; well over half of them shared Wallace's views on busing, taxes and crime; about one-third were first-time voters.

Section IV.

THE CANDIDATES

MUSKIE

A. ISSUES

Business Curbs
(N.Y.T. 3/17)

Muskie's Illinois headquarters distributed a five-page memorandum detailing his program of "rigorous" antitrust enforcement. He proposes to forbid any corporation having sales in excess of \$250 million yearly from acquiring any other company without first spinning off assets that are substantially equivalent in value to those which are being acquired. He further pledged "open government" where corporate mergers were involved and called for a consumer protection agency role in antitrust negotiation.

Campaign Contributions
(N.Y.T. 3/13)

On 3/12 Muskie pledged to begin "within ten days" to make a complete disclosure of the estimated \$3 million in contributions to his campaign over the last 16 months.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures
(Wash. Post
3/16)

Illinois: Muskie advisers have allotted \$50,000 for Illinois media.

Wisconsin: Muskie probably won't spend the \$163,000 limit in Wisconsin for media.

TV/Radio

Wisconsin: Muskie's media staff are producing new and tougher radio and TV commercials for Wisconsin geared to the issues they perceive to be uppermost in the Wisconsin voters' minds: unemployment, inflation, Vietnam and government spending. Commercials will concentrate most heavily on the 25 to 30 of Wisconsin's 72 counties that have substantial votes.

Comment

Muskie's moratorium on staff salaries, effective this week through the April 4 Wisconsin primary, indicates his campaign is in serious financial trouble - it also indicates that whatever funds he has will be spent on as strong a media campaign as possible both in Illinois and Wisconsin. Advisers are remapping media commercials in which Muskie takes strong and definitive stands - so they say. He will probably rely on a heavy personal appearance program in both the upcoming primary states as well - especially now with finances running so tight. Most of his New Hampshire commercials were scrapped the last few days of the Florida primary as being too bland.

Section IV. con't

MUSKIE

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Illinois Campaign
(Chicago Tribune
3/15)

Muskie began his Illinois primary campaign on 3/16, where former U.S. Senator Eugene McCarthy is his only Democrat rival on the ballot. Muskie has said that Illinois is crucial to his campaign. His Illinois tour starts in De Kalb at the Northern Illinois University and ends Monday 3/20 in Madison and St. Clair counties.

(Chicago Daily
News 3/15)

Muskie's campaign manager says they will be making an all-out effort in Illinois.

(N.Y.T. 3/17)

Campaigning in De Kalb, Muskie described President Nixon and George Wallace as allies of industry - his strategy being to discredit Wallace's anti-establishment stance by linking him to the President and big business.

Tougher Muskie
(N.Y.T. 3/13)

At the urging of his key political and financial advisers, Muskie has consented to abandon his low-key appeals for brotherhood and trust in favor of speeches going into specifics and a stern attack on Wallace.

Adlai Stevenson
(Chicago Tribune
3/15)

Stevenson gently chided his favorite candidate for spending too much money and kissing too many babies instead of conducting a calm debate on the issues as a statesman would. He said he would be surprised and disappointed if McCarthy won more than 35% of the Illinois vote.

Endorsement
(Chicago Daily
News 3/15)

The Chicago Building Trades Council, representing 110,000 members of 18 craft unions, endorsed Muskie for the March 21 primary.

Georgia
(N.Y.T. 3/13)

Muskie supporters attending the Georgia delegate caucuses on March 11, apparently felt he had won his slate of delegates and so they went home. Final results: McGovern-4, Chisholm-3, uncommitted-1, Muskie-0, Wallace-1. Muskie managed to obtain one alternate delegate however.

New Jersey
(N.Y.T. 3/15)

Former Gov. Richard J. Hughes will lead a statewide slate of delegate candidates pledged to Muskie in the New Jersey June 6 primary.

Section IV. cont'd.

MUSKIE

Tennessee
(N.Y.T. 3/15)

Muskie supporters here think he should only enter the Tennessee primary if he comes in second in Florida . . . (which he spectacularly failed to do).

Spending Cut-back
(N.Y.T. 3/17)

Muskie delcared a moritorium on national staffers' salaries until after the April 4 primary in Wisconsin. This marked the third time in a year that the Muskie campaign has taken drastic steps to cut costs. He hopes to save about \$75,000 to \$100,000 in salaries and another \$150,000 on travel and other expenses over the next month. The money saved will go into campaign and media costs in Illinois and Wisconsin.

D. ANALYSIS

Muskie's dismal showing in Florida where he received only 9% of the votes, coupled with his less than overwhelming victory in New Hampshire, has certainly dropped him from the front-runner category. Illinois and Wisconsin are now absolutely crucial for him. Failure to win in Illinois and Wisconsin might very well take him out of the Presidential race altogether. If he cannot recoup his losses, his campaign coffers will most certainly dry up -- and without funds, he's out of the running. It would appear too, that his disclosure of campaign contributions has cost him the covert support of certain Republicans.

He must beat former Senator McCarthy in Illinois by at least 65% and, while he will surely get the large Polish vote there, the McGovern forces are allying themselves with McCarthy in a stop-Muskie movement. While McGovern is not listed on the Presidential preference ballot, he will be listed as a write-in on the convention delegate ballot.

Muskie's momentous tactical about-face on disclosure of his campaign contributions is not only a measure of the pressure he was under from most of the other Democratic candidates, especially McGovern. It also is a measure of the man. Knowing that disclosure would irrevocably dry up certain financial sources, he nevertheless followed the pack (except for Jackson who is still holding out). The question is whether he did so because he believed it would help get more votes and that the public would react favorably to the disclosure, or whether he couldn't take the flak. If the latter was the case, it might strike some that Muskie doesn't have the courage of his convictions. If he succumbs to pressure on things of this nature, how will he be able to withstand the extreme pressure that will be placed on him as President?

Section IV. cont'd.

MUSKIE

Having suffered by appearing to straddle the fence on issues in both New Hampshire and Florida, Muskie will no doubt take much stronger and more definitive stands on the issues in both Illinois and Wisconsin. In fact, he already has begun to do so, for the New York Times (3/17) reports "it was a more combative Muskie than voters had seen in New Hampshire or Florida . . . and in a style more aggressive, a tone more urgent and words more pungent than any he had used in the last two years". He asserted in six Indiana and Illinois cities that he had "plenty of fight left" for the Illinois primary and the 20 subsequent primaries. All told, unless he stubs his toe badly or breaks down in tears, Muskie should win the Illinois primary -- the moot question is by how wide a margin.

Section IV. cont'd

HUMPHREY

A. ISSUES

Vietnam
(S.F. Chronicle
3/13)

Humphrey again leap-frogged peace candidate McGovern by saying he would, if elected President, pull all troops out of Vietnam even before the 90-day deadline McGovern has proposed.

Business Curbs
(Wash. Post 3/13)

In a letter to the Democrat candidates, Ralph Nader asked their views on federal chartering of large corporations as a means of checking their economic and political power by, for example, limiting the scope of their activities, requiring compliance with anti-pollution laws as a condition to doing business. Humphrey said he would "certainly support" such a proposal provided it would simplify "any of the substantive problems" of economic concentration. He generally favors efforts to compel corporations to abolish secrecy in such areas as profit and loss, etc.

Campaign Contributions
(N.Y.T. 3/15)

HHH's Washington office disclosed a list of 121 people who have contributed \$1,000 or more to his campaign. His disclosure was a further indication of the growing force of the campaign financing issue, spurred initially by McGovern. Of Humphrey's total contributions to date of \$838,715, \$763,741 came from the 121 donors, including 21 who gave \$10,000 or more. He obviously is relying heavily on wealthy donors as opposed to the "common people" he's so fond of referring to as his major supporters.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures
(N.Y.T. 3/14)

TV

He is said to have reserved or bought only about \$65,000 worth of television time in Florida.

Radio

Total Florida expenditures not available.

Newspaper

Total Florida expenditures not available.

HUMPHREY

Creative

Humphrey's Florida television commercials presented him as in the "Roosevelt-Truman-Kennedy" tradition, but never mentioned who carried him to the vice-presidency . . . L.B.J.

Some of HHH's Florida radio commercials sounded like echoes of Wallace - in one; the announcer's voice declared "Humphrey will stop the flow of your tax dollars to lazy welfare chiselers. He will put your tax dollars to work here at home before giving handouts around the world."

Comment

Humphrey appears to have compensated in Florida for a relatively low media budget by appearing on a number of free talk shows . . . a gambit he may employ throughout the campaign, given the opportunity. HHH no doubt will spend heavily in Wisconsin, a primary he considers crucial to his candidacy.

By contrast, he spent at least \$100,000 on a computer drive in Florida (N.Y.T. 3/14) in which a computerized recording of HHH's voice talked to potential voters by phone. The message was: "Hello, this is Hubert Humphrey on a recorded message. I'd like just a moment of your time to talk about the Florida Presidential primary. The stakes are high this election year." The "general" version of the tape then mentioned inflation, unemployment, crime and drug abuse. The "Jewish" version picks up with a demand for a "new strategy for peace in Vietnam and the Middle East", adding "we must support Israel, providing her with the arms that she needs - and now." HHH was the only candidate known to be using the telephone tapes in Florida.

