<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box Number</th>
<th>Folder Number</th>
<th>Document Date</th>
<th>No Date</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Document Type</th>
<th>Document Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Newsletter</td>
<td>A newsletter from the Committee for the Re-election of the President. RE: The citizens of Pennsylvania, and the Democratic Senators making headlines in that state. 2 pgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Harry S. Flemming to Staff receiving state chairman list. RE: The attached update sheets for the State Chairman List. 5 pgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/18/1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Herbert L. Porter to John N. Mitchell. RE: Invitation to the Vice President for Fund Raising Dinners in Missouri. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/18/1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Rick Fore to Curt Herge. RE: Vice President Agnew's Trip to Missouri. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/11/1972</td>
<td>❌</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>From Alfred J. Fleischer to Curt Herga. RE: The Vice President's attendance in Missouri for a fund raiser, in exchange for 15% of the funds going to the Committee for the Re-election of the President. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/18/1972</td>
<td>❌</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Herbert L. Porter to John N. Mitchell. RE: Invitation to the Vice President. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/18/1972</td>
<td>❌</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Robert P. Odell, Jr. to Curt Herga. RE: Lloyd Waring, the Massachusetts Nixon Finance Chairman, requests the Vice President attend a fund raising event in Boston. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/20/1972</td>
<td>❌</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Herbert L. Porter to John N. Mitchell. RE: The Proposed Appearance by a Member of the First Family in Maine. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/26/1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Haldeman to John Mitchell. RE: A suggested meeting between: Magruder, Miller, LaRue, Marik, Dailey, Teeter, and Finkelstein to work on campaign strategy. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/13/1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Fred Malek to Alex Armendariz, Tony DeFalco, Larry Goldberg, Paul Jones, Paul Kayser, Frank Naylor, Ken Rietz, etc. RE: Congratulatory Letters to Appointees. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>☑️</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>Unknown sender to Black Nixon Supporters. RE: Paul Jones' plan for what he calls &quot;The largest Black fund-raising event ever held for any President.&quot; 4 pgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>White House Staff</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
<td>Indecipherable handwritten note labeled, &quot;CBS.&quot; 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
<td>Typed notes that list the reported precincts in the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts primaries. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>White House Staff</td>
<td>Other Document</td>
<td>Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/26/1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>White House Staff</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Jon A. Foust to Jeb Magruder. RE: Meetings with Cabinet Staffs, and subsequent reports on their success. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/26/1972</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>Domestic Policy</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Ed Cowling to Jon A. Foust. RE: April 26 Meeting with Secretary Romney's Staff (attended by Dot Babcock, Judy Bryant, Jack Woolley, SD, JF, and EC). 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number</td>
<td>Folder Number</td>
<td>Document Date</td>
<td>No Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Document Type</td>
<td>Document Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3/29/1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Robert Morgan to Dr. Robert Marik. RE: Mayor Rizzo of Philadelphia who is choosing to remain neutral in the election. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Document</td>
<td>Disposition</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political CREED Press Release #4-15(19), n.d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Memo, Fleming to Staff..., n.d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Memo, Porter to Mitchell, 4-19-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Memo, Porter to Mitchell, 4-18-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Memo, Porter to Mitchell, 4-20-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Memo, Dailey to Mitchell, 4-14-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Memo, Strachan to H.R.H, 4-8-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Memo, Magruder &amp; Hillen to Mitchell, 4-8-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Memo, Mallick to Armendariz, et al, 4-13-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political CREED Press Release, #4-18(24), 4-24-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 4-26-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Retain</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Memo, Magruder to Mitchell, 4-28-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Private/Political Memo, Odle to Mitchell, 4-27-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collection:</td>
<td>H. R. Haldeman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box Number:</td>
<td>311</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Return</th>
<th>Private/Political</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td>Memo, Sedam to Mitchell, 4-28-72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td>Memo, Odle to Mitchell, 3-17-72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td>Memo, Magruder to Mitchell, 3-29-72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PHILADELPHIA, April 19 -- Francis L. Dale, Chairman of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, released the following statement here today:

For the past two weeks, the people of Pennsylvania have been subjected to a crescendo of criticism of their country which has no precedent in American history. In particular, they have been inundated with irresponsible rhetoric by three Democratic Senators fighting to one-up each other and make headlines.

Senator Humphrey, who recently took three different positions in one week on the invasion of South Vietnam by the Communists from the North, contributed perhaps the single most irresponsible statement of the campaign to date when he told the Steelworkers that he is going to wage a "labor versus big business campaign." That is precisely what the people of Pennsylvania -- and indeed of the country -- do not need: a class war.

Senator Muskie told Pennsylvanians last night that he believes we are farther away from peace than ever before in Vietnam. Such a knee-jerk panic is almost expected from the Senator these days. It has not occurred to the Senator, I am sure, that his steadily escalating calls for the U.S. government to abandon the South Vietnamese in the midst of an armed invasion of their country may have in fact emboldened the Communists. But I am sure it has

(more)
occurred to many Pennsylvanians.

Senator McGovern, the first of this trio to call for appeasement in Southeast Asia, cannot find it in himself to utter one word against the North Vietnamese for their invasion. Not one single, solitary word in condemnation of this murderous blitzkrieg leveled against a people whose only desire is self-determination.

I believe that the events in Vietnam confirm the President's brilliant analysis of the situation from the beginning: that a precipitate withdrawal as advocated by Humphrey, Muskie and McGovern would lead to a mass invasion of the South. The lack of success which the invasion has produced for the Communists, in turn, confirms the President's analysis that Vietnamization would enable the South Vietnamese to take over all ground combat operations in their country.

I, for one, thank God that we have a President who was able to foresee the risks of invasion from the North and deliberately retained enough air power to protect our withdrawing soldiers as well as the civilian population of South Vietnam and to bargain for our prisoners of war.

But instead of praising the South Vietnamese and the President for their success, Humphrey, Muskie and McGovern are berating them for it. Their frustration mounts as the South Vietnamese refuse to cave in. This is a strange, hard-to-understand position. They should be hailing the success of Vietnamization; instead they seek to condemn it.

My conclusion from reviewing the performance of this traveling trio of candidates is that not one of them has demonstrated a fitness for the Presidency. After four primaries that have left their party in a shambles, these gentlemen now are making a mockery of the electoral process in Pennsylvania by spouting half-truths and inuendos. But let me predict that tactic won't work with the voters of this state next Tuesday or of the country next fall.
MEMORANDUM

TO: Staff Receiving State Chairman List

FROM: Harry S. Flemming

Attached are the latest update sheets for your State Chairman list. Please remove old sheets and insert those attached. Any inquiries regarding this listing should be made to Betsy Callaway of my staff (Ext. 397).
April 19, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MICHIGAN

Announcement date: March 6, 1972

HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE:

MICHIGAN COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
SUITE 1200, Industrial Building
Grand River and Washington Blvd.
Detroit, Michigan 48226

* * * * * *

NIXON
STATE CHAIRMAN: office: c/o BBDO

John A. (Jack) Gibbs
211 West Fort Street
Detroit, Michigan 48226

home: 2755 Somerset Blvd.
Troy, Michigan 48084

* * * * * *

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:

J. Doyle Dodge

office: Teledyne Continental Motors
30500 Van Dyke Avenue
Warren, Michigan 48009

home: 1293 Maryland Blvd.
Birmingham, Michigan 48009

* * * * * *

CO-CHAIRMAN:
Mrs. Edwin (Jean) Deer
467 Bonnie Brier
Birmingham, Michigan 48009

* * * * * *
Announcement date: March 15, 1972

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE:
NEW MEXICO COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
3908 Central Avenue SE
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN:
office: Suite 100, Merrill Bldg.
131 Adams, NE
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108

home: (505) 265-0021

NIXON CAMPAIGN MANAGER:
Willard Lewis
Santa Teresa Corporation
965 First National Tower
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001

P.O. Box 209
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001

* indicates entry not in previous listing, or change

April 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

NEW MEXICO
April 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

NEBRASKA

Announcement date: January 7, 1972

* HEADQUARTERS
OFFICE:

* NEBRASKA COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

* P.O. Box 5577
Lincoln, Nebraska 68505

* Street address: 127 North 13th Street
Lincoln, Nebraska 68505

*

NIXON
STATE CHAIRMAN:

George Cook

c/o HEADQUARTERS

Office: Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Bankers Life of Nebraska
Lincoln, Nebraska

Home: 3070 Sheridan Blvd.
Lincoln, Nebraska

* Secretary: Kay Fusselman
Home: (402) 477-9075

*

CO-COORDINATORS:

* Mr. Richard P. Day
Bankers Life Nebraska
P.O. Box 81889
Lincoln, Nebraska 68501

* Mrs. Kay Orr
1610 Brent
Lincoln, Nebraska 68520

*

CO-CHAIRMAN:

Mrs. Jo Ann Kimball
5405 Ellendale Road
Lincoln, Nebraska 68510

Mrs. Virginia Schmid
625 North 69th
Omaha, Nebraska 68505

Mrs. Virginia Smith
782 Third Street
Chappell, Nebraska 69129

** Indicates entry not in previous listing, or change
April 18, 1972

Announcement date: February 14, 1972

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE: PENNSYLVANIA COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
1822 Spruce Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103

* * * * *

NIXON STATE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Arlen Specter
* c/o HEADQUARTERS
office: District Attorney's office
Room 666, City Hall
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

home: 3417 Warden Drive
(215) GE8-2622
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19129

CONTACT: Mr. John Steinberg
(215) MU6-3964

* * * * *

ASSISTANT CHAIRMAN: Mr. Herman Bloom
Office, home
and temporary headquarters:
1822 Spruce Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103
(215) 985-1972

* * * * *
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER

SUBJECT: Invitation to the Vice President for Fund Raising Dinners in Missouri

Mr. Alfred J. Fleischer, Chairman of the Missouri Republican Finance Committee, has written to us, inviting the Vice President to appear at fund raising dinners in the following cities in Missouri:

1. Kansas City, during the period June 12-20.
   Estimated attendance: 1,000

2. St. Louis, during the period June 20-30.
   Estimated attendance: 1,000-1,600

The Missouri Republican Finance Committee has agreed to remit 15% of the gross proceeds of each dinner to this Committee. In addition, the sponsor will pay the expenses associated with the Vice President's appearance. The Missouri Committee for the Re-election of the President is aware of this invitation and approves.

We recommend that the Vice President appear at one dinner in Missouri prior to the Republican National Convention and that the dinner be held in St. Louis. (Dr. Nark's rationale for this recommendation is contained in the attached memorandum.)

Approve _______ Disapprove _______ Comment _______

Attachment.
MEMORANDUM FOR: CURT HERGE
FROM: RICK FORR
SUBJECT: Vice President Agnew's Trip to Missouri

April 18, 1972

Confidential

It is our recommendation that Vice President Agnew give consideration to speaking in St. Louis, Missouri for the following reasons:

1. St. Louis City and St. Louis County contain over 1/3 of the voters in Missouri.

2. The peripheral urban area of St. Louis has a high degree of ethnic concentration. These ethnic voters should be receptive toward the Vice President.

3. The media market in St. Louis is the largest in the state. Furthermore, the media coverage also takes in an area of Illinois.

The Vice President's speech would have maximum political impact if he were to take a positive populist stance on cutting inflation and lowering taxes. The "pocketbook" issues should be the main topics. Issues concerning bussing, race, Democrats, and the news media need to be avoided.

We also recommend a side trip during the day to a rural area near Springfield or Joplin. President Nixon needs to improve his image with the older American in the rural areas of Missouri. If Vice President Agnew could meet with such a group and discuss the economic problems of the elderly, it might improve the President's position with Missouri's senior citizens.
Mr. Curt Horge
Committee for the Re-Election of the President
1701 Pennsylvania NW
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Curt:

This confirms our telephone conversation in which we discussed the presence of the Vice President in Missouri on two occasions in June.

We formally extend an invitation for Mr. Agnew in period June 12-20 in Kansas City, Missouri, for the western part of our State. This function will be held at the new Hallmark Plaza Hotel, opening immediately prior to that date. It will seat approximately 1000 people at dinner.

We formally request Mr. Agnew in St. Louis during period June 20-30. We have made no precise reservations in the St. Louis area at this time. We would have the function either at the new Marriott or at Stouffer's in St. Louis. The former seats approximately 1000, it has just opened, while Stouffer's seats approximately 1600.

In each instance the Committee for the Re-election of the President will receive \( \frac{15}{100} \) of the gross income. The remainder will stay in Missouri and be used effectively by distribution to both the State Finance Committee and the local counties on the western and eastern side of the State. All of these funds will be used in the campaign for the Re-election of the President and our state-wide officers.

We will appreciate your most prompt call-back on this in order that we firm up the dates with the hotels. At the same time we will begin immediately the organizing for the dinners themselves.

Cordially,

Alfred J. Fleischer
State Finance Chairman
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: HERBERT L. PRUITT
SUBJECT: Invitation to the Vice President

The Finance Committee has recommended that the Vice President address a fund raising dinner in Boston in early June. The dinner chairman would be Mr. Lloyd Haring, Chairman of the Massachusetts Finance Committee for the Re-election of the President.

