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Rep. Tom Steed
(D) Oklahoma
4th District

Rep. John J. McFadden
(D) California
15th District
Rep 49% in Calif
62% - 99% in
Dem 61% - 99% in
California - 99% 

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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Kern</td>
<td>1,347,710</td>
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<td>Wallace</td>
<td>161,220</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cheahain</td>
<td>154,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musick</td>
<td>11,317</td>
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<td>Gentry</td>
<td>19,229</td>
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<tr>
<td>IncL</td>
<td>33,392</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>28,067</td>
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<td>Lindsay</td>
<td>26,573</td>
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<td>Nelson</td>
<td>2,002,561</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cochrane</td>
<td>219,275</td>
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MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

TO:

☐ You were called by— ☐ You were visited by—

Kathy

☐ Please call

☐ Will call again

☐ Returned your call

☐ Code/Ext.

☐ Waiting to see you

☐ Wishes an appointment

MESSAGE

Murray Chotiner called N. and said— "Nashaw is leading Smith by 95/90 of the vote in."

Received by:

Date:

Time:

6/7 2:20

STANDARD FORM 63

GSA FPMB (41 CFR) 101-11.6
Def. Delegate - 115

McGovern
44
9

Countries not counted: Uncam
27
109

Total
MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

TO:

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY—☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY—

OF (Organization)

☐ PLEASE CALL — PHONE NO.

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

[Handwritten note: 

"AI rework 65% to app-

me 12,100 - 51% - 15,000 - 49% - 79 - hr min."]

RECEIVED BY

DATE

TIME

STANDARD FORM 63
REVISED AUGUST 1967
GSA PPM (ALL CFP) 103-11.6

GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
CBS Morning News

Projections

McGovern 43
Humphrey 38
Wallace (CBS) 17
All others 12

No ABC
$\frac{458}{5.2} = \frac{37}{1.9} = 37$

$445.043 = \frac{745.6}{2.3}$

$x = 5,134$

\text{Total Vote} (888)  
\text{Turnout 2,914,647} = 88.6\%$


NATIONAL \-

LOS ANGELES--HERE ARE THE LATEST CALIFORNIA PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY VOTE TABULATIONS.

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 88 PCT.

GOVERNOR 1,363,895 45 PCT.

HUMPHREY 1,170,873 39 PCT.

WALLACE 156,533 5 PCT.

CHISHOLM 138,091 5 PCT.

MUSKIE 64,357 2 PCT.

WORTY 41,952 1 PCT.

MCARTHUR 36,049 1 PCT.

JACKSON 24,995 1 PCT.

LINDSAY 23,910 1 PCT.

(WINNER TAKES ALL 271 DELEGATES.)

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 88 PCT.

NIXON 1,750,782 90 PCT.

ASHBROOK 191,327 10 PCT.

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.--HERE IS THE LATEST VOT TABULATION FROM THE NEW MEXICO PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY:

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 96 PCT.

GOVERNOR 48,812 33 PCT.

WALLACE 43,378 29 PCT.

HUMPHREY 38,260 26 PCT.

MUSKIE 6,497 5 PCT.

JACKSON 4,249 3 PCT.

CHISHOLM 3,186 2 PCT.

NONE SHOWN 3,147 2 PCT.

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 21 PCT.

NIXON 9,664 90 PCT.

CLOSKEY 598 6 PCT.

NONE SHOWN 418 4 PCT.

6-7--TS1104AED
6/7

C called Mandevan + some info in call... top 2/3

someone must talk to MCI

Total Dem vote Regis, Marion, Pen in N.J.

ABC - no proj

NBC - 1

CBS - lost at 3:20am

11/15 -

McG 43
H 38
Woe 7
Others 12
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

GORDON STRACHAN
MEMORANDUM FOR: The President
FROM: Harry S. Dent
SUBJECT: Primaries: California New Jersey New Mexico South Dakota

George McGovern won all four primaries Tuesday to give him over 900 delegates and clearly establish him as the biggest vote getter, delegate winner, and primary victor on the Democrat side. He appeared to be winning by 9% in California with 56% of the vote counted. Wallace, getting a 5% write-in vote there, pulled a surprise in New Mexico, finishing second with 29% and half the delegate votes -- all without any campaigning.