He also sent out 200,000 computerized and personalized letters emphasizing that his first bill in Congress was a Medicare bill in 1949 for which he fought every year until it was passed in 1965. Blacks are reminded in the letter that he "stood up in 1948 and helped drive the bigots out of the Democratic party" and that he "led President John Kennedy's fight for the civil rights bill and helped pass it after his death."

HUMPHREY

C. STRATEGY

Wisconsin
(N.Y.T. 3/17)

HHH was in Wisconsin campaigning by the evening of the 15th. Although he soft-pedaled remarks about Wallace in Florida, he said in stumping across Wisconsin for the past two days that he thought this state's primary presented an opportunity "to unite the Democratic Party and to defeat Wallace". He plans to spend all or part of 15 days in Wisconsin before the April 4 voting and intends to swing into a more informal campaign there than he ran in Florida.

San Francisco
(S.F. Chronicle
3/13)

Humphrey will spend Friday, 3/24, in California addressing a breakfast meeting in Sacramento and then flying to San Francisco for meetings with labor and other Democratic leaders before attending a \$500 per couple fund-raising dinner hosted by Mayor Joseph Alioto.

Tennessee
(N.Y.T. 3/15)

Few supporters in Tennessee are urging him into the primary there, but his strong showing in Florida may generate renewed support for the May 4th race in Tennessee.

D. ANALYSIS

Humphrey's "win" in Florida hardly makes him the front-runner at this point, for his 18% showing there is not very impressive and he hasn't by any means erased widespread doubts that he can be a winner. He will need to win Wisconsin almost as much as Muskie. HHH led the field in the 11th Congressional district in Florida, including parts of Miami and Miami Beach and handily won the Jewish vote there. Buoyed by the Florida results, he said that his campaign had demonstrated he had the "knowledge of the issues" and "the vitality needed for the nomination".

A win in Wisconsin, and by a good enough margin, however, would probably effectively finish off the lagging Muskie and leave the field to Humphrey. HHH's broad national recognition, his experience, his tremendous labor backing, and his phenomenal energy may very well pull him through the race and make him the man the liberals will have to buy to stop Wallace at the convention. Humphrey is the man to watch in Wisconsin.

Section IV. cont'd

McGOVERN

A. ISSUES

Business Curbs
(Wash. Post 3/16)

In response to Ralph Nader's letter requesting McGovern's views on curbing big business, McGovern said that "the accumulation of corporate power is among the most critical issues . . ." He favors federal chartering, saying it could be important in "enforcing public interest limitations on corporate activities". He generally favors efforts to compel corporations to abolish secrecy and efforts to break up monopolies in such industries as auto, aluminum, tire, steel, soap-detergents, and cereals.

Tax Reform
(N.Y.T. 3/17)

McGovern's tax reform plan calls for eliminating \$28 billion worth of loopholes, most of which affect corporations. Campaigning in Wisconsin, he termed Wallace's proposal to tax foundations "a spit in the ocean".

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

TV

Total to date not available.

Radio

Total to date not available.

Newspaper

Total to date not available.

Creative

Nothing in yet for Wisconsin.

Comment

McGovern's Florida media campaign was hardly more than a token effort which included only a few commercials, but he showed up frequently on the local news broadcasts. His emphasis on the Wisconsin primary indicates a considerable media expenditure will be made there. Like Humphrey, he may take every available opportunity to appear on local news and talk shows.

Section IV. cont'd

McGOVERN

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Wisconsin
(N.Y. Daily News
3/16)

His emphasis here will be on tax reform. He has put together the best organization in the state, building it around the solid support he has from a strong anti-Vietnam faction within the state Democratic party.

San Francisco
(S.F. Chronicle
3/13)

McGovern, like Humphrey, will be in San Francisco on March 24 to attend a fund-raising dinner.

Georgia
(N.Y.T. 3/13)

McGovern won four delegates to Muskie's zero, at the caucuses in Georgia's Fourth and Fifth Congressional districts (Atlanta and its suburbs).

D. ANALYSIS

Having done little campaigning in Florida, McGovern is still relying on his impressive second-place showing in New Hampshire to keep his campaign rolling. But he, like Humphrey and Muskie, needs an outright victory to dispel the pervasive notion that he's too liberal to win. Wisconsin, therefore, is critical to his candidacy and there, too, he will be running with the same pack that ran in Florida. McGovern, of all candidates, seems to have the best-organized campaign structure and when he chooses to utilize it to its fullest, (as he did in New Hampshire) his showings will be consistently good. But "showing" isn't going to be enough to keep him in the race - he must win a major primary and soon.

Since McGovern is not running in the preferential primary in Illinois (although he is on the delegate ballot), his staffers will probably vote en masse for McCarthy who is the only candidate opposing Muskie in that primary. It is likely that Muskie will take the primary in Illinois, but the degree to which the McGovern-McCarthy alliance siphons off Muskie votes will be an important factor. If they can "lose" by only a small margin, Muskie's victory will be, as one news magazine labeled it in New Hampshire, "underwhelming".

Section IV. cont'd.

JACKSON

A. ISSUES

Campaign
Contributions
(N.Y.T. 3/16)

Jackson is still resisting opening his campaign contribution books and is criticizing those who have as participating in "grandstanding".

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

TV

Total to date not available, best estimates are that he spent the \$180,000 limit in Florida.

Radio

Not available.

Creative
(N.Y.T. 3/13)

In the closing days of the Florida campaign, Jackson put out his third half-hour telecast, two more than any competitor. It appeared at least a dozen times before the March 14th election. In the new half-hour program, he spoke of his daughter in an integrated public school in Washington.

Comment

Jackson's forces have scheduled a heavy program of radio and TV in Wisconsin (N.Y.T. 3/16), and will probably use most of the same material they did in Florida. Of all the candidates who spent lavishly for a media campaign in Florida, Jackson seems to be the only one to realize good results from the expenditure.

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Jewish Vote: Florida
(Chicago Tribune 3/16)

Jackson emphasized his authorship of a 1970 amendment which gave Israel \$500 million in military credits, and his sponsorship of a bill to provide \$250 million for Israel to help settle Jewish refugees from Russia.

Wisconsin
(N.Y.T. 3/16)

Jackson aides predicted spending approximately \$400,000 in Wisconsin (about the same as their overall expenditure in Florida). Plans are to use the same theme including Jackson's stand against the busing of school children, and to continue to stake out the Democratic "centrist" position.

Section IV. cont'd.

JACKSON

Tennessee
(N.Y.T. 3/15)

Jackson earlier had closed his campaign office here and did not plan to re-open it unless he made a strong showing in Florida. (Looks now as though he'll try to revive Tennessee in light of his unexpected third place showing in Florida.

On Wallace's Win
(N.Y.T. 3/15)

Jackson viewed Wallace's win as a "rather disturbing victory", but didn't believe the country had moved to the right. He said, "the great center of the Democratic Party is angry that the politicians won't face up to the issues - law and order and justice, busing, the security of this country". (Note: Wallace and Jackson together polled almost 60% of the total vote in Florida, an index of the conservative tide that was running there.)

D. ANALYSIS

Jackson's showing in Florida keeps him in the running, but that's about all. With just 13% of the vote there, he hardly established that his long-shot candidacy has any chance. He will, nevertheless, continue to campaign vigorously in several upcoming primaries and may be important if only as an index to how people are voting. His chances for the Democratic nomination, even assuming he made strong showings in several primaries, remain almost nil. His third place "win" in Florida may have been a combination of several things, not least among them a strong and expensive media blitz and his definitive stands on the issues.

Competitive Analysis
Report #3

Section IV. cont'd.

WALLACE

A. ISSUES

Campaign Funds
(N.Y.T. 3/13)

Will disclose information on campaign financing for this year "as soon as possible". (Note: Florida law requires that a complete listing of money raised and spent in the state be filed within 45 days after an election.)

Busing

No change.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

TV

Total to date not available, but he cut back in Florida, probably spending only about \$65,000 there.

Radio

Not available.

Newspaper

Not available.

Creative
(N.Y.T. 3/13)

Wallace's television broadcasts in Florida made no attempt to edit his exaggerations but presented him almost exactly as he appears on the stump.

Comment

With Wallace running the high favorite in Florida, his use of media was moderate his forte there being the rallies where he could stir up emotions and enthusiasm. He probably will have to invest in media coverage rather heavily in Wisconsin where his rally 'round the flag, boys, approach is not likely to generate much interest.

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Remaining a Democrat
(N.Y.T. 3/14)

On the ABC "Issues and Answers" program (3/12), Wallace said he planned to go to the Democratic convention as a full-fledged Democrat. He does not plan to bolt the party and run as a third-party candidate unless he is treated rudely or cavalierly at the convention.