Fifty percent of the gross proceeds of the dinner would be remitted to the Finance Committee for the Re-election of the President in Washington. After expenses, the remaining portion of the proceeds would be divided among the participating state and county organizations.

This proposal has Mr. Stans' endorsement. (See attachment)

Approve ___ Disapprove ___ Comment ___

Attachment.
MEMORANDUM

April 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR CURT HERGE

Lloyd Haring is the Massachusetts Nixon Finance Chairman. He is an effective and long time fund-raiser and in particular for President Nixon.

He has requested through our office that consideration be given to having the Vice President participate in a fund-raising dinner in early June in Boston. Lloyd Haring would be chairman and has commitments for substantial support from a number of generous contributors in the New England area.

50% of the gross proceeds will be sent to the Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President in Washington. After expenses, the remaining portion of the proceeds will be used by participating state and county organizations. Secretary Stans has talked to Bart Porter about this request and it has the Secretary's enthusiastic endorsement.

Waring is anxious to have an early decision so that he may begin his planning and solicitation programs.

I would appreciate very much your checking this for me as soon as possible so that I may get back to Mr. Waring.

Many thanks.

Robert P. Odell, Jr.
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER
SUBJECT: Proposed Appearance by a Member of the First Family in Maine

You have recommended that a member of the First Family not appear at a forthcoming event in Maine for the benefit of Senator Margaret Chase Smith.

We communicated your recommendation to Mr. David Parker, at the White House. Mr. Parker stated that this placed him in a difficult position, because the President had requested that a member of the First Family do the event. Mr. Parker suggested that, if you approve, you might add this subject to your agenda for discussion with the President.
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: PETER H. DAILEY

Attached is the "Competitive Analysis Report," number 7, covering the period 4/8/72 - 4/14/72.
Section I. SUMMARY

McGOVERN

Spurred on by his Wisconsin win, McGovern is concentrating on winning in Massachusetts where his only real opponent is Muskie.

HUMPHREY

Never one to say "die," Humphrey is going all-out in Pennsylvania where he enjoys the support and backing of labor and party leaders. A win here will give him the steam necessary to continue and if McGovern beats Muskie in Massachusetts, the primaries may shortly become a one-to-one contest between the Minnesotan and the South Dakotan.

MUSKIE

Concentrating on Pennsylvania, but still considering something in Massachusetts, Muskie is about to fall prey to his desires to be all things to all men and in every place at once. If he loses in both states, he may have to drop out; a win over Humphrey, however, would keep him going regardless of how well McGovern does.

WALLACE

Off and running, Wallace plans heavy campaigns in Indiana, Maryland, Michigan (where busing is a BIG issue), North Carolina and Tennessee - for starters. If he does well in these important primaries, he'll try his hand in others.

JACKSON

No longer a major contender (if, indeed, he ever was) Jackson still clings to the hope that he will win a primary. Party leaders think the minor contenders (like Jackson) should drop out and stop splitting the Democratic vote.

MILLS

After a quick swing through Kansas, Mills is campaigning in Massachusetts where he hopes to pick up some delegate support.

KENNEDY

The busiest (non)candidate of all, Kennedy has embarked on a month-long speaking tour of labor groups.
Section II.

Potential Delegates
(Boston Globe 4/9)

A recent survey conducted by the National Observer (the Dow-Jones weekly newspaper) of potential delegate votes at the Democratic Convention shows "a deep and dramatic collapse" of Muskie's potential delegate strength. Results of a survey taken on March 25, showed Muskie leading the field with a vote potential of 1282.5; the more recent survey places Muskie with only 773.5 potential votes. McGovern, on the other hand, has jumped from 287.5 to 490.5 potential votes. A great portion of Muskie's loss appears to have gone to the "uncommitted" category. The count now is estimated at:

- Muskie 773.5 potential votes
- McGovern 490.5
- Humphrey 468
- Wallace 291
- Jackson 80
- Uncommitted 913

Democratic Telethon
(Wall St. Journal 4/10
& Chicago Sun-Time 4/11)

The Democrat's planned 18-hour fund-raising telethon, to be televised the weekend before their convention, will feature such stars as Alan King and Lorne Greene. Democratic National Committee Treasurer, Robert Strauss, sees the telethon as a "major entertainment and political spectacular." He says it will "tell the story of the American political process, the two-party system, and how it is everyone's responsibility to get a piece of the action." In other words: contribute to the Democratic Party because it's broke. Democratic estimates of the amounts they'll raise range as high as $35 million. Not all of those 18 hours have been filled, and planners talk vaguely of a segment from Las Vegas, of tapes of old FDR speeches, of general razzle-dazzle. Arrangements are being made so that viewers wishing to pledge money can simply give the operator a credit-card number for automatic billing.

-2-
Although former Senator McCarthy's name will appear on the California primary ballot, he will not campaign there. As for his forming a new political party, he said that even if the Democrats move far to the right, he was not sure there would be "any spirit" left after the convention for forming a new party.

President Nixon won the endorsement of California's oldest and largest volunteer Republican organization, the California Republican Assembly, but was urged to change his policies on welfare, deficit spending and revenue sharing.

The statewide winner of the Massachusetts Presidential Preference contest will receive 20 delegates who will be pledged to him for the first ballot at the convention. An additional 82 delegates will be elected in the primary from the state's 12 Congressional districts and the candidates receiving the most votes in each district will receive those delegate-votes on the first ballot at the convention.

Of the 182 delegates allotted to Pennsylvania, 137 of them will be elected in the April 25 primary. In May, these 137 delegates will elect an additional 27 delegates favoring candidates in the same proportion as those selected by the voters in the primary. A final 18 at-large delegates will be named by a new Democratic State Committee also to be elected on April 25. The 137 primary delegates will be committed to their candidates for the first ballot only at the convention.
Section III.

Gallup Poll: Nixon (NYT 4/13)

According to a Gallup Poll conducted March 24-27, 53% of the Americans say they APPROVE of President Nixon's performance in office, while 37% disapprove and 10% have no opinion. Nixon's ratings are down 3 percentage points from a survey taken shortly after his China trip:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Approve</th>
<th>Disapprove</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 24-27</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3-5</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 4-7</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 7-9</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the same poll, a race between Nixon and Humphrey and Wallace (running as a third party candidate) showed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nixon</th>
<th>Humphrey</th>
<th>Wallace</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a race between Nixon, Muskie and Wallace:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nixon</th>
<th>Muskie</th>
<th>Wallace</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a poll taken between February 4-7, both Muskie (42% versus Nixon's 43%) and Humphrey (39% versus Nixon's 46%) fared much better. The change in the latest poll largely reflects Wallace's improved position after the Florida primary. In the previous poll, Wallace had received only 10% in both heats.

Gallup Poll: Contenders (NYT & Boston Globe 4/9)

A Gallup Poll conducted March 31-April 3, showed McGovern lagging with only 5% despite his primary showings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Humphrey</th>
<th>Muskie</th>
<th>Wallace</th>
<th>Lindsay</th>
<th>McGovern</th>
<th>Jackson</th>
<th>McCarthy</th>
<th>Chisholm</th>
<th>Mills</th>
<th>Hartke</th>
<th>No Preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>.10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-4-
When compared with the results of a poll conducted on March 8, the new poll shows almost no change. Humphrey has stayed at exactly the same level, Muskie lost a point, Wallace gained two points, and McGovern lost one point. Surprisingly enough, the events of the past month seemed to have no impact on the thinking of ordinary Democrats. According to John Davies, Editor of the Gallup Poll, experience has shown that primary results have little impact on poll results: "as far as the country as a whole is concerned, McGovern hasn't emerged from his shell yet."

A redistribution of Lindsay and Hartke support (based on second choices of respondents) to the other candidates shows little change:

- Humphrey: 33%
- Muskie: 23%
- Wallace: 18%
- McGovern: 5%
- Chisholm: 5%
- Jackson: 5%
- McCarthy: 4%
- Mills: 1%
- No preference: 6%

A special analysis by the Harris Survey (no date given) shows:

- School busing issue is helping both President Nixon and George Wallace in about equal proportions, but is definitely hurting the leading Democratic contenders;
- Economy issue and public concern over its slow recovery is hurting Nixon and helping the Democrats, but not Wallace;
- Vietnam issue in terms of public impatience over the rate at which U.S. troops are being brought back is hurting Nixon and helping the Democratic contenders.
On the busing issue, the survey indicated that by 73 to 20 percent, people are opposed to busing "to achieve racial balance." Those in favor of busing are heavily Democratic, while those opposed vote for Nixon or Wallace. The significant fact is that both the Nixon and Wallace gains on the busing issue are taken directly from the Democratic candidates.

By 49 to 34 percent, most people think the country is still in a recession. Among the 34% who are convinced the economic recession is over, Nixon is an easy winner. But among the larger 49% who think there still is a recession, Nixon runs 6 to 8 points behind the leading Democratic opponents.

The survey shows that 43% think the rate of troop withdrawal from Vietnam is "too slow." An almost identical 44% see the rate as "about right." The results clearly demonstrate how much President Nixon has to gain or lose by his ability to resolve American involvement in Vietnam by election time.
Section IV.

McGOVERN

A. ISSUES

THE CANDIDATES

No perceptible change from Wisconsin.

B. MEDIA

Expenditures

Not available yet for Massachusetts where McGovern will concentrate. Plans no media expenditures in Pennsylvania.

Creative

Not available.

Comment

McGovern plans to concentrate all media expenditures in Massachusetts, by-passing Pennsylvania almost entirely. His Pennsylvania campaign will consist exclusively of three and a half days of personal appearances and most of the $50,000 to $75,000 he is expected to spend there will be used to pay for gasoline for volunteers canvassing the state, for literature and for telephone bills. (The Sunday Bulletin, Providence, Rhode Island, 4/9)

Following his win in Wisconsin, McGovern staffers placed full-page ads in several major newspapers, including the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune. (Copy of one advertisement is attached)

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

New Fund-Raising Technique

(Galá concerts have become McGovern's latest fund-raising technique. The first concert, organized by Actor Warren Beatty, will take place in the 18,000 seat Los Angeles Forum on April 15. The star-studded cast includes Barbra Streisand, Carole King and James Taylor, while Raquel Welch, Julie Christie and Burt Lancaster will perform as ushers. The house will be scaled so that a sellout will bring the campaign about $300,000 net. A New York concert is being planned for either Madison Square Garden or the new Nassau County Coliseum.

(Copy of one advertisement is attached)
President of a Steelworker's local, Raymond Andersen, praised McGovern as "the most honorable, honest and capable candidate" in the race. Another labor leader, Victor Reuther of the United Automobile Workers, will address a McGovern luncheon in Philadelphia.

It appears that McGovern will withdraw from the Rhode Island primary and support the uncommitted delegate slate there fielded by the New Democratic Coalition. At present, McGovern's name is scheduled to go on the ballot, but with no delegates. The New Democratic Coalition has filed an uncommitted slate pledged to give McGovern 13 votes at the national convention and he apparently does not want to split the primary vote by also appearing on the ballot.

Texas Lt. Governor Ben Barnes, in a bitter campaign for governor, asked the Democratic Presidential hopefuls to stay out until after the primaries. All agreed. But McGovern, sensing a Wisconsin coup, moved into Texas last month by sending in his Southwest organizer, Nat Chavira. Chavira, headquartered in San Antonio, vowed to push McGovern's candidacy from the precinct level up.

On the basis of the first round of Virginia's delegate selection process, a McGovern spokesman predicted that the Senator would receive 18 to 20 of the state's 53 delegates.

McGovern is expected to control at least 12 of the 35 Kansas delegates, according to incomplete tabulations of the voting caucuses held around the state of April 8.
McGovern's New York prospects were considerably heightened when Meade H. Esposito, probably the most powerful county leader in the state, declared that he was "extremely impressed" with McGovern. The Brooklyn leader's high praise of McGovern and his silence on the other major contenders was viewed as a prelude to a possible endorsement of McGovern and a coalition between the regular Democratic organization and McGovern's delegate slates in Brooklyn. Although Esposito said he was not ready to endorse McGovern yet, he added that he might have more to say after the Massachusetts primary. An endorsement from a power-house like Esposito could be crucial for McGovern here.

McGovern's Massachusetts campaign is focusing on the blue-collar communities where he hopes to prove the broad appeal of his candidacy. He is making major efforts in such centers of declining industry as Lowell and Lawrence, where the rate of unemployment currently is 11%.

In Boston, his most intensive canvassing work is now going on in the Dorchester area, the heart of the most tenacious struggle against school busing in New England. A former Lindsay aide said McGovern should pick up most of the Lindsay support in the state.