The President held Ashbrook to 10% in California, while McCloskey got 6% in New Mexico and one delegate vote.

Senators Eastland, Case, and Metcalf won their primaries. In South Dakota, Rep. Abourezk will be pitted against either ex-State Senator Robert Hirsch or Attorney General Gordon Mydland. (Convention to decide because Hirsch didn't get 35%).

James Meredith was defeated in the Mississippi GOP Senate primary by VW dealer Gil Carmichael 80% to 20%.

McGovern won all 271 delegates in California, 9 (half) in New Mexico, all 17 from South Dakota (no competition), and at least 59 of New Jersey's 109. McGovern expects 80 votes from New Jersey.
Page Two
June 7, 1972

There was no direct head-to-head vote count in New Jersey. McGovern's slate leader got 30,000 more votes than HHH's leader with 80% of the vote counted. It was a defeat for the old Demo machine.

CBS projected only a five point victory margin for McGovern in California. He won big with youth and split the black vote in California and New Jersey. Los Angeles and Orange County almost pulled the Hump through.

HHH says he will keep on, but told his supporters he will see that the Dems are united to beat RN.

CBS also projects 1266 delegate votes for McGovern at convention time to 540 for HHH.

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The President's delegate count now stands at 818, with 674 needed for nomination.

In New Mexico, the Dems nominated ex-State Rep. Jack Daniels to contest with 1970 GOP gubernatorial candidate Pete Domenici who easily knocked off Dave Cargo -- in the U. S. Senate race.
VOTE FIGURES (UNOFFICIAL)

CALIFORNIA

DEMOCRAT PRIMARY (With 62% precincts reporting)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Delegates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>969,243</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>791,034</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace</td>
<td>109,979</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chisholm</td>
<td>91,162</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muskie</td>
<td>46,161</td>
<td>2%</td>
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<td>Yorty</td>
<td>27,420</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<td>McCarty</td>
<td>21,808</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>18,320</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lindsay</td>
<td>17,456</td>
<td>1%</td>
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REPUBLICAN PRIMARY (With 61% precincts reporting)

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<tr>
<td>RN</td>
<td>1,200,921</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>96</td>
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<td>Ashbrook</td>
<td>150,787</td>
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NEW MEXICO

DEMOCRAT PRIMARY (With 96% precincts reporting)

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<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>48,812</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>Wallace</td>
<td>43,378</td>
<td>29%</td>
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<td>38,260</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>6,497</td>
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REPUBLICAN PRIMARY (With 96% precincts reporting)

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<th>Votes</th>
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<td>RN</td>
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<td>89%</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>McCloskey</td>
<td>3,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>None Shown</td>
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CONVERSATION WITH HARRY DENT - WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 1972

D - Hey, ever since I talked to you last time I've been talking to
the Big Man.
G - That's what I understand.
D - He just wanted to chew the fat all the way around about different
races and ... 
G - He also wanted to ...
D - But I told him the problem in New Jersey was that they have voting
machine problems up there plus the 3 hour delay in California so
I explained some of the things he is looking for and he accepted
all that fine. He just wanted to chew around about interpretation
about what it looked like, so forth. He's of the opinion that
McGovern didn't do as well and that this might give a little more
heart to the Stop McGovern forces. The fact that he didn't win
by about as much as he should have in California and so forth.
But we're still reaching for that magic figure. I told him that
it was a good turnout. We just didn't have any percentage figure
yet.
G - OK. Did he ask about the network projections?
D - I told him NBC projected an 8% and that CBS had said 5%. I really
just threw him a lot of that stuff without him asking for it.
But we're still reaching for more.
G - OK.
D - As we get it we'll feed it. The hardest thing to get I've ever
seen.
G - What happened do you think?
D - What? In California?