Section IV. cont'd.

WALLACE

Wisconsin
(N.Y.T. 3/17)

So far there has been no evidence of a well-organized effort developing for Wallace in Wisconsin, and he does not plan to arrive in the state until March 23 to begin campaigning.

Ohio/California
(N.Y.T. 3/13)

Wallace has said he may campaign in as many as ten more Democratic primaries, probably including California and Ohio.

Michigan
(N.Y. Daily News
3/16)

Michigan may provide fertile ground for Wallace with its recent busing troubles in Pontiac. Wallace drew nearly 332,000 votes in the general election in Michigan in 1968. This was far below the 1.5 million Humphrey drew and the 1.3 million Nixon received, but enough for a worrisome primary election base.

Texas
(N.Y.T. 3/16)

In an Orlando news conference earlier this week, Wallace said he would begin work in Texas on Saturday before going on to Wisconsin.

Issues
(Chicago Sun Times
3/15)

Wallace said he is primed to continue talking about the same issues - tax reform, foreign aid "giveaways", big business spending and, naturally, busing.

Georgia
(Wash. Post 3/15)

Wallace did not win a single delegate in the Georgia caucuses. (See analysis)

Tennessee
(N.Y.T. 3/15)

Wallace has requested that his name be placed on the ballot here. He carried 47 of the state's 95 counties in 1968 and ran only 48,000 votes behind Nixon.

D. ANALYSIS

Wallace's win in Florida was to be expected -- the margin by which he won (284,697 votes, or 24% more than Humphrey, the number two winner) surprised even him. His Florida campaign consistently outdrew those of the other candidates -- and its thrust centered around the rally. Those who attended his rallies could best be described as white, blue-collar families who showed little hesitation about expressing their anger toward the "bureaucrats, hypocrites and uninterested politicians" whom Wallace castigated in his speeches. The big

Section IV. cont'd.

WALLACE

question is whether Wallace's victory was representative of a national movement, or whether it was a regional racist win based largely on his strong stand against school busing. The answer to that question will probably come out of the Wisconsin primary where Wallace is running against all of the same contenders and where his basic stands on busing and bureaucracy run a bit counter to the traditionally progressive nature of the state.

He currently leads the field in pledged delegates and even if he doesn't win in Wisconsin, which is likely unless the liberal vote splits widely among the other candidates, he may still pick up additional delegates in the district-by-district balloting.

Interestingly enough, Wallace did not win any delegates at the Georgia caucuses this year and that setback may have more meaning for his political future than the Florida razzle dazzle. Wallace's running battle with Georgia's able and moderate governor, Jimmy Carter, coupled with the historic Voting Rights Act (which led to black Georgians joining eagerly in the struggle for delegate places at the convention) may have proven a lethal combination for the Alabama governor. Wallace carried Georgia in 1968 by a huge majority and he no doubt thought he would breeze by again this year. Additionally, the pollers have been finding for months that the leftwing Democrats could no longer rely on Wallace to take the Deep South away from President Nixon . . . and what just happened there with the delegates confirms the pollers. According to Joseph Alsop (Washington Post 3/15) "The Georgia sign suggests that Nixon rather than Wallace ought to carry the Deep South states next November."

However, the more delegates Wallace is able to gather in the primaries, the larger his liability to the Democratic party becomes at convention time. In spite of his statement that he does not intend to bolt the party, his "caveat emptor" phrase, "unless they treat me in a rude or cavalier manner", spells sure trouble -- for unquestionably, the party will do just that come July.

Section IV. cont'd.

LINDSAY

A. ISSUES

Campaign
Contributions

Lindsay has released a list of his campaign contributions and contributors.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

TV/Radio
(N.Y. Post 3/15)

Lindsay spent an estimated \$180,000 on radio and television in Florida, or more than \$6 for each of his 81,075 votes.

Lindsay is already buying radio and television time in Wisconsin (November Group media staff, no details available as of this writing).

Creative
(N.Y.T. 3/13)

Lindsay's Florida television effort relied heavily on personalities. In his key commercial Lindsay said, "If there's one thing I've learned running the second biggest government in America, it's how to fight and what to fight for. And if you give me a chance I think I can defeat Richard Nixon." Carroll O'Connor ("All in the Family") urged Floridians in one commercial to "vote your hopes, not your fears . . ." And Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Mississippi, added in his commercial, "John Lindsay has proven over the years he's for all the people, the blacks, the whites, the Puerto Ricans and all of those who need to be cared for."

Comment

In spite of a lavish and expensive media campaign, Lindsay's television image did not seem to impress many Florida voters. Money problems may force him to cut back media investment in Wisconsin.

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Debate with McGovern
(N.Y.T. 3/13)

Lindsay and McGovern were the only two candidates to show up for a special panel television debate March 12 in Miami. The two agreed on just about everything but got into a dispute over McGovern's Senate vote for a compromise bill allowing Federal funds to be used to bus children to desegregate schools only when requested by local authorities.

Section IV. cont'd.

LINDSAY

Massachusetts
(N.Y.T. 3/17)

Three top aides in Lindsay's Massachusetts primary campaign organization have quit because of disagreements over strategy with his New York staff.

Entering other
Primaries
(N.Y. Post 3/15)

Lindsay vowed after the Florida primary to continue his bid for the White House through the Wisconsin, Massachusetts and California primaries -- just as soon as he raises enough money to cover a big deficit incurred in Florida. On the record, he spent \$300,000 in Florida, but estimates go as high as \$500,000.

Wisconsin
(N.Y. News 3/16)

Lindsay is confident that he can raise enough money to spend about \$300,000 in the Wisconsin primary. He goes to Wisconsin on 3/19 for a day and plans to return there for five final days of intensive campaigning leading up to the April 4 primary.

D. ANALYSIS

Lindsay did manage to edge out McGovern by 1% of the vote in Florida -- a feat he had said he must do in order to stay in the running. A 1% lead over McGovern doesn't make Lindsay much of a contender, though, especially in light of Lindsay's heavy media expenditures versus McGovern's modest \$65,000. Lindsay aides are hoping that Wisconsin, which allows its voters to cross party lines in the primaries, will give Lindsay a good percentage of its traditional progressive Republican votes. He will have to be very careful how he goes about wooing any Republican votes, however. Perhaps the most significant factor affecting Lindsay's political future is his inability to successfully bring the Jewish vote into his fold. One of his aides talking about the clobbering Lindsay took in Jewish areas in Florida said, "There has to be a rapprochement with the Jews or we've had it." One might go even further and say that there has to be a "rapprochement" with a lot of other people, too, or Lindsay's had it.

Competitive Analysis
Report #3

Section IV. cont'd.

ASHBROOK

Comment

Ashbrook spent only about \$8,000 in Florida, primarily for a small mailing and about 14 days of personal campaigning there (N.Y.T. 3/16). His 35,983 votes (9%) certainly does not make him a real threat to President Nixon's re-election. However, columnist William Buckley continues to support and use the Ashbrook candidacy as a vehicle for prodding the President into a more conservative position. To many ultra-conservative Republicans, Ashbrook may represent a national and worrisome means of conveying their disapproval of President Nixon's policies on the war, inflation, unemployment, welfare, busing and other major issues. At present, all signs indicate Ashbrook will continue to oppose Nixon through several more primaries.

Competitive Analysis
Report #3

Section IV. cont'd.

EDWARD KENNEDY

Comment

Kennedy, as late as 3/15, was still declaring his non-candidacy, saying his position is "unchanged" on the matter (Washington Post 3/16). Senator Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.), who is both uncommitted and personally friendly to Kennedy, said there is no sign that Kennedy has changed his mind about running this year, but added: "Shoot, if this keeps up, there is no way he can avoid it." Kennedy has formally ruled himself out of the running for the May 16 Michigan primary.

Kennedy again prodded Nixon on the Ulster situation by urging Nixon to make a formal U.S. appeal to Great Britain for an "initiative that can produce a full and fair and early settlement" of the crisis in Northern Ireland. (N.Y. Post 3/15)

Competitive Analysis
Report #3

Section IV. cont'd.

EUGENE McCARTHY

Comment

McCarthy reportedly (Washington Post 3/16) is spending more than \$200,000 for a statewide media blitz in Illinois where he is running against only one opponent: Muskie. McCarthy's 1972 campaign message is that charismatic political leaders are a distraction. The real instrument of self-government, he says, is the collective judgment of competing political parties. He wants a 90% cut in space spending; a cutback in highway spending and a leash on the auto industry; new federal wage-and-hour legislation to require companies to absorb the unemployed with a shorter work day or work year. He thinks the U.S. has an ironclad duty to preserve Israel and wants no big cutback in U.S. forces stationed in Europe (this latter point is a strong difference between McCarthy and McGovern, the man McCarthy most supports).

It is not likely that McCarthy will carry Illinois, even with McGovern's supporters voting for him.