D. ANALYSIS

Feeling his oats after his Wisconsin win, McGovern is predicting that the next set of primaries really will be a two-man race between Humphrey and the South Dakota Senator. His Wisconsin showing has not, however, gone to his head, for McGovern appears to be planning only a cautious courtship of the industrial heartland in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan. His major target now is Massachusetts where he believes he will be a winner. His strategy (like Humphrey's) is to let NHM take on Muskie in Pennsylvania while McGovern does ol' Muskie in in Massachusetts. Muskie, torn between the desire to campaign in both primaries and the urgings of his backers that he concentrate only on Pennsylvania, presents a dandy target for both McGovern and the ebullient Minnesotan.
D. ANALYSIS cont'd

Although McGovern aides think he has an excellent chance in Massachusetts, they are not quite so optimistic about Ohio and Michigan. Their game plan, apparently, is for McGovern to win the Nebraska and Oregon primaries in the hopes that those victories will carry him to a decisive win in both California and New York. The plan also includes picking up selected groups of delegates in Pennsylvania by campaigning solely in those areas in which he is best organized - the Philadelphia suburbs and parts of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh).

Massachusetts should provide a better sounding board than Wisconsin for judging McGovern's appeal to the blue-collar, youth, and "discontended" groups. Here there will be no Republican cross-over vote to muddy the water, and Wallace, while listed on the ballot, has more or less been banned in Boston. Thus, the Massachusetts primary more truly boils down to a one-to-one confrontation with Muskie. If McGovern can win here, it will add invaluable impetus to his efforts in Ohio, Michigan, Nebraska and Oregon. While McGovern's chances to grab the nomination at the convention still appear murky, he may well have the opportunity to roil the waters there if he continues to show the kind of grassroots strength that brought him in second in New Hampshire and first in Wisconsin.
Section IV. cont

HUMPHREY

A. ISSUES

Pay Board
(Wash. Post 4/10)

Speaking at a news conference in Ohio, HHH said if elected President, he would retain the Pay Board and Price Commission created by the Nixon Administration but would seek stricter enforcement of Price Commission regulations.

Labor
(NYT 4/11)

Speaking before a Baton Rouge convention of AFL-CIO members, Humphrey attacked the Nixon Administration's economic policies, declaring that labor had become the scapegoat of the Administration's failures. "When everything goes wrong, it's your (labor's) fault. You're called an obstructionist force. You're the cause of inflation. They say the unions have not made a contribution to America."

Vietnam
(Wash. Post 4/10)

HHH says Nixon should seek United Nations help in ending the fighting in Vietnam and that the main objective there should be the disengagement of U.S. forces despite the current North Vietnamese offensive.

Kennedy
(Philadelphia Inquirer 4/9)

In an hour-long interview with Philadelphia editors and reporters, HHH said he really didn't think Kennedy will run this year, but "that does not mean if the pressure were put on him he wouldn't have some difficulty in resisting it."

HHH also indicated he would be amenable to the idea of having Kennedy as his running mate.

Amnesty
(Philadelphia Inquirer 4/9)

"You can't grant any amnesty to the 50,000 who died, (in Vietnam) and you can't grant it to the people who had their lives interrupted or to those who were wounded. I would like to see them (the draft dodgers) repatriated but I think they ought to be called on to do some sort of service for their country. I don't believe in unconditional amnesty."
Humphrey says they will put on a very extensive media campaign in Pennsylvania because he doesn't have the time to campaign more fully there. He indicated that $200,000 is the bare minimum he should spend in the Keystone State but is not sure he will have that amount available. (Philadelphia Inquirer 4/9)

Throughout his Pennsylvania campaign, so far, HHH has promised that he "won't say a bad word about another Democrat."

Eugene Wyman, the Beverly Hills lawyer who is one of the Democratic Party's most prodigious fund-raisers, is happily raiding some of Muskie's big New York backers. Wyman earlier had obtained substantial financial commitments from some of Muskie's New York financiers and recently collected between $50,000 and $100,000 cash from them with commitments for more should Humphrey best Muskie in Wisconsin.

On April 9, Humphrey dictated an apocalyptic memorandum to his Pennsylvania and national campaign staffs, asserting "There won't be any West Virginia, Indiana and elsewhere if we get knocked off in Pennsylvania." Since his arrival in Erie last Monday, HHH has geared his candidacy to the meeting halls and working places of the 1.5 million union members among the state's 4.7 million workers. Humphrey forces are also planning special appeals to black and elderly voters there.

I.W. Abel, International President of the United Steel Workers of America (by far the largest union in Pennsylvania) endorsed Humphrey.
Section IV. cont

HUMPHREY cont

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS cont

Massachusetts (NYT 4/13) Although Humphrey's name will appear on the Massachusetts ballot, he will not campaign there.

D. ANALYSIS

Hiding his disappointment over Wisconsin, Humphrey has bounced into Pennsylvania determined to make this his first state primary win. With strong support among labor leaders, blacks, the elderly and the Jews, his Pennsylvania camp radiates confidence for his chances in the state where he was an easy winner over President Nixon in 1968. And no other candidate seems to be going after the working man's vote with the intensity or the gusto of the unsinkable Senator from Minnesota. Pennsylvania is the Big One for Humphrey; he wants to win and plans on winning. He will campaign for about 10 full days with some part-days here and will invest as much as he can in a strong media thrust to make up for the little campaigning time left to him.

His current battle plan apparently calls for an all-out effort in Pennsylvania, Indiana and Ohio. But everything would appear to hinge on how well he does in the Keystone State. He will face Wallace in what is shaping up as a head-to-head contest in West Virginia and the thinking is that if he wins there, he could bill himself as the man who stemmed the Wallace tide.

Humphrey's chances of winning in Pennsylvania appear bright but the big question is whether the labor leaders today can exert their traditional influence over labor voters. Muskie, Humphrey's only real opponent in Pennsylvania, has some strong endorsements here and it remains to be seen whether HHH can muster the same kind of grassroots support from the working man that swept McGovern to victory in Wisconsin.
Section IV. con't

MUSKIE

A. ISSUES

Environment
(Wash. Post 4/9)

Campaigning in Erie, Pennsylvania, Muskie called on President Nixon not to sign the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement with Canada until tough limits on the amount of phosphorous in detergents are written into the pact.

Cape Canaveral
(Wash. Post 4/8)

Charging that the Senate bill proposing to change the name of Florida's space center from Cape Kennedy back to Cape Canaveral might be viewed as a slap at the Kennedy Family, Muskie has moved to block action on the bill.

Unemployment
(Philadelphia Inquirer 4/11)

Speaking before a group of labor officials in Pittsburgh, Muskie attacked Nixon's economic policies, charging that they have created unemployment and restrained wages while producing large profits for the privileged minority of big business. Muskie offered alternatives which he would support, if elected President:

1. disaster relief to areas in Pennsylvania and other states where the jobless rate is 50% higher than the national average;
2. guaranteed retraining "for every American who needed it to make his skills relevant;"
3. emergency aid "to places of chronic unemployment: he did not specify what form the aid would take; and
4. legislation to increase the number of public service jobs in the nation and "make the American Government the employer of last resort."

B. MEDIA

Comment

Nothing available yet.

Robert Squier, Muskie's media advisor, resigned on April 10, amid some harsh criticism of his radio and TV commercials. (NYT 4/10) His Pennsylvania campaign has shifted emphasis from television to radio spending and polling by the Muskie committee there is being sharply reduced. (NYT 4/10)

Ruth Jones, Media Director for Muskie
Competitive Analysis
Report #7

Section IV. con't

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

New Slogan

(Philadelphia Inquirer 4/8)

Muskie opened his Pennsylvania campaign with a new slogan, "A People's Victory." Here he is striving to portray himself as the one Democratic candidate who can unify both party and country. He is running to achieve "a people's victory" in order to restore the "magic" of hope and purpose that he said once united Americans.

Ohio

(NYT 4/12)

Ohio Governor John Gilligan is worried about Muskie's chances of pulling the party together. Gilligan, a liberal, was one of the first key Democrats to endorse the Maine Senator and did so because he hoped Muskie could unify the party and avoid a repeat of the 1968 convention Donnybrook. Now Gilligan finds himself confronted with the task of trying to rehabilitate Muskie's drooping candidacy by carrying him to victory in Ohio's May 2 primary. Said Gilligan, "Muskie is not getting to the guts of the voter."

Massachusetts

(Boston Globe 4/11 & NYT 4/13)

Several staffers have admitted that Muskie's operation in Massachusetts is sagging, that organizational details were left too long to the allegedly indecisive Washington staff, and that more help than they are getting will be needed to save the Muskie candidacy here. George Mitchell, Muskie's national campaign manager, told some supporters privately that "things are very, very serious in Massachusetts." Mitchell reportedly told them that preliminary reports from a poll now in progress indicated that McGovern was even or a little ahead of...
Muskie in the preferential primary race. On the other hand, the large reservoir of Humphrey supporters especially the workers and the blacks, may go to Muskie here since HHH is not planning to campaign in the Bay State.

Muskie supporters have been told not to spend any money to set up a telephone bank in Indiana until a scheduling decision has been made.

Muskie plans nine days of campaigning in Pennsylvania, where Governor Shapp is one of his most prominent backers. The Senator is relying heavily on the endorsements of Shapp and other party leaders, the vote-delivering machinery of the Democratic organization, and a strong appeal to the large ethnic elements in the blue-collar electorate of Pennsylvania's largest cities. Governor Shapp said the best assurance Muskie had of winning in Ohio would be a win in Pennsylvania, as a neighboring state with a similar constituency. Among the snags - Philadelphia's Mayor Frank Rizzo, the most powerful figure in the city Democratic organization, ignored a Muskie visit to his city and declared instead his support for President Nixon, saying: "Nixon is the greatest President this country ever had."

Muskie's current attempt to curtail primary campaigning in all but a few states having large delegate blocs, probably derives from his/his staffers recognition of the following:

(1) no candidate will be able to go to the convention with the nomination sewed up and Muskie must, therefore, attempt to eliminate either Humphrey or McGovern before then;

(2) a feeling among his supporters that Muskie would be better able to take on Humphrey in Pennsylvania than McGovern in Massachusetts. Victories over HHH could demolish the Minnesotan's candidacy; but the feeling is that "McGovern will never go away" no matter what happens in Massachusetts; and

-16-
D. ANALYSIS

Responding to a brooding unhappiness among members of his national campaign staff, Muskie flew to his Washington headquarters to give a little pep talk in which he declared he was going to "work like hell" for the Democratic nomination "until the last delegate vote is counted in Miami Beach in July." (NYT 4/11) His game plan would appear to be to concentrate on Pennsylvania, Ohio, California and New York, all of which have tantalizingly large delegate offerings. Stating earlier that Massachusetts would have to get by almost without him, Muskie now, however, seems to want to do something there. He apparently ran into some harsh criticism from his Massachusetts backers who feel he was abandoning them. One of his pledged delegates there commented that Muskie's chances of success in Massachusetts without personal campaigning were "less than likely." Thus while his major thrust will be Pennsylvania, Muskie may once again fall prey to his weakness for trying to be everywhere at once.

Further compounding the Massachusetts situation is the fact that both ward and town committeemen will also be elected in the primary and these committeemen will then control the state convention in 1975 when at least three of Muskie's pledged delegates are expected to seek the gubernatorial nomination. Thus, there is little evidence that these men, struggling to maintain and secure their own power structures, are going to turn over their organizations to the Muskie campaign. And Muskie has been counting on their doing just that.

The harsh realities of the moment only seem to add fuel to Muskie's fire and strengthen his determination to run at full bore every chance he gets. If he tapers off his Pennsylvania drive in an effort to spend more time in Massachusetts, he may very well end up by losing both states and most of the delegates. One almost feels sorry for the man, he's like a squirrel in a cage running round and round but going nowhere.
A. ISSUES

No perceptible change.

B. MEDIA

Wallace aides tell how they put their TV shows together much like a home movie, without any film-maker or Madison Avenue image-builder, and deliber­ately edit in a few fluffs to make the product more real and less slick. On the other hand, they have produced an impressive series of stylish bro­chures, tabloid papers and magazines, separately tailored for young people, old people, labor, and foreign lan­guage groups as each becomes politically important during the campaign year. As a result of this corner-cutting, the Wallace forces can produce the half­hour films that are the backbone of their television effort for about $5,500 each. (NYT 4/9)

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Wallace plans to campaign in Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, Tennessee and West Virginia. His hec­tic 32-day schedule is tentatively set to begin the weekend of the 15th with rallies in Hammond, Indiana, and De­troit. GW's primary election strength is in Michigan, Maryland and Tennessee, but there is also considerable optimism about his prospects in Indiana and North Carolina. His aides are not quite so enthusiastic about West Virginia.

Some Wallace supporters are urging him to appear in Massachusetts to tap the strong discontent there over school integration in Boston and Springfield.

Speaking at a new conference, Wallace said he does not plan to campaign in Pennsylvania lest he make the Muskie mistake of spreading himself too thin.
WALLACE

Vice-President? (NYT 4/13)

In not rejecting the possibility of accepting the Democratic nomination for Vice-President, Wallace said, "it is significant that people are asking such a question now, while it wasn't even raised during the 1968 campaign."