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

41 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017, 697-5100

FOR THE NOVEMBER GROUP

PROGRAM COMMERCIAL

STATION WJKS-TV

DATE MARCH 11, 1972

CITY JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT

GEORGE WALLACE: Do you know how much this country has given away in foreign aid since the year 1956? Two hundred and twelve billion dollars. No wonder our taxes are so high. No wonder we owe so much. No wonder we do not have money to help our elderly under Social Security or solve the pollution problems facing us. Or put more money into the national defense. We've wasted our money in foreign giveaways. A vote for George Wallace is a vote against the continuation of this extravagance of giving money to countries, especially those who have fought us in Vietnam and that aided the enemies of this country and voted against us in the United Nations. I am for stopping this foreign aid giveaway. Your dollars help elect Governor Wallace.

Send your contributions to The Wallace Campaign, Box 1972, Montgomery, Alabama.

Paid political announcement by Florida Citizens for Wallace.

NOVEMBER
GROUP
INC.

March 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: PETER H. DAILEY

Attached is the "Competitive Analysis Report", number 4, covering the period 3/18/72 - 3/24/72.

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

COMPETITIVE ANALYSIS - REPORT #4

Table of Contents

SUMMARY	Section I
NEWS BRIEFS	Section II
Primary States Voting Patterns	page 5
POLLS and SURVEYS	Section III
CANDIDATES	Section IV
Muskie	page 10
Humphrey	page 14
Wallace	page 16
McGovern	page 19
Lindsay	page 23
Jackson	page 26
McCarthy	page 28
Kennedy	page 30
ATTACHMENTS	Section V

Section I.

SUMMARY

MUSKIE	Biggest change in strategy is his attempt to link Wallace and Nixon on issues such as busing and agriculture. Attempting in Illinois and Wisconsin to separate Wallace from his supporters, but going about it in a clumsy fashion which may antagonize more than it gains.
HUMPHREY	His about-face response to President Nixon's busing statement was the most interesting thing HHH has done in some time.
WALLACE	Not hitting the busing issue as hard in Wisconsin, but still storming the state in the ever-present rally and emphasizing tax reform.
McGOVERN	Like so many others, McGovern is attempting to woo Wallace votes by delicately calling the Governor an "extremist" yet speaking sympathetically of those who voted for Wallace in Florida and assuring Wallaceites in Wisconsin that he agrees with their general discontent on the way things are being run in this country.
LINDSAY	Trying to raise enough money to run another media campaign in Wisconsin, but not succeeding. Talking primarily to the blue-collar workers and spending nights in their homes.
JACKSON	Thinks the President didn't go far enough in his busing statement and is still emphasizing the need for a Constitutional Amendment on busing.
McCARTHY	Aspiring to the nomination in July, or failing that, to heading a third-party revolt.
Kennedy	Joining the pack to denounce Nixon's busing statement (which was only to be expected) and sponsoring a tax reform bill soon to be introduced in the Senate.

Section II.

Illinois Primary
(Chicago Daily News 3/22)

Delegates Won to Date
(N.Y.T. 3/23)

Wisconsin
April 4

Indiana
May 2

NEW ITEMS

Presidential preference contest:

Muskie	731,884 votes (63%)
McCarthy	425,582 votes (37%)

Delegates won:

Muskie	59
McGovern	14
Muskie	82.5
Wallace	75
McGovern	28.5
Lindsay	7
Humphrey	6
Chisholm	6
Mills	1
Jackson	0
uncommitted	118

The listing above covers all of the delegates from Arizona, Florida, New Hampshire and most of those from Georgia and Illinois which will choose additional delegates later. Two rival slates have been chosen in Mississippi and that state is omitted. The total needed to win the nomination is 1,509.

Upcoming Primaries
(Chicago Tribune 3/10)

Presidential preference primary. Total of 67 delegates, with 56 to be elected from the state's nine Congressional districts and 11 at-large delegates going to the winner. The at-large delegates will be committed to the winner of the primary on the first convention ballot only.

Presidential preference by district primary. Under Indiana's new election rules, 57 of the state's 76 delegates will be bound for one ballot at the convention to the winner in their Congressional district. The 19 at-large delegates will be bound on the first ballot to the statewide primary winner. Wallace, Humphrey and Muskie are on the primary ballot. Nixon and Ashbrook are listed on the Republican side.

Section II., cont'd.

Michigan Primary
(Wash. Post 3/23)

Wallace, Muskie, Humphrey, McGovern, Jackson, Hartke and Chisholm are listed on the primary ballot. Lindsay, Kennedy and Mills requested not to be placed on the ballot. President Nixon will run here unopposed. Michigan has 132 Democratic delegates and busing is a "red-hot emotional issue".

Youth Vote
(N.Y.T. 3/20)

In the New Hampshire and Florida primaries, young people tended to vote for candidates who were more liberal than those the electorate as a whole tended to support; but the young did not vote differently enough, or often enough, to have a dramatic effect on the results. The most liberal segment of the youth vote is clearly the 25% in college.

(Note: Wisconsin has 250,000 newly enfranchised voters this year, and most of the Wisconsin elections in recent years have been decided by less than that margin.)

Mayor Daley
(N.Y.T. 3/24)

Illinois reform Democrats plan to challenge all uncommitted delegates to the convention who were elected on March 21, and possibly some committed delegates as well. The challenge could result in expulsion from the convention of the uncommitted delegates, most of whom are loyal to Mayor Daley (Chicago). The uncommitted group would then be replaced by delegate candidates who were defeated in the primary voting. The uncommitted delegates might also be vulnerable because the slates contain few women and almost no young people, a violation of the reform rules. An all-male slate committed to Muskie will be challenged on similar grounds by McGovern supporters.

Democratic Convention
(Chicago Tribune 3/21)

Reconciled to the fact that the party's nominating convention is going to be a free swinging battle, party chief Larry O'Brien has sent the following message out to all of the major combatants:

- on Credentials fights - this year's new reform rules are to be followed religiously regardless of whom it helps or hurts (even, O'Brien insists, if it turns out to benefit Wallace).

Section II., cont'd.

- on Platform - this year's campaign document will reflect the "traditional Democratic Party" values; meaning that the party will not trim its sails on its commitment to civil rights and integration despite the groundswell of public sentiment against court-ordered school busing.

Campaign Spending
(N.Y.T. 3/24)

A new ruling now requires that candidates' spending for radio, television, newspaper or billboard advertising before April 7 be reported as post-April 7 expenditures if the services purchased are used after that date. The new ruling does not cover a large area of other major expenditures, however, including contracts signed before April 7 for direct mail services or advance disbursements for local headquarters or organizing groups.

PRIMARY STATES VOTING PATTERNS

<u>STATE</u>	<u>1960</u>		<u>1964</u>		<u>1968</u>	
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Kennedy	47%	Johnson	64%	Humphrey	44%
	Nixon	53%	Goldwater	36%	Nixon	52%
					Wallace	4%
FLORIDA	Kennedy	49%	Johnson	51%	Humphrey	31%
	Nixon	51%	Goldwater	49%	Nixon	41%
					Wallace	29%
ILLINOIS	Kennedy	50%	Johnson	60%	Humphrey	44%
	Nixon	50%	Goldwater	40%	Nixon	47%
					Wallace	9%
WISCONSIN	Kennedy	48%	Johnson	62%	Humphrey	44%
	Nixon	52%	Goldwater	38%	Nixon	48%
					Wallace	8%
RHODE ISLAND	Kennedy	64%	Johnson	81%	Humphrey	64%
	Nixon	36%	Goldwater	19%	Nixon	32%
					Wallace	4%
MASSACHUSETTS	Kennedy	60%	Johnson	76%	Humphrey	63%
	Nixon	40%	Goldwater	24%	Nixon	33%
					Wallace	4%
PENNSYLVANIA	Kennedy	51%	Johnson	65%	Humphrey	48%
	Nixon	49%	Goldwater	35%	Nixon	44%
					Wallace	8%
INDIANA	Kennedy	45%	Johnson	56%	Humphrey	39%
	Nixon	55%	Goldwater	44%	Nixon	50%
					Wallace	12%

continued

Primary States Voting Patterns

<u>STATE</u>	<u>1960</u>		<u>1964</u>		<u>1968</u>	
ALABAMA	Kennedy Nixon	57% 43%	Johnson Goldwater	* 70%	Humphrey Nixon Wallace	15% 15% 70%
OHIO	Kennedy Nixon	47% 53%	Johnson Goldwater	63% 37%	Humphrey Nixon Wallace	43% 45% 12%
TENNESSEE	Kennedy Nixon	46% 53%	Johnson Goldwater	55% 45%	Humphrey Nixon Wallace	28% 38% 34%
NORTH CAROLINA	Kennedy Nixon	52% 48%	Johnson Goldwater	56% 44%	Humphrey Nixon Wallace	29% 40% 31%
NEBRASKA	Kennedy Nixon	38% 62%	Johnson Goldwater	53% 47%	Humphrey Nixon Wallace	32% 60% 8%
WEST VIRGINIA	Kennedy Nixon	53% 47%	Johnson Goldwater	68% 32%	Humphrey Nixon Wallace	50% 41% 10%
MARYLAND	Kennedy Nixon	54% 46%	Johnson Goldwater	66% 34%	Humphrey Nixon Wallace	44% 42% 14%

*210,733 votes were cast for Democratic electors not pledged to Johnson.