D. ANALYSIS

Having proven his point in Florida and Wisconsin, the fiery little Governor from Alabama now plans to send more "messages" from Indiana, Maryland, Tennessee, Michigan and North Carolina. Suddenly this boisterous southern quasi-Democrat has hit the "big time" and is loving every minute of it. Using his rallies as the vehicle, Wallace plans to zip around those primary states like a whirlwind...and, like a whirlwind, he'll stir up a lot of dust and leave a lot of shambles behind - most particularly the Democratic Party.

Interestingly enough, however, the first tentacles of peace-offerings from Democratic regulars are finding their way to Wallace's twitching ear. Suggestions of a second spot on the ticket, or of compromise deals at the convention are being quietly rumored about. Such "offerings" are given, no doubt, out of fear and a hope that the party can somehow persuade their maverick to rejoin the fold. More and more, Wallace is going to find a certain amount of acceptance, albeit grudging, from within the party. He already is basking in his new-found respectability among the press and that, coupled with his strong showings in two major primaries, can only add to his growing strength as a power to be reckoned with at the July Convention.

Those party leaders who already have made overtures to him probably think George too dumb and unsophisticated to recognize that their motives are less than pure. But Wallace, for all his lack of sophistication and inability to properly pronounce words of more than one syllable, is dumb like a fox. He is now, just as he always has been, his own man - and if they ruffle his feathers at the convention, he's just as likely to split as not, regardless of who's promised him what in the meantime.
Campaigning in Massachusetts, Jackson is reiterating his support for more defense spending in a state that relies heavily on such investments. He has also stressed his support for increased aid to Israel in talks before influential Jewish leaders there. Asserting that "the silent majority never wanted silent leadership," Jackson projected himself in Boston as a candidate of the "progressive center" in the Democratic Party and said it is to this segment that the nominating convention must turn in Miami. He also noted that only Senator Kennedy shared the "progressive center" with him. (What!) As for increased bombing in Vietnam, Jackson approves, but opposes the introduction of U.S. ground forces" except in certain incidental situations."

It seems surprising that Jackson continues his primary fights considering his very poor showings throughout. Many of the party leaders believe that some of the minor contenders (as certainly Jackson is) ought to have the good grace to drop out as Lindsay did and thus avoid further fracturing of Democratic votes. From all indications, Jackson does not intend to quit at this point although he must, by now, be operating with very limited resources. It's curious too, that he still refuses to publicly disclose his campaign contributors - what is he hiding?
Section IV. con't

MILLS

Comments

Campaigning in Kansas, Mills told newsmen he believes a large number of uncommitted delegates will go to the convention in search of a candidate who can unite the party and defeat Nixon - and he thinks he can be their candidate. From Kansas, Mills went on to campaign in Massachusetts where he says he is encouraged by the untended field of Humphrey support which, he hopes, will rally to his arguments for increased Social Security payments and tax relief. (The Providence Journal 4/9 and NYT 4/13)

In line with his new strategy of attempting to win at least one primary contest to give him added strength at the convention, Mills has carried his campaign to Massachusetts where he expects to gather some delegate support. At the moment, Mills' chances of winning a primary are pretty slim, but he may be on the right tack by getting some national press coverage and picking up a few delegates along the way.
Competitive Analysis
Report #7

Section IV. con't

KENNEDY

Comments

Ted Kennedy, the non-candidate, will be busy speaking to labor audiences this month. On April 12, he spoke to the rubber workers, on April 13, to the textile workers, and before the end of the month, he also will address the communications workers, the auto workers and the steel workers.
(NYT 4/10)

An interesting addendum to all of Kennedy's labor talks was the denial by his press secretary that there was any truth to the rumor that George Meany had given up on the other Democratic contenders and now considered Kennedy the only man who would defeat Nixon.
(NYT 4/10)

Kennedy certainly is busy for someone who is NOT running for President. "The irony is that the more firmly he pursues his non-candidacy, the more likely he is to end up in the grip of forces and events he cannot control - crises abroad, a dead-locked convention and the failure of a strong candidate to emerge on the Democratic Left." (See attached article from the New York Times, which is an excellent analysis of Kennedy as potential Presidential material).
The key to Kennedy's political personality lies in what is variously called the Kennedy tradition or heritage or legacy. He was almost literally steeped in a family ferment that brought two brief but intoxicating moments in American history—John Kennedy's Presidency and Robert Kennedy's quest for the Presidential nomination.

WILLIAMSTOWN, Mass.—Edward Kennedy, if I believe, surprisingly observed his promise not to run for the Presidency this year. He is not a clandestine candidate. But how long can he evade the issue can only be.

For the irony is that the more firmly he pursues his noncandidate the more likely he is to end up in the party's field. Against his principles abroad, a dedicated convention and the failure of a strong candidacy in more dan. danger 

Luther King's murder, "slower but intoxicating moments in American history—John Kennedy's Presidency and Robert Kennedy's quest for the Presidential nomination."

romantically the veto power over who would be allowed to run for President.

C gracious though it is, this problem must not divert us from the real question we should confront now rather than put off until convention time—the qualifications of Edward Kennedy for Presidential leadership.

The key to Kennedy's political personality lies in what is variously called the Kennedy tradition or heritage or legacy. He was almost literally steeped in a family ferment that brought two brief but intoxicating moments in American history—John Kennedy's Presidency and Robert Kennedy's quest for the Presidential nomination.

By ALAN J. SCHWARTZ


Edward Kennedy

W Defiant and unorthodox, future

Luther King's murder, "slower but intoxicating moments in American history—John Kennedy's Presidency and Robert Kennedy's quest for the Presidential nomination."

romantically the veto power over who would be allowed to run for President.

C gracious though it is, this problem must not divert us from the real question we should confront now rather than put off until convention time—the qualifications of Edward Kennedy for Presidential leadership.

The key to Kennedy's political personality lies in what is variously called the Kennedy tradition or heritage or legacy. He was almost literally steeped in a family ferment that brought two brief but intoxicating moments in American history—John Kennedy's Presidency and Robert Kennedy's quest for the Presidential nomination.

By ALAN J. SCHWARTZ


Edward Kennedy

W Defiant and unorthodox, future
He is part of that heritage not only in the same sense that Franklin Roose-
velt was shaped by the Woodrow Wilson years, or that Richard Nixon was
influenced by the example of Dwight Eisenhower. For more, his political
thinking is dominated by a whole gen-
eration of observing his brothers' way of dealing with problems and oppor-
tunities.

Many of the political personages he
associates with were members of the
older brothers' political circles. The
structure of political institutions and
processes within which he works is
essentially the same as that within
which his brothers operated for a total
of twelve years: his very workplace—
his office in the old Senate Office
Building—reminds one, with its over-
ways and mystique of the upper cham-
ber, to the Edward Kennedy of 1968
who was striking out on his own, help-
ing his brother in the struggle against
the conservative wing of the party,
and taking advanced positions on
domestic and foreign policy.

After Robert's death Edward Ken-
dey moved more consistently than
ever toward the liberal-left of the
Democratic party. He took strong posi-
tions on the old Kennedy policy base
of bread and butter issues.

Less predictably he showed a knack
for becoming identified with issues be-
fore they gained national attention.
Over three years ago, for example, he
called for a new China policy that
would include ending American op-
position to Communist China's admis-
The American military presence from Taiwan, United States warning to the United Nations to reestablish contact with China on the removal of restrictions on travel and trade, followed by the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries; the convening of the Warsaw talks. He became clearly identified with the right of refugees, whom he saw in their unrelenting efforts to return to their homelands.

But Kennedy has yet to take a position on the atomic issue that will face any liberal Democrat arriving in the White House with a long list of policy commitments that could not be effective through the present legislature.

The new and administrative machinery of the new National Government. He shares the dilemma of any Presidential candidate who "means it." The more he aims at unifying economic and social reform the more he must be prepared to overcome the "tyranny of institutions" that has been obstructing major reforms in this country for at least forty years. The most that can be said for Kennedy is that no other presidential possibility has addressed the question.

If a would-be Kennedy employ presidential power if he were? I doubt that he would culminate the political interests and philosophy of the central political class, the majority in symbolic politics, the extraordinary ability to manipulate public opinion, the backpower of the John F. Kennedy Administration. His strength is in political thinking and his skill in injecting power into the political system of our time. His contribution to the whole field of governmental, he would advance more than confrontations, of grand institutions and outstanding problems than by either campaigning or running a campaign.

This debate must be in part conducted because all the superficial piling on from Kennedy simply has not yet hit the kind of hard problems on which we can of the political change going through and is made up of the attack, of the writing, of the editorials, but the voter is interested in questions not only about Kennedy and the candidates but about what kind of leadership our nation needs. Most of the voters may want more years of Nixon's type of Presidency or most of them may want the kind of moderate liberalism, with slow, step by step advancement, that a centrist Democrat might offer.

But if they wish a more radical, a more uncompromising change, they must uncompromisingly analyze Kennedy's capacity to mobilize a majority of the people for a climactic political confrontation—a reaffirmation of our past. Even before Chappaquidick he was exhibiting a moodiness and introspection that worried his friends. In part this was doubtless a response to his brothers' deaths, especially Robert. Chappaquidick was followed by another period of strenuousness and of anguished self-doubt.

At least one student of personality and politics feels that Kennedy has demonstrated an emotional weakness and volatility that betrays the absence of a central core of integrity.

In the long run, though, the cardinal importance of Chappaquidick may not be Kennedy's reaction to the tragedy but his reaction to his reaction. Some persons close to Kennedy feel that he was forced to come to grips with himself, to identify himself—and that this self-identification brought out iron in his soul. I think his main instinct, after some weeks of groping, was to find therapy in his work by throwing himself back into his Senate and political role and, above all, to reassert himself with the Kennedy tradition of bold and innovative leadership.

It is from this self-identification that strong policy positions have been forged.

Kennedy, in short, is essentially a public man, responsive to the forces around him, including the continuing vitality of the Kennedy legend. How he behaves if elected President would depend finally on the extent to which he can bring a reform-oriented agenda and unfilled promises of John and especially Robert Kennedy. This brings us back to the political urgency facing us today. It is not enough to ask Kennedy to make a declaration of availability or unavailability. Nor can we wait on events. To leave a vital aspect of our responsibility for selecting Presidential candidates to fate, or to chance, or to backroom machinations, is to make ourselves inert objects of history rather than, in some degree, the shaper of our political destiny.

This means:

(1) The press should subject Kennedy to as full and sharp a scrutiny as U.S. announced candidates receive during the primaries of the presidential. This would mean less speculation over who is what. An honest analysis of what Kennedy is saying, what political leaders or groups he is maintaining links with, how well he is standing up under the pressures on him.

(2) Local political leaders should factor him into their political arrangements. In some states, for example, party chairmen are inviting supporters of the candidates to speak for them at party conventions; a Kennedy spokesman should be included. Delegates to the national convention, and candidates for a delegate, should feel free to declare for Kennedy, provided they make clear that such action is unauthorized by him.
political values and the transformation of political institutions to realize these values. But this is not the kind of question that is being asked by the leaders of opinion today.

Ultimately political leadership turns on more than political skill or even political principle. It turns also on questions of character and temperament, and it is on this score that many Americans—not least of all, perhaps, Kennedy himself—are most uneasy in their assessment of him. In this context, Chappaquiddick is the issue that will not die. Nothing has been learned about the aftermath of the accident to challenge Kennedy's characterization of his behavior as indefensible. The crucial question is whether the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>124,582</td>
<td>134,672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>11,678</td>
<td>12,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>30,761</td>
<td>32,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>143,817</td>
<td>152,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>11,678</td>
<td>12,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>5,123</td>
<td>5,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>2,147</td>
<td>2,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>143,817</td>
<td>152,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>143,817</td>
<td>152,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>2,850</td>
<td>3,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>2,147</td>
<td>2,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>214,785</td>
<td>223,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>107,973</td>
<td>117,091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>39,668</td>
<td>42,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>24,327</td>
<td>26,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>43,219</td>
<td>46,383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>43,219</td>
<td>46,383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>8,497</td>
<td>9,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>74,290</td>
<td>78,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>219,195</td>
<td>228,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>48,219</td>
<td>51,383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>16,978</td>
<td>18,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>57,419</td>
<td>60,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>6,219</td>
<td>6,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>14,785</td>
<td>16,949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>3,850</td>
<td>4,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>10,265</td>
<td>11,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>87,785</td>
<td>92,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>2,541</td>
<td>2,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>320,322</td>
<td>334,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>70,419</td>
<td>75,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>19,419</td>
<td>20,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>96,025</td>
<td>101,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>24,327</td>
<td>26,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>20,197</td>
<td>21,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>192,915</td>
<td>200,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>12,469</td>
<td>14,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>35,919</td>
<td>38,783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>3,850</td>
<td>4,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>30,761</td>
<td>32,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>192,915</td>
<td>200,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>3,850</td>
<td>4,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>7,847</td>
<td>8,625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>214,785</td>
<td>223,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>32,819</td>
<td>35,083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>12,469</td>
<td>14,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>20,197</td>
<td>21,343</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** 2,324,195 | 2,412,005
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>3rd District</th>
<th>4th District</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>2,968,491</td>
<td>2,845,378</td>
<td>5,813,869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ozaukee</td>
<td>1,767,149</td>
<td>1,868,278</td>
<td>3,635,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>1,399,571</td>
<td>1,351,649</td>
<td>2,751,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>1,404,145</td>
<td>1,462,592</td>
<td>2,866,737</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 8,716,726

*Part of county.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward 1</th>
<th>149</th>
<th>302</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>3,050</th>
<th>205</th>
<th>5,212</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>78</th>
<th>66</th>
<th>56</th>
<th>258</th>
<th>435</th>
<th>570</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ward 2</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2,370</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5,049</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>1,244</td>
<td>1,273</td>
<td>2,710</td>
<td>5,380</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 3</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4,079</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1,477</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,209</td>
<td>1,644</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>1,271</td>
<td>2,019</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 4</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 5</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>4,912</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 6</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2,576</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>2,872</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>1,432</td>
<td>1,912</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 7</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5,954</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5,239</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>2,710</td>
<td>2,198</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 8</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2,940</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2,269</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>1,692</td>
<td>1,056</td>
<td>2,139</td>
<td>1,176</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 9</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2,817</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>1,339</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 10</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3,973</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2,013</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,069</td>
<td>3,538</td>
<td>1,359</td>
<td>2,072</td>
<td>1,857</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 11</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3,137</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1,618</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>2,753</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 12</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3,214</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2,410</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>3,232</td>
<td>1,145</td>
<td>2,625</td>
<td>1,122</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 13</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3,514</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5,731</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>4,759</td>
<td>1,139</td>
<td>2,372</td>
<td>1,722</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 14</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3,204</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3,307</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>1,844</td>
<td>1,053</td>
<td>2,705</td>
<td>1,922</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 15</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3,940</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7,145</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>3,172</td>
<td>1,174</td>
<td>3,424</td>
<td>2,413</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total City</td>
<td>3,475</td>
<td>1,773</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>47,160</td>
<td>1,370</td>
<td>44,413</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>13,530</td>
<td>20,756</td>
<td>14,028</td>
<td>25,930</td>
<td>25,164</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>167</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown Deer</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilder</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menomonee Falls</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,140</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>1,029</td>
<td>1,072</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greendale</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,140</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>1,029</td>
<td>1,072</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cpple Valley</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2,410</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>1,514</td>
<td>1,076</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cudahy</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak Creek</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,113</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-County</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,924</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Francis</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1,113</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2,408</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,203</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>2,310</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>1,329</td>
<td>1,049</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Milwaukee</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,508</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,003</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>2,310</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>1,329</td>
<td>1,049</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trempealeau</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1,313</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Allis</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6,536</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4,715</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1,499</td>
<td>3,052</td>
<td>1,884</td>
<td>4,167</td>
<td>3,074</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Milwaukee</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitefish Bay</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,643</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>1,542</td>
<td>2,140</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Suburban</td>
<td>1,353</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20,966</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17,437</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>7,508</td>
<td>7,614</td>
<td>5,976</td>
<td>25,791</td>
<td>22,075</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,858</td>
<td>3,142</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>77,689</td>
<td>1,428</td>
<td>61,390</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>20,228</td>
<td>32,909</td>
<td>22,164</td>
<td>55,038</td>
<td>47,609</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>713</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
New Law Expected to Curb Politicians' Use of TV

BY BEN A. FRANKLIN
SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, April 8—The printing and summer millions of Americans are expected to feel the impact of the new Federal election spending law.

Some results of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, which went into effect yesterday, will come in the form of fewer instructions by candidates to radio and television, and also in nearly $1.5 million increase in public appeals by mail.

Reduced to its simplest terms, the act does three important things:

1. It closes most of the gaps in the now-repealed Federal Campaign Practices Act of 1935 by requiring more strict and more timely reporting and public disclosure of who contributes how much to whom for political purposes.

2. Candidates, if they choose to use public funds, may spend up to $6 million in each state for all elections for all offices in that state.

3. Incumbent candidates may spend an additional $6 million to combat each new opponent.

Primaries Are Affected

Until now, for example, candidates to primaries in many states, including New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, could contribute to each other's campaigns without being counted as expenditures by the Federal Election Commission. This loophole is closed by the new law.

The new law imposes the first time mandatory spending limits on candidates for Federal offices, requiring them to advertise on television and radio in newspapers and magazines.

The media's advertising spending limit, effective yesterday, is 10 cents for each resident 18 or older—one-tenth of a cent per voter—under the jurisdiction covered by the race.

The $50,000 limit may be spent on all media advertising, including printing and mailing, and may be shared by one or more candidates. The $50,000 limit may be spent on all media advertising, including printing and mailing, and may be shared by one or more candidates.

The $50,000 limit may be spent on all media advertising, including printing and mailing, and may be shared by one or more candidates. The $50,000 limit may be spent on all media advertising, including printing and mailing, and may be shared by one or more candidates.
Treasurer Strauss Attempts To Keep Creditors Quiet

Get Funds for Future Bills

WASHINGTON - The Democratic Party still owes $8,000 to the company that built those large red letters of the American Airlines and around $6.8 million to close to 500 other creditors, ranging from hotels to printing companies.

And don't ask Robert Strauss, treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, when the money is going to be repaid - because he doesn't know.

"Political parties traditionally have no credit," he says, "Especially when they're on the glamorous and majesty of the little House." 

Not that the treasurer wishes to seem unmoved. "A week never goes by," he de- clares, "that I don't meet with a creditor, plug him quiet, explaining when I think he'll get his money back.

But trying to keep creditors quiet is nearly impossible. The party is doing right now or intends to anytime soon - about $12.2 million debt. Mr. Strauss sees it; there's a much more important job ahead: financing the defeat of Richard Nixon.

16-Hour Message: Give

Mr. Strauss, a 33-year-old Dallas lawyer who tends to address people as "pal," is spending most of his time these days planning an hour national telephone to raise money the weekend before the party's July convention.

In his dreams, he sees a "major, enterprise and political spectacular," viewed by as many as 50 million Americans. The party's "two-part system and how it's anyone's responsibility to get a piece of the show," says Mr. Strauss.

One-third of the debt is owed to the Democratic Party because it's broke.

Mr. Strauss says he hasn't any idea how much money the party is owed by a man from Galveston, Texas. While he was talking to a collection man from AT&T the other day, AT&T the other day, AT&T spokesmen confirmed that the con- vention will have a dial tone. As for the $12.2 million debt from 1968, AT&T hasn't lost hope. "Our people have been in frequent conferences with the committee. Unfortunately, however, the money isn't rolling in like we'd like to see it.

In his two years as treasurer, Mr. Strauss hasn't reduced the debt much at all. But he's proud that it hasn't grown.

Of the $9.3 million total, $1.9 million was in-urred in 1969. About $6.1 million of this was run up in Hubert Humphrey's campaign against Richard Nixon. The party also assumed a $1 million preconvention debt of Sen. Humphrey on TV in the closing days of the campaign, campaigning of Robert Kennedy. It still owes about $100,000 from the convention. The Democratic Party is doing right now - or intends to anytime soon - about $12.2 million debt.

Please Turn to Page 14, Column 3

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

Continued From First Page

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.

When Do Democrats Plan to Pay Off Debt?

Not Right Now, Pal.
Magruder proposes a new campaign strategy meeting to Mitchell in the memorandum attached at Tab A.

Mitchell has approved the meeting and participants (Miller, Magruder, LaRue, Marik, Dailey, Teeter, Finkelstein). The first meeting will be this week on Key States. There is currently no agreement on Key States within the Committee to Re-Elect the President, as Magruder's memorandum attached at Tab B indicates.

In light of the importance of getting Mitchell's views on Key States and campaign strategy for you, I asked Magruder if I could attend. Magruder said he was opposed and would not raise the question of my attendance with Mitchell. Magruder's reasons for objecting to my attending are:

1) The meeting must be kept small;
2) Marik can brief me afterwards on the decisions, and
3) The meeting should be purely campaign people without any White House Staff (hence, Malek's exclusion).

You agreed last July to ask Mitchell if I could attend a much higher level meeting (that was eventually cancelled) on your behalf. To reassert in Magruder's mind the importance of keeping you fully informed, I believe it is an important matter of principle for you to intervene with Mitchell on my behalf. A memorandum for your signature to Mitchell is attached at Tab C.

GS/jb
April 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:  H. R. Haldeman
FROM:  Gordon Strachan
SUBJECT:  Campaign Meetings

Magruder proposes a new campaign strategy meeting to Mitchell in the memorandum attached at Tab A.

Mitchell has approved the meeting and participants (Miller, Magruder, LaRue, Marik, Dailey, Teeter, Finkelstein). The first meeting will be this week on Key States. There is currently no agreement on Key States within the Committee to Re-Elect the President, as Magruder's memorandum attached at Tab B indicates.

In light of the importance of getting Mitchell's views on Key States and campaign strategy for you, I asked Magruder if I could attend. Magruder said he was opposed and would not raise the question of my attendance with Mitchell. Magruder's reasons for objecting to my attending are:

1) The meeting must be kept small;
2) Marik can brief me afterwards on the decisions, and
3) The meeting should be purely campaign people without any White House Staff (hence, Malek's exclusion).

You agreed last July to ask Mitchell if I could attend a much higher level meeting (that was eventually cancelled) on your behalf. To reassert in Magruder's mind the importance of keeping you fully informed, I believe it is an important matter of principle for you to intervene with Mitchell on my behalf. A memorandum for your signature to Mitchell is attached at Tab C.

GS/jb
MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL
FROM: H. R. Haldeman

One of Magruder's memoranda to you suggests a meeting of Magruder, Miller, LaRue, Marik, Dailey, Teeter, and Finkelstein to work on campaign strategy. Jeb mentioned that the first subject would be Key States. Would it be possible for Gordon Strachan to attend these strategy meetings on my behalf?

HRH/GS/jb
F/U - 4/28
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
       CLIFF MILLER

SUBJECT: Strategy Planning for the Campaign

Campaign strategy is now developed in several areas:

Campaign Strategy Group (Monday evening meetings). Brings together the thoughts of key White House personnel and those on the Re-Election Committee. Reviews and develops recommendations on broad strategy, with particular emphasis on advertising and the media.

Strategy Planning Group (Saturday meetings). The directors responsible for pertinent campaign activities meet with each state chairman to develop a detailed strategy and operating plan for conducting the campaign in that state. The resulting recommendations in the form of a state plan are presented to you for approval.

November Group. Develops an advertising strategy consistent with the overall strategy of the campaign.

Polling. Provides the basic research data for all of the strategy groups described above.

In addition, the political division and the directors of the functional activities develop strategy relating to their own areas of responsibility, consistent with the overall campaign strategy.

All of these groups perform a useful function in developing elements of the strategy for the campaign. However, they do not perform the essential function because:

1. They do not work closely enough with you.

2. Their membership is too large to make effective strategy recommendations in a timely manner when the campaign is in full swing.
Therefore, we recommend that another group be formed, under your chairmanship, to develop the overall strategy from which state plans, advertising, budget, etc., will flow. The suggested membership would be:

Cliff Miller (Communications)
Jeb Magruder (Administration/Coordination)
Fred LaRue (Political)
Bob Marik (Planning/Mail/Telephone)
Peter Dailey (Advertising)
Bob Tecter (Polling)
Arthur Finkelstein (Demographics)

Recommendations

That you approve the creation of the group described above.

Approve Disapprove Comment

That a meeting be scheduled within the next two weeks to start the group on its task of developing strategy for the general campaign.

Approve Disapprove Comment
MEMORANDUM FOR:  
ALEX ARMENDARIZ  
TONY DeFALCO  
LARRY GOLDBERG  
PAUL JONES  
PAUL KAYSER  
FRANK NAYLOR  
KEN RIESE  
BILL STOVER  
DAN TODD  
CLAYTON YEUTTER

FROM:  
FRED MALEK

SUBJECT:  
Congratulatory Letters to Appointees

April 13, 1972

Each of you have named or will be naming in the near future State Chairmen for your particular Voting Blocs. Each of these people will be expending considerable effort with comparatively little recognition or contact by the Campaign Director. Accordingly, I think it would be a good idea, and Mr. Mitchell has agreed, to send letters of congratulations to your State Chairmen as they are named.

Therefore, I would recommend that each of you prepare a letter for Mr. Mitchell's signature to each Chairman that has been named. If you will forward these to me - along with a short cover note to Mr. Mitchell - I will ensure that they are signed and sent out. In the future as new Chairmen are named, I would recommend you again submit these letters in groups of 3 or more.

Attached is a draft letter that Dan Todd has prepared for State Older American Chairmen. Some of the ideas may be useful to you in preparing your own letters. I would suggest adding your name in the first paragraph as shown to strengthen your relationship with the Chairmen. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Attachment

No 4m mat. No's healing Physicians and dentists and doing a damn good job.

So far.

Fred
WASHINGTON, APRIL 24 -- Paul Jones, Executive Director of the Black Vote Division of the Committee for the Re-election of the President today unveiled plans for what he called "the largest Black fund-raising event ever held for any President."