Primary States Voting Patterns

<u>STATE</u>	<u>1960</u>		<u>1964</u>		<u>1968</u>	
OREGON	Kennedy	47%	Johnson	64%	Humphrey	44%
	Nixon	53%	Goldwater	36%	Nixon	50%
					Wallace	6%
CALIFORNIA	Kennedy	50%	Johnson	59%	Humphrey	44%
	Nixon	50%	Goldwater	41%	Nixon	48%
					Wallace	7%
NEW JERSEY	Kennedy	50%	Johnson	66%	Humphrey	44%
	Nixon	50%	Goldwater	34%	Nixon	46%
					Wallace	9%
NEW MEXICO	Kennedy	50%	Johnson	59%	Humphrey	40%
	Nixon	50%	Goldwater	41%	Nixon	52%
					Wallace	8%
SOUTH DAKOTA	Kennedy	42%	Johnson	56%	Humphrey	42%
	Nixon	58%	Goldwater	44%	Nixon	53%
					Wallace	5%
NEW YORK	Kennedy	53%	Johnson	69%	Humphrey	58%
	Nixon	47%	Goldwater	31%	Nixon	40%
					Wallace	3%
ARKANSAS	Kennedy	54%	Johnson	56%	Humphrey	30%
	Nixon	46%	Goldwater	44%	Nixon	31%
					Wallace	39%

Source: The Almanac of American Politics, by Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa, and Douglas Matthews, Gambit, 1972.

Competitive Analysis
Report #4

Section III.

Gallup Poll
(N.Y.T. 3/19)

POLLS and SURVEYS

Taken March 3-5, covering 612 Democrats,
the poll results were:

(without Wallace)

Humphrey	35%
Muskie	28%
Lindsay	8%
McGovern	7%
McCarthy	6%
Jackson	5%

(with Wallace)

Humphrey	31%
Muskie	23%
Wallace	15%
Lindsay	7%
McGovern	6%
McCarthy	6%
Jackson	5%

The poll excluded Edward Kennedy because George Gallup said his organization has decided Kennedy is not a candidate. In previous surveys, Kennedy had been included and in February, polled 24%. The March figures without Kennedy indicate that Humphrey was a major beneficiary of the former Kennedy support. This poll gave HHH a net gain of 10 points compared to a poll in February.

Harris Survey: Wallace
(Chicago Tribune 3/20)

Survey taken of a cross section of 1,602 households between 2/27 and 3/6. Results indicated that 83% of the public respects Wallace for having the "courage to say what he really thinks", but 57% also consider him "an extremist"; and by 48% to 34%, Americans believe Wallace is a "racist, stirring up trouble". Some of the wide differences which exist between voters in the South and those in the rest of the country are:

- by 53% to 24% people in the South agree that Wallace is "right to want to leave race relations to the states". The rest of the country disagrees with that statement by 47% to 32%.

- by 44% to 31% Southerners think Wallace "would keep law and order the way it should be kept." The rest of the country disagrees by 54% to 27%.

Section III. cont'd.

- by 49% to 30% Southerners deny that Wallace is a "racist stirring up trouble". The rest of the country views him as a racist by 53% to 29%.

These results show rather dramatically how differently Wallace is perceived inside and outside the South. (Comment: without exception, Wallace received fewer favorable votes on every question asked in the 1972 poll than he did in the 1968 poll.)

Public Broadcasting
Service Poll
(N.Y.T. 3/23)

Conducted March 13-17, in Wisconsin for the Public Broadcasting Service by Joe B. Williams (an Elmwood, Nebraska public opinion researcher), the poll sampled the opinion of 495 Wisconsin voters. Results:

Humphrey	18%
McGovern	16%
Muskie	13%
Jackson	12%
Wallace	8%
Lindsay	2%
McCarthy	1%
Chisholm	1%
undecided	29%

About half of those polled were questioned before the Florida primary and half afterwards. Among those questioned before the Florida primary, 12% favored Humphrey; afterwards, his support grew to 23%. Wallace got 5% in the pre-Florida poll and 10% afterwards. Muskie got 12% before and 13% after. McGovern got 17% before and 14% after. Jackson got 17% before and 9% after.

Section IV.

THE CANDIDATES

MUSKIE

A. ISSUES

Busing
(N.Y.T. 3/18)

Responding to President Nixon's statement on busing, Muskie contended that the problem is, rather, to bring quality education within the reach of every child. Busing is one tool to achieve desegregation and has value "if used with common sense . . ." but the basic challenge is more adequate funding of schools and integration of jobs and housing.

Farms
(N.Y.T. 3/18)

Called on the Federal Trade Commission to conduct an "immediate, large-scale" investigation into the takeover of farms by large, non-farm corporations. Says there should be an "absolute limit" of \$15,000 on deductible farm losses for Federal tax purposes. Further, that "gentlemen farmers" had taken up agriculture as a tax shelter, thus threatening the livelihood of small family farmers. (Quote from the Times: "It was the second day in succession that Mr. Muskie sought to adopt the issues, if not the positions, of Governor George C. Wallace . . .")

ITT
(Wash. Post 3/17)

Campaigning in Illinois, Muskie called on all White House aides involved in the ITT merger decision to waive executive privilege and testify in the Senate Judiciary Committee investigation.

Wallace
(N.Y.T. 3/19 and
Chicago Sun-Times 3/17)

Muskie has been lambasting Wallace as an apostle of privilege, saying: "I hate what George Wallace stands for . . ." Muskie also said of Wallace, "This preacher of prejudice is nothing but a pretender to populism . . ." and that Wallace doesn't stand for the workers or farmers but for the special privilege groups he has served since holding office.

Anti-ballistic Missile
and Space Shuttle
(N.Y.T. 3/22)

Muskie chided Humphrey and Jackson for their favoring the anti-ballistic missile and the space shuttle, saying that he (Muskie) opposed both of these programs in the name of the taxpayer's pocketbook.

Competitive Analysis
Report #4

Section IV, cont'd.

MUSKIE

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

TV	Not available.
Radio	Not available.
Newspaper	Not available.
<u>Creative</u>	<u>Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 3/5/72, station WITI-TV.</u> Vague commercial on unemployed and inflation. (Commercial attached)

Comment

According to figures reported by Muskie's Illinois campaign manager, he spent \$260,000 in Illinois (N.Y.T. 3/22). Muskie, himself, in reviewing the Florida results, indicated that his problems there were compounded by vague and "subliminal" television commercials and by a failure to use radio spots effectively. (N.Y.T. 3/19)

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Michigan Backing
(Wash. Post 3/23)

Leonard Woodcock and Douglas A. Fraser, president and vice president, of the United Auto Workers in Michigan (a union that is acknowledged to be the most important single force in the state's Democratic politics) are backing Muskie.

Illinois Endorsement
(Chicago Tribune 3/19)

The Chicago Tribune endorsed Muskie on 3/19.

To Skip Primaries
(Wash. Post 3/21)

Muskie will skip the Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee and possibly Nebraska primaries, concentrating instead on Michigan and other states having large delegate offerings.

Note: Muskie has vowed to "go all the way" to the convention regardless of the outcome of the primary elections in which he is entered.

The "New" Muskie
(N.Y.T. 3/19)

Muskie said the Florida results had convinced him of the need to "present ourselves more clearly, more toughly, more crisply" on the issues. His plans call for selecting three or four issues and stating his position on them "clearly and repetitively". Indeed, at a rally on 3/16 the Times reported that the "new" Muskie spoke

Section IV., cont'd.

MUSKIE

"in a louder voice, looked intense and angry and his pedagogical style was gone". However, the Senator's new aggressiveness did not last long for by the time he reached Northern Illinois University late that same night, "he was back to a low-key presentation, giving rambling, avuncular answers to questions."

Strategy Change
(Chicago Sun-Times
3/18)

On 3/17, Muskie's strategy began to concentrate on "identifying the principal target as the Wallace-Nixon challenge to the Democratic Party". His speeches continued thereafter to pound Wallace and Nixon, while virtually ignoring McGovern and McCarthy.

D. ANALYSIS

Calling his 63% win in Illinois, "a solid victory in a state that represents a true cross section of America . . .", Muskie amassed about 66% of the vote in the downstate area and about 60% in the Chicago suburbs. He walked off with 59 committed delegates and hopes to win the other 87 still tightly held by Mayor Daley. But, the two flies in that ointment are: a faction in the Democratic Party which plans to challenge all uncommitted delegates from Illinois at the convention for non-conformance to the new rules; and McGovern, who plans to challenge some of Muskie's committed delegates.