The announcement came following the morning session of a strategy meeting among Black Nixon supporters from across the country.

Jones said that Black support for the President in the election this year "will surprise a lot of Democrats who take the Black vote for granted" and "shatter some of the myths common among so-called experts."

"I have found rising support for the President around the country," Jones said. "I think the presence here of so many distinguished Black leaders confirms that observation."

Jones predicted a large turnout for a $100 a plate dinner to raise funds for the President's campaign. The dinner will be held in the Washington Hilton Hotel on June 10, sponsored by the National Black Committee for the Re-election of the President.

"President Nixon has provided blacks with more and better federal job opportunities than any President in history," Jones said.
"When the President took office, he promised all Americans, and especially Black Americans, that he would give us deeds and not rhetoric, action and not words," Jones said.

"Frankly, I have been amazed at the Federal job progress that has been attained by Blacks under the Nixon administration. But, the record is clear and can not be contradicted. President Nixon has set records for black employment in the federal service.

"As one of the old political wizards used to say, 'Let's take a look at the record':

"President Nixon has appointed nine blacks to sub-Cabinet posts compared to three during the Johnson administration.

"As for the Executive level appointments, President Nixon has placed 62 blacks in prominent federal position, compared to 49 during the Johnson years.

"In the area of the so-called supergrades, there are 150 blacks now while there were only 63 under the previous administration.

"Nine blacks have attained the flag rank under this administration as compared to two under the previous one. Eight are generals, while the first black admiral has been named by the President.

"An area that has been overlooked by many persons is the fact that while there has been a reduction in overall federal jobs, there has been an increase of minorities on the federal payroll. An increase from 19.2 in the last Democratic Administration to 19.5 percent today.

(more)
"With the recent appointment of the first black to the Federal Communications Commission, the President has named 89 blacks to Federal commissions and advisory boards. The previous high was 60.

"Another area in which the President has outstripped his Democratic predecessors has been in making funds available to enforce civil rights laws.

"The Nixon budget for civil rights enforcement is $602 million as compared to a meager $75 million under Johnson.

"I do not care where you examine the record -- as far as black concern is involved, you will find that the Nixon record is better than the record of any previous President.

"He has taken the initiative to encourage large federal and private deposits in minority banks. A program that resulted in $242 million in deposits in black banks.

"Black businessmen faced great difficulties in obtaining a loan from the Small Business Administration prior to this Administration.

"But under Richard Nixon, SBA loans have opened up to black entrepre­neurs and the Office of Minority Business Enterprises, created by President Nixon, has provided $508 million in funds for minority business."

"All these facts are going to add up to a great big surprise for the Democrats in November. Black Americans used to think that all they were ever going to get from the government was big talk. President Nixon has shown them that that's not true when the right
man is in the White House.

"Black Americans know who takes them for granted and they know that President Nixon means it when he promises action."
As predicted McGovern and Humphrey won the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries. McGovern's projected delegate vote strength moves him out front with 235 to 138 for Muskie and 78 for HHH. Brinkley tabbed McGovern as the frontrunner. The big loser again was Muskie, barely finishing third behind Wallace with GW's one-day stand in Pa. and a poor second in Mass., less than half McGovern's vote.

Here are the results as of 6:30 AM:

**Pennsylvania (97% in)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delegate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>457,755</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GW</td>
<td>273,506</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskie</td>
<td>266,957</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>265,823</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>39,232</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncommitted</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Massachusetts (65% in)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delegate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>176,284</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskie</td>
<td>77,467</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>28,001</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GW</td>
<td>27,347</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisholm</td>
<td>14,048</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy</td>
<td>1,362</td>
<td>write-ins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mills</td>
<td>9,823</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>4,223</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RN</td>
<td>53,654</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCloskey</td>
<td>8,691</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashbrook</td>
<td>2,862</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
McCloskey's 13% was rated a psychological victory of sorts and attributed to dove sentiment in the GOP on V-N. We made only one mailing in Mass.--to all precinct captains--from Brooke, Volpe, Richardson and Sargent.

McGovern's strong showing was credited to V-N dove sentiment and populism. He called it "peace and working men."

HHH's victory in Pa. was credited to a labor quid pro quo and black support. HHH said this was a great victory for the "vital progressive Demo center." It was noted as his first primary victory ever (except D. C.). HHH also proclaimed himself the "President of the American family."

RN won all delegate votes in Pa. and Mass. No competition in Pa. (50 delegate votes)

Muskie pledges to keep on.
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HARRY S. DENT

As predicted McGovern and Humphrey won the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries. McGovern's projected delegate vote strength moves him out front with 235 to 138 for Muskie and 78 for HHH. Brinkley tabbed McGovern as the frontrunner. The big loser again was Muskie, barely finishing third behind Wallace with GW's one-day stand in Pa. and a poor second in Mass., less than half McGovern's vote.

Here are the results as of 6:30 AM:

**PENNSYLVANIA (97% in)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Delegates</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>457,755</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GW</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>273,506</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskie</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>266,957</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>265,823</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39,232</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncommitted</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MASSACHUSETTS (65% in)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Delegates</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>176,284</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskie</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>77,467</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28,001</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GW</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27,347</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisholm</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14,048</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,362</td>
<td>write-ins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mills</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9,823</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4,223</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RN</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>53,654</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCloskey</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8,691</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashbrook</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2,862</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
McCloskey's 13% was rated a psychological victory of sorts and attributed to dove sentiment in the GOP on V-N. We made only one mailing in Mass.--to all precinct captains--from Brooke, Volpe, Richardson and Sargent.

McGovern's strong showing was credited to V-N dove sentiment and populism. He called it "peace and working men."

HHH's victory in Pa. was credited to a labor quid pro quo and black support. HHH said this was a great victory for the "vital progressive Demo center." It was noted as his first primary victory ever (except D. C.). HHH also proclaimed himself the "President of the American family."

RN won all delegate votes in Pa. and Mass. No competition in Pa. (50 delegate votes)

Muskie pledges to keep on.
| Mass | ±AVG | Mus | Wal | H | H | H | Mus | Wal | Mus | Mus | McG | 9.30 |
|------|------|-----|-----|---|---|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| 4.90 | 4.3  | 2.5 | 0.9 | 6 | 3  | 3  | 148 | 148 | 19  | 19  | 23% | 148 |

**PN** - no cry. Oppose sei & surgel to a more subdued cretery.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mass</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>10:30</th>
<th>P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88%</td>
<td>XMG</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;a-carbox&quot; Mus</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnamed Wal</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>debut H</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and this</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Muc will continue to cry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mus</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>Too close</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Wal</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8:30 - w/ 18-1306

Mus 44
McG 35
Wal 8
Mid 7
Mills 3

Pa - 79
Mus 32
McG 27
Wal 18
Jac 6

9:05
Pa - 1%
Mus 32
McG 27
Wal > 20%
Mc

Mass.
McG - 2 - lower Mus - scraping/clarity

UPL.
Mus - R.N. 86%
Memorandum for: H. R. Haldeman
From: Gordon Strachan
Subject: Massachusetts and Pennsylvania Primary Returns

Magruder's memorandum for John Mitchell on the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries today is attached. There will be an election watch at 1701, which will rely on the wires and network coverage.

The President's name is on the Massachusetts preferential ballot with Ashbrook and McCloskey. The President is expected to win easily. In Pennsylvania only delegates will be selected.

The Massachusetts polls close at 8:00 p.m. EST. Network projections are not expected until 10:00 p.m. because there are few machine polling booths. The Pennsylvania results are expected earlier, and CBS and NBC have announced shows on the results beginning at 10:30 p.m. ABC has not announced election shows. I will be in touch with Magruder from 8:30 p.m. on.

John Mitchell is not expected to be at the Committee tonight, and Magruder expects him to watch the results on T.V.

For New Hampshire, Florida, and Wisconsin, Harry Dent has prepared a one page summary of the results for the President. This summary has been delivered to the President at 7:30 a.m. the next morning.

RECOMMENDATION

That Dent be asked to prepare his analysis of the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries for the President.

Agree
Disagree
Comment
April 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Massachusetts and Pennsylvania Primary Returns

Magruder's memorandum for John Mitchell on the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries today is attached. There will be an election watch at 1701, which will rely on the wires and network coverage.

The President's name is on the Massachusetts preferential ballot with Ashbrook and McGloskey. The President is expected to win easily. In Pennsylvania only delegates will be selected.

The Massachusetts polls close at 8:00 p.m. EST. Network projections are not expected until 10:00 p.m., because there are few machine polling booths. The Pennsylvania results are expected earlier, and CBS and NBC have announced shows on the results beginning at 10:30 p.m. ABC has not announced election shows. I will be in touch with Magruder from 8:30 p.m. on.

John Mitchell is not expected to be at the Committee tonight, and Magruder expects him to watch the results on T.V.

For New Hampshire, Florida, and Wisconsin, Harry Dent has prepared a one-page summary of the results for the President. This summary has been delivered to the President at 7:30 a.m. the next morning.

RECOMMENDATION

That Dent be asked to prepare his analysis of the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania Primaries for the President.

Agree ____________________________

Disagree __________________________

Comment __________________________
MEMORANDUM FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM:

April 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Election Night

Here is a review of the key facts about tonight's primaries in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and a description of our planned response.

Massachusetts

Both parties have preferential and delegate contests. Registered voters may not crossover. The polls are open until 8:00 p.m. Results may come in slowly because of wide use of paper ballots. The Secretary of State estimates that about 800,000 people will vote -- most of them on the Democratic side. The Democrats have twelve names on their ballot and 102 delegates will be elected. The delegates will be bound on the first Convention ballot to the candidate who wins the preferential. The latest Boston Globe poll shows McGovern with 43%, Muskie 19%, and Humphrey at 14%.

In the Republican race, The President's name is on the preferential ballot along with Ashbrook's and McCloskey's. A light turnout, heavily in favor of The President, is expected. Thirty-four Republican delegates will be selected.

Pennsylvania

Both parties have delegate races, but only the Democrats have a preferential contest. Voters may not crossover. The polls are open until 8:00 p.m. Results should come in faster than Massachusetts since vote machines are used. There are 2.8 million registered Democrats, and turnout estimates range from 30 to 50 percent of these. The Democrats have five names on the ballot (Jackson, Humphrey, McGovern, Muskie and Wallace). They are selecting 137 delegates. Muskie and McGovern have fielded full slates, while Humphrey
has only 128 delegates. The press predicts Humphrey will get most delegates, with Muskie a close second, and then McGovern far behind. In the preferential race Humphrey is expected to win his first primary. The order after that is in question: Muskie could finish second, but may fall behind both McGovern and Wallace. The preferential results have no bearing on the Convention delegates.

On the Republican side there are 2.5 million registered Republicans. Those who vote will do so only for the 50 GOP delegates.

Our Response

We are preparing a statement for you in which we comment on Kennedy's obvious support for McGovern in Massachusetts. Senator Dole's statement will follow this same approach. Frank Dale's will emphasize the continued strong support for the President and his policies. We are also preparing comments for Arlen Specter, Senator Schweiker, Senator Brooke and Governor Sargent.

DeVan L. Shumway
MEMORANDUM

April 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Meetings with Cabinet Staffs

Attached for your information is a memorandum from Jon Foust, along with memoranda from members of his staff, regarding the meetings that have been held with the schedulers of some of the Cabinet officers.
MEMORANDUM

TO: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: JON A. FOUST
SUBJECT: Meetings with Cabinet Staffs

April 26, 1972

Thought you might be interested in these reports on our meetings. All of them have gone very, very well and each staff seemed to be quite pleased that someone was taking the interest to come talk to them.

At first I was doubtful if the time spent going to these meetings would justify the results we would receive. I am now convinced that these PR-type meetings are very beneficial and can only do a lot of good.

We will continue to schedule these meetings and in later months schedule follow-up meetings.

paw

Attachments
The April 25 meeting between our staff and Secretary Richardson’s scheduling and advance staff, including Dick Mastrangelo, Sam Shulhoff, Doug Bielan, and Ed Hanley established a basic rapport, an understanding of how either staff operates, and a plan of action for future events.

Mastrangelo iterated that the bulk of Richardson’s appearances are advanced by telephone by Larry Rumford, the Secretary’s personal aide. Rumford deals with the ten HEW regional directors or officials of state social security offices, who do the actual advance work. Richardson prefers not to travel with an entourage and the headquarters advancement are used only for major political activities that require the Secretary doing a number of events in one trip. If a political event is accepted, Mastrangelo tries to tie it in with an official event to avoid extra transportation costs. For any event, their prime goal is maximum media coverage.

We suggested ways in which our staff could service the Secretary, including pre-advancing major events, providing contact points and background information. We stressed the importance of the Secretary’s own staff doing the advance itself, since they best know their principal, but offered to assist them in any way possible to make the event a success.