Not once did Muskie adopt a more liberal stance in Illinois on such issues as amnesty for war deserters, marijuana or abortion. In fact, one of his staffers was heard to say that it would be difficult for Muskie to come out hard on these issues, "one word and there goes our labor support in Wisconsin and other people we can't afford to lose". (N.Y.T. 3/19)

Muskie's most startling change of pace seemed to be his burning desire to link Wallace with Nixon (or vice versa). His objective may be to align the two on such political issues as busing, agriculture, big business, etc., so that Muskie himself might become more clearly perceived -- the idea being that if one can identify and isolate the opposition, one's own position, merely by being opposite, becomes more apparent. Certainly there's little argument that Muskie's position to date has been less than apparent.

His attacks on Wallace while attempting to usurp Wallace's positions, furnish a striking parallel to the new thrust of McGovern's speeches (see McGovern analysis). The parallel, however, ends there, for McGovern is wending his way through that snake pit with great finesse while Muskie clomps along calling Wallace a "demagogue" appealing to the worst instincts of human nature. In fact, Muskie's outright attacks on Wallace may be a large mistake. Reason: Muskie probably can't cut too deeply into the liberal votes of McGovern

Section IV., cont'd.

MUSKIE

or Lindsay and must, therefore, go after the Wallace vote. To insult Wallaceites may, therefore, be to court disaster.

In any case, Muskie's win in Illinois not only keeps him viable, it keeps him in the front-runner position for delegates. A win in Wisconsin remains crucial, however, not only because he's running with the entire pack again there, but also because the liberal vote could split so widely that Wallace might come out on top. Muskie's greatest foe, aside from himself, is time. The split in time spent between Illinois and Wisconsin may mean the difference between winning or losing there. Best guess is that Muskie will come in third behind Humphrey and Wallace.

Section IV., cont'd.

HUMPHREY

A. ISSUES

Busing
(N.Y.T. 3/18)

Initially responding to Nixon's statement on busing, HHH said, "Thank goodness, that at long last the President has been able to get his finger up in the air and sense what's going on and has decided that he would say amen to some of the things that some of the rest of us have been trying to do." Asked if he basically agreed with Mr. Nixon's position, Humphrey said, "He's in agreement with me. Let's get the cart where it belongs."

N.Y.T. 3/21

In a dramatic reversal of his original response on busing, HHH is now saying that, "Nixon's plan is insufficient in the amount of aid needed for our children, deceptive to the American people, and insensitive to the laws and the Constitution of this nation." Further, "When I read the fine print of (Nixon's) Congressional message, the newness of the President's initiative tarnished quickly." Humphrey then emphasized the need for more Federal aid to schools, enforcement of open housing laws, "special programs" to help minorities, equal spending on schools, and the redrawing of local district boundaries.

Labor
(N.Y.T. 3/18)

Campaigning in Ohio, Humphrey said (speech delivered for a labor dinner) that the Pay Board's decision to trim the 20.9% wage and fringe benefits for West Coast longshoremen was "regrettable" and denounced the economic control program as "a gigantic sieve through which you can drive a Mack truck".

Tax Reform Bill
(N.Y.T. 3/22)

Humphrey is one of several Democrat sponsors of a Senate tax reform bill aimed at raising \$16 billion in new revenue in 1973. HHH said the reform plan "goes directly after the accelerated-depreciation-range system, capital gains at death, the oil depletion allowance, the hobby-farms, the tax shelters of the estates of millionaires". (Other sponsors include Ted Kennedy and George McGovern.)

Section IV., cont'd.

HUMPHREY

B. MEDIA

Nothing available.

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Ohio
(N.Y.T. 3/18)

Actively seeking the labor vote in Ohio this week.

Indiana
(N.Y.T. 3/24)

Entered in the primary here where HHH will face only Wallace and Muskie on May 2.

Wisconsin
(N.Y.T. 3/24)

Campaigning in Wisconsin as "the one progressive Democrat that can beat Wallace and then take on Nixon, too."

D. ANALYSIS

Senator Humphrey's not-too-quick pirouette on President Nixon's busing statement was the most interesting, if not downright comical, thing he has done of late. HHH's initial response must have startled a lot of people coming as it did from a man who, in 1948, led the liberal forces that demanded and won a strong civil rights plank in the Democratic Platform.

But it should not have been surprising to find him trip-the-light-fantastic back into his normal groove after reading the "fine print" in Mr. Nixon's statement and determining that the President had not, in fact, gone far enough to suit Mr. Humphrey's more liberal tastes. Maybe this will teach the Minnesota Senator to look before he leaps, because the next time he might not be able to wiggle out of a public statement quite so easily.

It's also interesting to note that Humphrey is describing himself as a "progressive Democrat" while campaigning in Wisconsin -- the birthplace of American progressivism, whose finest incarnation was Robert LaFollette. While he may tout himself as "liberal" everywhere else, here he is "progressive". Considering that the original brand of "progressivism" combined an economic radicalism and an isolationist foreign policy, Humphrey ought to do very well in this state next Tuesday. In fact, best guess is that he will win the top spot, followed closely by Wallace and Muskie.

Section IV., cont'd.

WALLACE

A. ISSUES

Tax Reform
(N.Y.T. 3/23)

Wallace kicked off his Wisconsin campaign by stressing the need for tax reform. Wallace was among the earliest of the Democratic Presidential contenders to grab the tax-reform issue and he often attacks the tax privileges given to foundations and the tax-exempt status of church commercial properties.

Busing

No change, but apparently won't make a major issue of it in Wisconsin where it isn't a major issue.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

TV

Not available.

Radio

Not available.

Newspaper

Not available.

Creative

Attached is the full text of a 30-minute televised Wallace broadcast which ran on March 11, from 7:30 to 8:00 p.m. in Jacksonville, Florida.

Comment

Wallace's attached speech covers all the issues in a down-to-earth manner and poses a few questions which even the most anti-Wallace voter might ponder. He hits the issues and hits them hard in this speech and it might be very persuasive if modified for the Wisconsin primary.

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Texas
(N.Y.T. 3/18)

Wallace arrived in Austin, Texas (3/17) hoping to capitalize on the fact that the busing issue will be on the Texas primary ballots May 8. Further, under the new Texas state convention rules, delegates will be selected in precinct conventions proportionate to the percentage of persons favoring each Presidential candidate. If as many as 70% favor one candidate, they can control the entire delegation. So, it is entirely possible that, particularly in eastern Texas, Wallace's votes may have great impact.

Section IV., cont'd.

WALLACE

Third-Party
(N.Y.T. 3/18)

No change, everything depends upon how he is treated at the July convention.

Opponents
(N.Y.T. 3/24)

Responding to an "extremist" charge by McGovern, Wallace declared, "The extremists of this country are the six Senators who voted for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution and got us in a war and then changed their minds about it three or four years later. That's what I call an extremist."

Indiana
(N.Y.T. 3/24)

Wallace is on the ballot here, facing only Humphrey and Muskie. (Note: Wallace won 29.8% of the vote in 1964, carrying the industrial counties of Lake and Porter in northern Indiana.)

Wisconsin
(N.Y.T. 3/23)

Campaign plans in Wisconsin are relatively light, with rallies only in Milwaukee, Green Bay, Racine, La Crosse, Wausau and Sheboygan.

Labor
(Milwaukee Journal
3/19)

Organized labor in Wisconsin is blasting away at Wallace, fearing that his primary victories will create havoc in the Democratic Party and thus ensure Nixon's re-election. Labor's campaign against Wallace here was considered very effective in 1968, despite Wallace's appeal to discontented blue-collar workers. The Wisconsin labor campaign was given substantial credit for cutting Wallace's national showing to 13.5% from the over 20% which public opinion polls had given him in late September, 1968.

D. ANALYSIS

Wisconsin doesn't have the Southern racial and cultural heritage which made Florida a fertile field for Wallace, but the same ten opposing candidates are here to cut up the vote and that may very well help Wallace's showing. Wallace is trying to broaden his appeal and gain a certain respectability by developing other issues here, such as tax reform and the unresponsiveness of various bureaucracies.

Labor is definitely out to get him, which is understandable, and if their campaign is as successful in 1972 as it was here in 1968, they may yet "whittle" the man down to size.

Competitive Analysis
Report #4

Section IV., cont'd.

WALLACE

The Wallace "rallies" are in evidence in Wisconsin -- his first here being held in Milwaukee and attracting a crowd of between 4,000 and 5,000 -- more than any other candidate has attracted so far. There appears to be little change in the Wallace approach, except possibly an easing up on the busing issue (which is not considered to be of major importance in this state), but the ranting and raving and emotional upheavals are still very much a part of his campaign. By comparison to some of his opponents' campaigns, at least Wallace's had a little "action" going for it. Best guess is that the liberal vote will be split among the major contenders and Wallace will ride in in second place following Humphrey in next Tuesday's primary.

Section IV. cont'd.