Mastrangelo welcomed our offer of assistance and expressed their willingness to cooperate in all ways. He will suggest that Rumford contact our staff on events to learn the local contacts or to request any additional help. Mastrangelo also pointed out that, while their method of operating may be workable at this point in time, he realizes the campaign schedule will become more rigorous and they may begin to use their own advancement on an increasing number of events.
April 25, 1972

TO: JON A. FOUST

FROM: ED COWLING

SUBJECT: Meeting with George Pantos, Secretary Peterson's Scheduler
(attended by Pantos, SD, JF, and EC April 25)

Pantos has not yet set up any internal advance operation within the Commerce Department. He asked if we could supply the names of any experienced advance men who had done White House advances that were employed presently at Commerce. I suggest this information be included in the "thank you" letter to Pantos.

Peterson does not like to just shake hands at an event. He likes to talk to the group even if informally and likes to get their ideas. He likes to meet with corporate executives, particularly those who might be contributors. He doesn't like "non-events" or giving "pep talks."

Pantos thinks that Peterson should concentrate his efforts in the midwest, especially Nebraska and Illinois, Texas, and California. He thinks Peterson should do mainly material scope events and usually rejects invitations to state-wide or local events. Pantos thinks a major event in Nebraska or Texas would be good. He plans to send all invitations to fund raisers to our scheduling office.

paw
TO:        JON A. FOUST
FROM:      ED COULTING
SUBJECT:   April 26 Meeting with Secretary Romney's Staff
(attended by Dot Babcock, Judy Bryant, Jack Woolley, SD, JF, and TC)

April 26, 1972

A meeting was held to discuss the Tour Office's role in events which Secretary Romney will participate in as a surrogate. Dot Babcock works for Jim Judge who coordinates all of Romney's appearances. Jack Woolley gives political input on events and does some traveling with Romney. Woolley has designated the following persons on the BUD payroll as advance men:

Owen Cornell
Alan Kranowitz
Bill Prendergast
Margaret Leete

Woolley mentioned that Romney had received a letter from our Committee about clearing acceptances through us and his feeling was that there would be some events that Romney would want to do regardless of this Committee's relationship to the event. Woolley said that in past experience with the White House Romney's appearance at an event was guaranteed to the locals without it being cleared with Romney's office. Woolley did say, however, in this regard that this type of situation had not happened with our Committee, and that he appreciated us making an effort by coming over to meet with them to have an understanding as to how Romney likes to work and that we will be certain to clear an event with them before any promises are made.

Woolley indicated that it is easier for members of his staff to work with Romney than it would be for our advance men because they are well acquainted with each other. Romney does not like to do cocktail receptions or press conferences. He will, however, meet with the press informally.

Woolley mentioned that some states or congressional districts might be difficult for Romney to campaign in because the incumbent Democrats are members of Committees with which BUD works closely; for example, in Alabama against Sen. Sparkman and in Lubbock, Texas, against Rep. Mahon.

We can do pre-advance on events for Romney and then the day before the event his advance men will arrive on the scene and can be taken through the schedule. In this way an event planned by us can have the Romney stamp.
CONFIDENTIAL

April 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is our weekly report.

Attachment

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL
ADVANCE OPERATION

The Advance Operation is in the process of identifying problems and creating programs for their solution. By April 28 we intend to have (1) identified all events presently scheduled that we must advance and (2) assign advancement to each of these events.

We are currently trying to ascertain the status of all the Celebrities Operations, and devise programs and plans for each area.

We are awaiting approval of Tom Scott as Chairman of the Athletes for the President Committee.

ADVERTISING

Initial campaign and advertising strategy statements were presented to the strategy group on April 17. State analysis and rankings for media allocations, media objectives, strategy and initial plans were presented on April 24.

The Milwaukee television test was completed. The Youth Poster test was completed and revisions suggested by research results are being made. Other projects in various stages of development are a Youth Newsletter, Youth Recruitment brochure, Black brochure, Spanish direct mail brochure, Business City Chairman’s guidebook, Farm group bumper sticker, Youth group’s dress design, Nixonette scarves, Mexican-American dollar bill mailer.

A November Group financial presentation will be made on April 28.

AGRICULTURE

Yeutter spoke at a public affairs seminar in San Francisco sponsored by the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives. Prior to the seminar, he had a private dinner meeting with managers of several California’s major cooperatives; among the group was the President of the National Council.

On Friday Yeutter, Bob Spitzer, and Congressman Kyl (Iowa) participated in a rural vote seminar at the Republican Women’s Conference in Chicago.

Representatives of the Labor Department briefed Yeutter and Foltz on implementation of the Occupation Safety & Health Act, which has incurred the wrath of many employers -- farmers and others -- in the Midwest. This situation will have to be watched carefully, for it has important political implications. As with the decision (involving Interior and EPA) to ban the use of poisons for predator control, the President is being personally blamed for the actions of the Labor Department.
Madison visited (at their farms) our "Farm Families for the President" chairmen in South Dakota and Missouri, and conferred with Fred Hartley and Bob Spitzer in Wisconsin re selection of a chairman for that state.

Foltz met with the presidents of the Western Wood Products Association and the American Forestry Association on timber management and forest regeneration problems on U. S. forest lands in the West. He also met with representatives of the National Agricultural Chemical Association to discuss their potential support.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

We visited with the North Dakota Business and Industry State Chairman in Detroit, Michigan. In addition, we visited the Nixon State Chairman for Wisconsin in Milwaukee regarding prospective State Chairmen for Business and Industry in that state. We are continuing to expand our number of State Chairmen.

Next week, we plan to visit with Regional and State Chairmen in Florida, Texas, Alabama, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Utah and North Carolina. The purpose of these visits is, of course, to brief our new State Chairmen and get them started on the recruitment of City Chairmen within their area of responsibility.

ELDERLY

Dan Todd devoted most of his time to working with Bud Evans on Presidential and First Family scheduling and with Fred Malek on Budget and staffing OAD. Considerable time was also put into following up with HUD on the Model Cities reprogram problems in N. E. Los Angeles. This situation is not as yet resolved but the continuing efforts of Under Secretary Van Dusen, Tony Rodriguez and Lyn Nofziger should produce a solution shortly.

Mills spent the majority of his time following up on his California trip and laying the groundwork for visits to Missouri, Oregon, Washington, Utah and Nevada, as well as more time in California to ensure Judge Paonessa is properly supported. He has left on this trip. Dan Todd will join him for Missouri, Oregon and Washington.

Christy Todd spent the beginning of the week on follow-up from the New York trip, confirming the Connecticut trip, and setting up North Carolina for next week. She will maintain a similar schedule for the next few weeks until initial visits have been made to all priority and second level states. After that Miss Todd will remain in the priority states until their OA organizations are squared away.

Both Todd's visited Connecticut. Briefly, they (State Nixon and Party Leaders) believe the state can be carried for Nixon against any candidate except Kennedy. They feel the elderly are essential to this effort, and
are working on several special projects that will give additional visibility within our constituency.

JEWISH

Political organizing in Illinois and Pennsylvania is the next target for immediate action. Larry Goldberg spent one day in Chicago recruiting leadership for the re-election effort and another day of recruiting is scheduled in the immediate future. In addition, he and Max Fisher are calling on some of the National Jewish leadership to assist in recruiting in the key areas so the best nucleus for the campaign can be identified and organized.

PHYSICIANS AND DENTISTS

Bill Stover has begun the process of clearing suggested State Dentists' Chairmen with our State Nixon Chairmen, and, at the same time, discussing with these Chairmen the organization of the Physicians' Committee within their states.

PR/MEDIA

The Press Department continued working closely with the Pennsylvania Committee in monitoring the opposition's activities and is assisting surrogates in their prepared remarks and press conferences. Attacks on the President were answered rapidly with speech inserts and audio including two audio cuts of Senator Marlow Cook, one audio of Francis Dale and one cut of Senator Javits. These surrogates received particularly good media coverage during their visits to Pennsylvania. We also planned a full day of television and radio for Senator Brock's visit of April 24 in Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Harrisburg and Philadelphia. Other Pennsylvania press activities included a press release in which Francis Dale blasted Senator Humphrey's speech to steel workers and an audio cut in which Arlen Specter asked the Democratic candidates to go back to work. This was moved to sixteen Pennsylvania stations.

Our audio handled Senator Dole and Vice President Agnew several times during the week on the subject of the Vietnam bombing, and an audio was cut of Marina Whitman, of the council of Economic Advisors, who spoke about the Consumer Price Index. These cuts were moved to sixteen Pennsylvania stations, distributed to various California stations and fed to stations in three other major cities.

The Press Department issued releases announcing the Vermont and Kansas Committee openings. We also worked closely with the voter bloc groups, preparing press plans for them through the Convention. We consulted with
the Spanish-speaking director and his White House counterpart to establish the policy of handling the farm workers' boycott. It was decided to keep this movement at its low profile by not attacking either the movement or Cesar Chavez, but by preparing Administration spokesmen, in particular Henry Ramirez, with talking paper should they be confronted with questions on the NLRB and the Administration's policy toward the farm workers. This same method of being ready to take the offensive on behalf of the Administration but not initiating attacks will be used by Senator Dole who has received a great deal of mail, through the RNC, criticizing the Administration's policy with the farm workers.

Working with Paul Jones and Stan Scott, the Press Department assisted in planning a press conference announcing the large support and financial backing across the Nation from the Black communities.

The Press Department, in conjunction with the Illinois Committee, planned a full day of media on Ken Rietz's appearances in that state to get youth support for the President's re-election. The media included three radio interviews and four television appearances, one of which was on a show which is syndicated to 37 stations across the Nation. Press releases on the President's victory in a mock election held at the University of South Dakota and on the active part that young people will play in the Republican National Convention were distributed to the national media on the West Coast and in Washington.

The Press Department is working closely with the Congressional campaign committees and Republican senatorial and congressional offices on the Hill through continual discussions to help get the President's record across on the local level. Particular emphasis has been on the use of our audio operation.

SPANISH-SPEAKING

The final draft of the campaign plan was reviewed before submitting for approval; and the first draft of the California campaign plan was completed including a detailed California primary test plan. We initiated a Spanish-speaking Junior Chamber of Commerce/Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-speaking project to promote the Nixon record. A research program was established with three full-time volunteers. A campaign budget briefing was held as well as a Spanish-speaking Task Force meeting. Alex Armendaris attended various meetings on the United Farm Worker's controversy and a meeting with the Southwest Council of La Raza.

VETERANS

Frank Borman has accepted the position of National Veterans Chairman. The
announcements is to be held until June kick-off dates. We worked with Henry Cashen to determine the extent of the Chairman's activities for Veterans.

Veteran state chairmen selection was made in 16 states. Selection of veteran state chairmen is completed and confirmed with state campaign directors in Indiana, Iowa, North Dakota, and Nebraska. Tentative approval has been made for a state chairman in Pennsylvania.

During a meeting with the incoming national commander of the American Legion, Joe Mathews of Texas, we reviewed campaign plans, veteran activities in Texas and selection of advisory group members.

The National Commander of the American Legion and Frank Naylor reviewed the overall campaign plans, selection of a national advisory group and requirements for state chairman of the Veterans Committee.

A smooth campaign plan was completed and forwarded for review. Working meetings with VA officials completed the development of Veteran issue positions. A communications plan was devised with Bill Rhatigan.

Arrangements were commenced for Don Johnson or his deputies to make major appearances at all but four of the 28 VFW and American Legion state conventions in the 14 priority states. We worked with Bill Rhatigan to provide DOD surrogates for the other four conventions. Arrangements were made for Don Johnson to make a major appearance at the National Convention of the Association of Collegiate Veterans in Duluth, Minnesota, in May. These are all Vietnam veterans representing 850 college units.

YOUTH

A major drive for new voters coordinated by Bill Lamont, Young Voters for the President field director, and including the Tower organization and the State GOP will be conducted on May 20 in Texas. Volunteers will canvas more than 100,000 homes in seven major cities.

The second major drive is scheduled to begin in California on May 6 with a concentrated effort in Los Angeles and San Diego. The Michigan Young Voters Committee has a drive in the planning stage for early June. Other states where young voters are involved in registration drives include: Wisconsin, Florida, Tennessee, South Carolina, Illinois, Indiana and Oregon.

We continue to make real inroads into college campuses and will announce a list of college student body leaders for the President the middle of May. Student body presidents from major universities endorsing the President thus far include: Kent Clemence, University of Southern California; Joe Piasta, University of San Francisco; Pat Moshe, University of Texas at El Pas; Courtney Roberts, University of Texas at Arlington; Ralph Anderson, University of Washington; Jeff Wiswell, University of Wisconsin at Whitewater; Jim Harris, New Hampshire College; Steve Meier, Occidental College (California); Rusty Schwartz, University of Nebraska; Mark Tullis, Brandeis University and Bruce Bishop, Old Dominion University (Virginia).
The President continues to do well in mock elections on campuses. During the last month he has finished first in elections at: University of South Dakota at Vermillion, Rider College (New Jersey), University of Southern California, Kansas University, Washington State University at Pullman, University of Houston and the University of Whitewater.
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR.

SUBJECT: The AIP Filing To Put Wallace On The General Election Ballot In New Jersey.

When the petition was filed to place Wallace on the General Election Ballot in New Jersey, the petition was not signed by Wallace. No Declaration of Acceptance is required and none was signed by Wallace.