McGOVERN

A. ISSUES

Busing
(N.Y.T. 3/18)

In response to President Nixon's statement on busing, McGovern accused the President of engaging in "a frantic effort to capitalize on this emotional issue" in an effort to distract the attention of the nation from such issues as the war in Vietnam, high taxes and unemployment.

Washington Post 3/17

Says that busing should not be an issue in Wisconsin because no school district in the area is under court orders to bus children and there is no great public pressure to do so.

Nixon Administration
(Chicago Daily News
3/20)

McGovern assailed the Nixon Administration for what he called its lack of leadership on the war, the school busing controversy, the ITT antitrust affair, reordering national priorities, and the economy.

N.Y.T. 3/19

He condemned the Administration for a Federal home mortgage policy that he said was "destroying" ethnic neighborhoods.

Tax Reform
(Christian Science
Monitor 3/17)

McGovern said he could raise \$6 billion in new taxes from individual income taxes through a sharp increase in the minimum income tax; could add \$17 billion to Federal revenues by eliminating loopholes in corporation taxes; and, with a shift of estate and gift taxes to a lifetime cumulative tax, could raise another \$5 billion.

N.Y.T. 3/22

McGovern is one of several Democrat sponsors of a new tax reform bill in the Senate.

Local Tax Reform
(Wash. Post 3/17)

Angry at local tax increases, McGovern's newest target, he hit the issue hard in ILLINOIS where the state's new income tax was a major issue in the gubernatorial campaign. He said, "There is a real tax revolt in this country", and stressed his plan to close \$28 billion in "tax loopholes".

Section IV., cont'd.

McGOVERN

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

TV Not available.

Radio Not available.

Newspaper Not available.

Creative Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 3/6. Station WOKY, commercial
Campaign contributions: McGovern saying "I don't have any big oil money . . ." and that he's going to publish the name of every person who has contributed so that people know it's "the little people" who are backing him. (Commercial attached)

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 3/5. Station WISN-TV commercial
Government Secrecy: McGovern saying that the Government wanted to work the Pakistan theft deal in secret, not tell the Congress, not tell the press or the American people. That the people have a right to know what's going on. (Commercial attached)

Milwaukee Journal, 3/19, newspaper ad
"Little Guys are for McGovern": ad saying thanks to the "little guys", the underdog from South Dakota, the quiet man who has been right from the start -- is an underdog no longer. The ad asks for contributions from the little people. (ad attached)

Washington Post, 3/20, newspaper ad
"Help Elect Virginia Delegates": ad requesting help in electing Virginia delegates for McGovern and contributions to his campaign fund. (ad attached)

Comment McGovern spent a total of 40 hours campaigning in Illinois between last October and last Wednesday with negligible advertising during that period. According to figures reported by his Illinois campaign manager, McGovern spent \$62,000 in that state. (N.Y.T. 3/22)

Section IV. cont'd.

McGOVERN

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

New Strategy
(Wash. Post 3/17)

McGovern revised his presidential campaign strategy to recognize what he considers is the mood of general public protest symbolized by Wallace's heavy vote in the Florida primary. He plans to stress that dissatisfaction in the Illinois and Wisconsin primaries, emphasizing tax reform, the war in Vietnam, and the problems of "little people" who find themselves paying more to buy less. He said, "voters . . . are more fed up with the way this country is going than we thought".

Wisconsin
(Milwaukee Journal
3/19)

McGovern will campaign throughout the week in Milwaukee, Whitewater, Madison, Platteville, Lancaster, LaCrosse, Eau Claire, Menomonie, River Falls, Superior and Ashland. Public events will be held at all places, his headquarters announced.

Versus the Others
(N.Y.T. 3/22)

Replying to Senator Jackson's charge that he had "waffled" on the issues, McGovern said, "I think the biggest waffler among the liberal Senators so far has been Senator Jackson, with Humphrey a close second" and that Jackson had betrayed his own record on civil rights by opposing busing and that HHH "leaves us wondering where he really does stand".

Calif. Demo. Council
(N.Y.T. 3/20)

The California Democratic Council, an amalgamation of 125 Democratic clubs with a reported membership of 15,000, voted to back McGovern. McGovern fell short, however, by 22 votes of the 60% majority required to win formal support of the Council. (Note: this year, all Democratic contenders avoided the Council like the plague, except Hartke.

Maryland
(N.Y.T. 3/24)

McGovern is listed on the ballot in Maryland.

D. ANALYSIS

McGovern's climb to 28.5 delegates still does not a front-runner make. His earlier statement that he hoped to walk away with as many as 30 delegates from Illinois must have been embarrassing for him since he only managed to obtain 14. He is clearly the favorite of most of the newly enfranchised college youths, but he is not so popular among working youths, as Florida proved (where he received less than 20% of the overall youth vote).

Section IV., cont'd.

McGOVERN

In an important tactical change of strategy, McGovern is now attempting to tame the Wallace vote and detach it from its champion. A sample of his approach to this rather sticky proposition follows: "I believe the Governor (Wallace) is an extremist, but I believe many of the people who supported the Governor did so because they are deeply frustrated and disgusted with the way their Government is ignoring their concerns and interests." McGovern has been trying to identify himself emotionally with Wallace's "fed-up" sense of grievance, while discounting Wallace-the-man. His thrust, in some ways parallel to Muskie's, is subtle and cautious. He obviously is playing to the Wallace audience in the hopes that he can identify himself with the same issues but as the better man to solve them. Wallace has certainly scared everyone, it seems, and maybe rightly so, but McGovern's approach to downgrading Wallace's threat is a far sight more sophisticated than that of Muskie . . . and Humphrey is being just plain nice to everyone these days.

The pattern emerging in McGovern's primary showings is one that consistently reflects the efforts of his campaign organization. In New Hampshire, his unexpected good showing derived in large part from the extraordinary grass-roots organization he built there and his effective penetration of the blue-collar areas and, probably, to some extent, the mistakes Muskie made. His meager showing in Florida matched his meager effort, both in media and actual stumping, plus a too-divided vote split among 11 contenders. His not-so-hot Illinois showing in the delegate balloting (where his only opponent was Muskie) derived in part from a not-so-hot effort in that state by his campaign organization and a minimal media expenditure.

McGovern is concentrating, as are they all, on Wisconsin, but he will have to pick up a lot more steam and blue-collar votes than he has so far to make off with more than fourth place there.

Section IV., cont'd.

LINDSAY

A. ISSUES

Busing
(N.Y.T. 3/18)

Responding to the President's statement on busing, Lindsay called it "a giant step backward for our nation" and said it reflected a "cave-in" to the segregationist views of George Wallace.

Federal Bill of Rights
(N.Y.T. 3/20)

In Milwaukee, Lindsay proposed a Federal Bill of Rights for workers that would include guaranteed employment, job security and free health care; the program also would provide pension "portability" or the right of the worker to take his pension plan with him from job to job. Lindsay also called on the Government to create one million public service jobs involving work in hospitals, schools, etc.

Tax Reform
(Christian Science Monitor 3/17)

He proposed a tax reform package that would raise \$10 to \$15 billion.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

TV

Not available.

Radio

Not available.

Newspaper

Not available.

Creative

Not available.

Comment

His organization has cancelled a series of television commercials in Wisconsin and his aides say that "it will hurt". Supporters are still trying to raise money for his campaign, but it seems highly unlikely that he will come close to raising the \$300,000 he said he needed for an effective campaign in this state. Lindsay staffers have, however, established storefront headquarters in all the major cities in the state and are carrying on an extensive telephone operation there.

Competitive Analysis
Report #4

Section IV., cont'd.

LINDSAY

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Salary Cut-backs
(N.Y.T. 3/21)

About one-third of Lindsay's national staffers have "volunteered" to work without pay through the April 4 Wisconsin primary.

Wisconsin
(Wash. Post 3/21)

Seeking to obtain the blue-collar vote in Wisconsin, Lindsay slept on the couch in the living room of a Milwaukee steel worker Arthur Young, and the next day talked about a workers' bill of rights that would "give a better shake to the Art Youngs of this world".

Other Primaries
(N.Y.T. 3/23)

Lindsay says that whatever the outcome of the Wisconsin primary, he plans to participate in the Massachusetts and California primaries.

Humphrey
(N.Y.T. 3/21)

Lindsay accused Humphrey of moving to the right saying that HHH could not defeat Nixon that way. The only way to defeat Nixon is to fight him "toe to toe" on the issues. Lindsay returned again and again to the theme that the U.S. should not have a "replay" of 1968.

Progressive Ticket
(N.Y.T. 3/21)

Lindsay urged the nomination of a progressive ticket, saying that a centrist ticket could not win against Mr. Nixon.

D. ANALYSIS

Taking pot shots at Wallace seems to be everybody's game, and Lindsay is no exception. While attacking Wallace on the one hand, Lindsay is desperately trying to woo away the Governor's support on the other (another ripple in the Muskie, McGovern syndrome). Lindsay has been denouncing Wallace as a "false populist and demagogue whose record in Alabama proves that he is not for the worker".