Sources indicate that the filing was not engineered by the Governor or any of his people but by Wallace supporters in New Jersey. The same sources indicate that the Governor was not aware that this was being done for him in New Jersey. A source very close to Wallace, who spent two hours last week talking to the Governor about his campaign, indicates that the New Jersey filing was never mentioned; and it was his opinion that Wallace had no notification that it was happening.

Other sources in New Jersey indicate that the group filing the petition did not consult with Wallace but called his Headquarters and asked if he objected. Somebody in his Headquarters said that they did not particularly indorse the action but would not object to it.

Apparently, only 800 voters' signatures were required on the petition—not 43,000 (2 percent of the vote cast in the last preceding election) as was earlier indicated to me by research sources in New Jersey.

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Attached is the weekly report.

Attachment

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL
ADVERTISING

Plans for testing creative material were developed. Alternate concepts will be tested in focus group sessions; concepts emerging from these sessions will be quantified; prototype commercials will then be developed and tested for message strength and comprehension.

Alternate youth posters have been developed, and will be tested with young voters in Los Angeles, Houston, and Columbus. Results will be available by March 31. Alternate button designs were prepared for testing with youth in New Hampshire.

Copy was developed for direct mail telegrams for Wisconsin.

A media coverage computer analysis was designed and initiated. This report, available March 24, will provide voting and demographic data for ADI's (Areas of Dominant Media Influence) for all states.

An analysis of the Older American vote was prepared, indicating geographic areas of greatest concentration, and issue areas of primary appeal. A similar analysis on the Youth vote was finished March 16.

A qualitative and quantitative analysis of the use of telephones vs. other media is being prepared, and will be finished March 20.

A financial report projecting agency operational costs and savings to the Committee was presented to the Committee financial group. A competitive spending report for Florida was prepared.

The China film was reviewed in California and meetings were held with the Wolper organization regarding their submission of bids for documentary films.

Polling data on California is being analyzed with final recommendations due next week.

AGRICULTURE

The USDA made two announcements Thursday which effected the farm vote: an increase in meat imports for 1972; and a continuance of dairy price supports at the same level as in 1971. While there are very substantial reasons for both of these decisions, some farmers will not understand or accept them. It will also give some opportunity for attacks by the opposition.

A poll conducted by Wallace's Farmer among Iowa farm people in mid-January showed:
Yeutter and Foltz met on Tuesday with administrative and legislative assistants to Republican members of the House Agriculture Committee. Basic campaign plans were explained and their assessments of prospects in their districts were received. While on the Hill that afternoon, they also met separately with Representatives Latta, Thomson, William Mills, and Senator Hansen for the same purpose.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

On March 7, we met with Mr. Harllee Branch, Jr., Business & Industry State Chairman of Georgia, to discuss the progress he was making in the selection of City Chairmen, and also to discuss the lists he had prepared on four other states in the South. On March 8, we visited Mr. Lynn Townsend, Business & Industry Chairman for Region V, to discuss his plans for the appointment of State and City Chairmen in his region.

Progress is being made on the completion of the City Chairman's Guide Book and discussions are being held regarding the completion of the entire kit.

ELDERLY

Todd continued to work on substantive items for Presidential Message (notably Mills 20% benefit increase) and also worked on details of how the Message will be publicized. The Message has been postponed again and we are not sure when it will come.

Todd worked on producing Older Americans for Thursday rally in Miami. Reports indicate some success (between 6-800).

Replies are coming in from first letter to State Chairmen soliciting names. While responses vary, all indicate that they will need more time.

Todd met with Van Rensselaer and reviewed draft Campaign Plan and further developed details of 1701/RNC joint venture for the Campaign and overall Media/PR approach. Todd has completed what is hoped will be the final draft of Campaign Plan for Mr. Mitchell's review.

Work continues on DH/EW films and brochures but art work on poster seems at standstill.
Todd also spent time on AOA/WHCoA Staff problems. Martin's Deputy should be in place this week. Almost all D.A.C. substantive work is at standstill because of effort on Message.

**Jewish**

The major event of this last week surely was the American Jewish Press Day which took place on Monday, March 13 at the White House. About one hundred people from 24 states representing national publications as well as local papers gathered in Washington for the briefings. The day was extremely positive and many of the participants felt that they learned new or additional information about the Administration record on issues of concern to the Jewish community.

It should now be easier to get better coverage of the President's record in a more sympathetic manner than heretofore. In addition, interviews with prominent Jewish members of the Administration and more sympathetic editorial comment should be forthcoming.

**Legal**

We conferred with Bill Harper and advised him that a proposed plan, under which the National Alliance of Businessmen would furnish disabled veterans for full-time work on the Committee, and whose salaries would be paid for by corporate members of the NAB, would violate the Corrupt Practices Act.

For Paul Muller we provided suggested language for a waiver of interest, on the part of November Group, Inc. employees, in ideas and other intellectual property generated by such employees to advance the goals of the campaign.

We conferred with Commissioner Richard Wiley of the FCC in connection with the recent arrangement between AT&T and the Democratic National Committee.

We outlined the provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 for the Treasurer of the Republican National Committee and his associates.

On behalf of the Committee, a letter was prepared and sent to the CAB requesting a ruling on the permissibility of passing along the cost of transportation of members of the press to the press on a pro-rata basis, although such transportation is via an aircraft chartered on a "single entity" basis.
PHYSICIANS

In meetings over the weekend with Malcolm Todd, Chairman, and several other members of the Physicians' Steering Committee, we completed selection of chairmen or co-chairmen for all 51 States, with 26 having agreed to serve. Within the next week we hope to have all state chairmen firmed up.

Our first order of business is a fund-raising campaign on a doctor-to-doctor basis. The state chairmen are being asked to organize their states down to the local level so we can initiate a program of solicitation letters by doctors to fellow doctors in their area. We will supply suggested letters and will attempt to obtain assistance in the production of these letters from the state Nixon organizations. A national goal for our campaign was fixed and any decision on a mass national mailing deferred pending results of the more personalized effort.

We decided to organize a separate national Dentists' Committee, and leave to the states the decision as to whether the physicians' and dentists' campaign should be combined. The traditional practice varies among the states, being separate in most states.

POLITICAL

The week was highlighted by the President's excellent showing in the nation's first primary in New Hampshire. The President's victory margin was reported by the New Hampshire news media in terms such as "Crushes All GOP Opponents," "President Sweeps to Victory," and other highly positive pronouncements. The New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President and their organization were elated by the showing. All fourteen of our pledged delegates were also elected. From an in-state political viewpoint, the primary was also beneficial because the Party was left more unified than when we went into the primary and was greatly strengthened by the multitude of volunteers who worked in the campaign. A concerted effort will be made to keep the organization intact.

This past week we met with Willard Lewis and Ed Hartman, our newly confirmed Executive Director and State Chairman for the state of New Mexico. We also met with our Pennsylvania chairman, Arlen Specter, and his assistant, Herman Bloom, to amplify our plans there. Our chairman for Maine, Ned Harding was in for a full day of orientation meetings.

Announcements of our state chairmen were made in Tennessee (Senator William Brock) and Michigan (Jack Gibbs) on March 6; in Wyoming (Mrs. Barbara Gosman) on March 7; in South Dakota (W.E. "Obie" O'Brien) on March 8, and in Arizona (Sam Kardian) on March 9.
Van Shumway and Cliff Miller met with Abbott Washburn's group to discuss the establishment of a nationwide public relations network. Van attended Senator Dole's AT&T press conference and arranged for Jeb Magruder to be interviewed by U.S. News and World Report. He set up a press conference on March 9 after the New Hampshire primary. A speech insert for Mr. Mitchell's address in New York City and his statement before the Judiciary Committee were written.

We wrote releases on the following subjects: the President's appearance on the North Carolina ballot; the Florida rally; the Florida college mock elections; and, the Arizona Committee announcement. We also wrote five statements about the victory in New Hampshire for surrogates. Biographies and background material for official voter pamphlets were composed. A Q&A sheet was revised and distributed to state chairmen and remarks were prepared for Mrs. Mitchell's appearance in Milwaukee. NBC and CBS were contacted to arrange for the appearance of Governor Peterson (New Hampshire) on morning news shows.

Tom Girard was in New Hampshire until Wednesday, coordinating election night activities. He flew to Florida on Thursday to prepare for the rally there. We wrote and compiled 150 press kits for that rally.

Three surrogates were set up. They are: Herb Klein, in Pittsburg; Helen Bentley, in Maryland; and Secretary Butz, in Houston. We planned the handling of public relations for each of the voting blocs and citizens organizations for the duration of the campaign. We discussed with Mr. Miller and Mr. Liddy the chartered airplane and audio operations. We worked on regional publicity in thirteen states for the President's Special Message on Aging.

**SPANISH SPEAKING**

During the past week we have been meeting with Jerry Jones each day reviewing the campaign plan and preparing an outline for resubmitting this week. We have also been gathering additional data to be included in the plan to be submitted.

Time was spent organizing Cuban participation for Florida rally and preparing the preliminary California test plan.

During the trip to Los Angeles, Alex Armendariz met with Spanish Language leadership in Los Angeles and in San Diego. In both cases Lyn Nofziger was present. The purpose of the trip was to make initial assessment of the California leadership in that area.
The Spokesmen Resources Division was responsible for the Appreciation Day campaign activities and ceremonies in Miami, Florida, on March 9. The political participants were Secretary Morton, Governor Reagan, Congressmen Archer, Burke, Devine, Young, Messers. Cramer and Dent, Red Skelton, Lionel Hampton, Debbie Shelton, Walter Rock, Frank Borman, The World's Greatest Jazz Band, The Miami String Marching Band, and The Miami Military Marching Band.

The political participants made nine separate appearances in South Florida. The evening rally was an outstanding success with approximately 2000 people in attendance. Network television coverage was exceptionally good.

Bart Porter interviewed Tony DeFalco, a candidate for the position of director of the Ethnic Committee. Ed Crane has replaced Joe Horacek as Executive Director of our Celebrities for the President Committee.

VOTERS' RIGHTS (BALLOT SECURITY)

We now have 17 Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) chairmen. The two new chairmen are:

Pennsylvania  Stephen J. Harmelin
Utah         William A. Stevenson

WOMEN

Pat Hutar met with Virginia Allan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and former national President, National Federation of Business and Professional women, to discuss names of non-partisan leaders who could be contacted to work in the campaign. Miss Allan had a number of good persons in mind who fit politically. Mrs. Hutar gave her an outline of the plan she has developed for the National Advisory and State Advisory Committees. Miss Allan thought that the plan was very workable, and she is anxious for these non-partisan leaders she recommended to be contacted and put to work.

During the week, Mrs. Hutar called State Re-election Committee Chairmen to get the names of the co-chairmen who will be serving in the states. Some will not be selected until after state conventions for various political reasons.
Assignments have been given to Nancy Steorts and Nancy Blair to work with Mrs. Hutar in developing material for the Volunteer Manual.

Materials for the telephone public relations promotion with Martha Mitchell were completed — large mock telephone, telephone promotion piece, and script conversation between Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell — except for the taping which was to be done Sunday.

YOUTH

With the completion of the primaries in New Hampshire and Florida, the youth campaign will concentrate the next few months in Wisconsin, Oregon, Tennessee, and Indiana. Our New Hampshire fieldman has been sent to Oregon and we have hired a Wisconsin fieldman as well as a border state fieldman to help in Tennessee. The volunteer (Bill Ehrig) that did so well with the college mock election in Florida has been sent to Wisconsin and our college director (George Gorton) and Nixonette chairman (Angela Miller) will be visiting the state during the next week.

The California voter registration drive is under way. The target dates for San Diego County have been scheduled for all aspects for supplies, phone lists, staff training, and voter registration.

RESEARCH AND STRATEGY

Attached is the update of the Nixon popularity trend according to the Gallup poll. The popularity trend has increased to 56%.
Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling his job as President?
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Direct Mail in Pennsylvania

The attached memorandum from Bob Morgan, our Direct Mail Manager, indicates that Senators Scott and Schweiker of Pennsylvania believe that Mayor Rizzo of Philadelphia will remain neutral in the general election. They are interested in working with us on a joint-funding basis to develop a mailing list of Italian ethnics in the Philadelphia area, for the Presidential campaign and for their own use in subsequent years.

Recommendation

That you authorize further exploration of this project with Senators Scott and Schweiker, leading to a detailed recommendation on cost and time schedule for your approval.

Approve________ Disapprove_______ Comment________

Attachment. X

Per JOM
CONFIDENTIAL -- EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:   DR. ROBERT MARIK
FROM:             ROBERT MORGAN
SUBJECT:          Pennsylvania

Senators Scott and Schweiker of Pennsylvania and Cliff Jones asked Ed Nichols to pass along the following. In their opinion, Mayor Rizzo of Philadelphia will remain neutral in the General Election making the Italian ethnics in and around Philadelphia a prime direct mail target.

The Senators are interested in a direct mail list on magnetic tape, probably to the tune of splitting the costs.