In spite of the Mayor's continued sniping at Wallace, however, neither Wallace nor busing are major issues for Lindsay in Wisconsin. His chief target there is Humphrey and his favorite theme seems to be that the voters could not stand the "boredom" of another contest between Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace.

Competitive Analysis
Report #4

Section IV., cont'd.

LINDSAY

Billing himself as a "fighter", Lindsay thinks he's the best man to solve the urban crisis, the war in Vietnam, unemployment, inflation and soaring prices -- if for no other reason than he's had to face these problems in New York City. Maybe the results of his shadow-boxing bouts in Fun City are the reason so many huge (tax-paying) corporations have moved elsewhere since the Lindsay administration took over.

Lindsay is not likely to whip up much enthusiasm in Wisconsin and best estimate is that he'll end up in sixth place in the primary there.

Section IV., cont'd.

JACKSON

A. ISSUES

Busing
(N.Y.T. 3/18)

Responding to President Nixon's busing statement, Jackson denounced it as "intellectually dishonest" and "an attack on the Bill of Rights itself". He called instead for a constitutional amendment to ban busing.

Campaign Contributors
(N.Y.T. 3/22)

Speaking at the University of Wisconsin, Jackson again defended his refusal to name his contributors and denied that he was being financed by defense contractors.

Tax Reform
(Christian Science
Monitor 3/17)

Continues to advocate a "fair share tax program" and indicated he may come out with a comprehensive reform program within the next three weeks that would close \$12 billion to \$20 billion in loopholes. He may also become one of many Democratic co-sponsors of a major tax loophole-closing bill expected to be introduced soon in the Senate by Mr. Nelson.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

TV

Not available.

Radio

Not available.

Newspaper

Not available.

Creative

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 3/5, Station WISN-TV, commercial
Social Security: Saying the minimum should go to \$150, the maximum to \$600. (commercial attached)

Comment

Jackson commented in a Washington, D.C. press conference that he plans to move into Wisconsin on 3/19 to campaign and that he will spend about \$200,000 there.

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Wisconsin
(Chicago Tribune 3/18)

Jackson plans to continue his "plain-talk" campaign in Wisconsin, concentrating on the national economy, jobs and inflation.

Section IV., cont'd.

JACKSON

Illinois
(Chicago Tribune 3/18)

He spoke warmly of Chicago's Mayor Daley, saying "Let's face it, Mayor Daley is an effective politician . . . if HHH had listened to him in 1968, he would be President today."

North Carolina
(Chicago Sun-Times
3/20)

His campaign managers now concede they made a mistake entering Jackson in the North Carolina primary and would get off the ballot there if they could. Jackson will not campaign in that state.

New York
(N.Y.T. 3/18)

Representative Samuel S. Stratton, Democrat from Upstate New York, will be Jackson's campaign chairman in New York.

D. ANALYSIS

Jackson probably still faces, to some degree, a recognition problem in Wisconsin, and will, therefore, spend largely on media to get him and his stands across to the voters there. He's right in the middle of the pack on his denunciation of the President's busing statement; but separate in still advocating a Constitutional amendment to eliminate school busing. Jackson's stands have always been rather well defined and he does not seem to be wavering on any of them at this point.

In the Public Broadcasting Service Poll (see Section III) it was interesting to note that both McGovern and Jackson slipped after the Florida primary. McGovern's slippage seems reasonable considering his showing there; but Jackson's drop from 17% before the Florida primary to only 9% afterwards seems strange in light of his third-place showing in that primary. Could it be an indication that people are no longer interested in the man? Best guess is that he will come in fifth in the Wisconsin primary edging out Lindsay but below Humphrey, Wallace, Muskie and McGovern.

Section IV., cont'd.

McCARTHY

A. ISSUES

Property Tax
(Chicago Tribune
3/19)

McCarthy called for a graduated property taxing system, similar to the graduated income tax, to eliminate the flat rate and assessed evaluation methods of determining property taxes.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

TV

Not available.

Radio

Not available.

Newspaper

Not available.

Creative

The Chicago Sun Times (3/18) carried a large ad: "Gene McCarthy talks about his differences with Ed Muskie". WBBM-Channel 2, 1:00 to 1:05 p.m., and 5:25 to 5:30 p.m., March 21. (ad attached)

N.Y.T. (3/19) carried a reprint of an Illinois ad in the Week in Review section, which said, "McCarthy vs. Muskie" and asked for votes. (ad attached)

Comment

McCarthy apparently went all-out in Illinois, for his staff said that he spent \$250,000 in the primary there.

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Wisconsin
(N.Y.T. 3/23)

McCarthy says he won't campaign seriously in the Wisconsin primary because the field is too crowded there.

Other Primaries
(N.Y.T. 3/23)

He said he might campaign in Oregon and possibly New York and definitely plans to make an intensive effort in California.

Muskie
(Chicago Daily News
3/20)

Assailing Muskie, McCarthy said that his one opponent in Illinois has offered no positive programs to solve the nation's critical problems, and that Muskie has not called, as McCarthy has, for a national drug program.

Section IV., cont'd.

McCARTHY

Primary Strategy
(N.Y.T. 3/23)

McCarthy's primary strategy will be to concentrate his efforts on the major contests with the hope of going to the convention having demonstrated that he has sufficient national support to make him a serious candidate for the nomination. If the party turns him down and fails to select another candidate and platform meeting his desires, he may use his popular strength to form a new party.

Chicago Sun-Times
3/16

If Wallace continues his winning streak in other primaries, McCarthy will take action and he might not wait until the convention to do so.

D. ANALYSIS

With only 37% of the votes in Illinois and no convention delegates committed to him, McCarthy cannot be classified as a serious contender for the Democratic nomination -- especially since a portion of that 37% derived from McGovern supporters in a you-scratch-my-back-and-I'll-scratch-yours move to block Muskie in the preference contest.

The charismatic aura that surrounded McCarthy's campaign in 1968 and that helped LBJ decide to give it up, is evident this year by its very nearly total absence. His then great issue was the war in Vietnam and while that war is still an issue of considerable proportions, it no longer evokes the near-hysteria it did four years ago.

McCarthy's aspirations of gathering enough strength in a few major primaries to go to the convention as a serious candidate will probably meet with a quiet demise in the next few weeks. He talks, though, of using his popular strength to form a new party and he may be quite serious about doing just that if the Wallace threat continues to loom large on the horizon. How much of a wrench McCarthy could throw into the convention machinery is moot, however, when compared to the very considerable damage Wallace could wreak on that body in July.

K

Scali

L. ~~£ 500 quarterly per Mo~~
Dec Jan Feb done
- Balance thru Nov. now?

Perot

- very polite w/ K. + wanted talk

Hinman → -250

K-where P a letter, to David R re
letter pushing + at least sorry on my
apologizing. must smooth feathers.

Time - article on K, De M
this week.

K.

No WH car during wk -
will use Comm cars to
Halls unless really pressed.

Don Nixon - FBI

Last miserable telecon
Hallinan ~~Homes~~ Hallenor
- send to E w/ note K saw
- K reports moving
and would be agree at
date, mtg of F, H, AG, Rose
before China Don + Ed on

Weinberger - friend to Firestone

Harper's April - Polk
art on K. - same info
LATimes - did not
use the Polk article

- Peter Bailey

only big fight - media
camp edges - teleph
2-3 mos coming out of ad budget

Hold off any recomm on China
Enuf is Enuf.

K

Time may full field
check on Kolm
law school, etc.

all clients
in Martindale,
well by Mon.

- Moo - table it per JM,
plans concern.

- Passed on ^{Bludorn}
no in kind.

C Ann a go, 50 cr
out holding 150 until
stars checks w/JM.

Sevenson → K Powers

- ① Aplanalp
- ② ~~Atz~~ Recon ~~ag~~ Mulcahy
not sure
- ③ Scatfe, Richard.
- ④ Rollins
- ⑤ De Roulet.

Buy it + squand the hotel.

6 → Weinberger, call Friestone
re friends contrib or Cooley

L. no - 3/8
Prick.

McNab - (714) 642-8235; H - (214) 673-5653 2/11

Sevensen House

175 - his asking

155 - 157 - should have asked

135 - 145 - FMV

-
No more single housing
devel in Cal, so anything
on Coastline will have
excellent appreciation

- Can't project 10-15%

- but bullish on Coastline

- Some rental mlt but
wouldn't get a \$ per
mo return

- To be financially
advantageous would
have to rely on deprec
and tax advantages

Uplap?

- \$750 per mo on 1st TD
on 100,000 " "

- Probably round figure
is 1000 per mo
in round figures

- Not on mlt generally, no
effort to sell, the people told.

Lee Kern
Charles Luckman -
- Doing something for H.
or work w/ Stans
- Will head up Archi Comm
for Re - see com

Wallace organizing thru law
enforcement, esp
in N.J.