G - Well, I mean in terms of -- should we have set up a different system to get the results, or what?

D - No, you see, the problem is that 3 hour delay in California just really messed things up and it's thrown everybody off out there in California. So I don't - that was the problem - we were running 3 hours behind and then add 3 hours to that. It messes everything up.

G - Then do you think, is there any way we could have prevented it with a different system to get the results?

D - I don't think so with that extra 3 hour delay. I don't see it because you have to get it officially. These boards just aren't open.

G - Right.

D - Even the wire services. We've been calling Sacramento and Los Angeles to get the latest results. We can't get anyone to answer.

G - Nobody at the Secretary of State's office?

D - Nope. None of those.

G - By the way, Mardian called me, and I guess you've been talking to him. He's having trouble getting the same thing. Well, whenever ...

D - The President feels that those TV debates may have cut McGovern back some. It's an indication. I think that too.

G - Really? You think they were that effective?

D - I think it had some impact.

G - The old rule, if you're ahead, don't debate.
D - That's right. Of course he also thinks the Kennedy people might have bought the field poll.
G - Oh, you're kidding me?
D - No, that's what he thinks.
G - Oh, that's great. That's amazing.
D - All right. We'll holler as soon as we get some more.
G - All right. I'd appreciate it.
D - Righto.
G - Thanks.
George McGovern won all four primaries Tuesday to give him over 900 delegates and clearly establish him as the biggest vote getter, delegate winner, and primary victor on the Democrat side. He appeared to be winning by 9% in California with 56% of the vote counted. Wallace, getting a 5% write-in vote there, pulled a surprise in New Mexico, finishing second with 29% and half the delegate votes -- all without any campaigning.

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**REPUBLICAN PRIMARY** (With 61% precincts reporting)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Delegates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RN</td>
<td>1,200,921</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashbrook</td>
<td>130,787</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NEW MEXICO**

**DEMOCRAT PRIMARY** (With 96% precincts reporting)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>48,812</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>43,378</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskie</td>
<td>38,200</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>6,497</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisholm</td>
<td>4,241</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None Shown</td>
<td>3,168</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**REPUBLICAN PRIMARY** (With 96% precincts reporting)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Delegates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RN</td>
<td>48,793</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCloskey</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None Shown</td>
<td>2,557</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At 3:30 a.m. CBS estimated McGovern would win by 43-38 over HHH with 7% to Wallace. In comments throughout the evening it was generally expected that such a margin, significantly smaller than the polls anticipated, would to some degree slow McGovern's momentum. Mankiewicz early in the evening predicted a 5-6 point lead and Gary Hart, McGovern's campaign director, predicted a 8-10 point margin.

With 30% tallied in California, McGovern led 48-36. He barely beat Wallace in New Mexico -- 32-30.

ABC's 12 o'clock show opened with returns available and then had HHH who, as Smith accurately said, didn't sound a "last hurrah." He recalled Adlai's problems in '56 when he didn't win primaries but got the nod. He had no regrets over campaign so far -- had to be done this way. Even if he doesn't make it, HHH will be disappointed but not sad -- too much else to do.

McG then on ABC voicing confidence that Govs were reassured.... Preceding report on problems of write-in campaigns in Calif, Smith noted that the man w/the most popular votes is being given least chance for nomination.

Reasoner doesn't see Dems all that disunited, especially re: '68. McG's leading position pulls teeth from many of the more destructive party elements tho the debates so far have provided much ammo for GOP as have past McG statements. In concluding commentary, EKS said he still finds the McG phenomenon unexplained. A nice, non-magnetic man w/a Senate record certainly modest compared to HHH and he's not a proven national vote getter, garnering only a fifth so far in all primaries for the No. 3 spot. EKS views McG as he views a 747 -- he knows it can't fly but it does....Reasoner declined to say whether McG is a Goldwater w/strong tho few backers or an FDR who has tapped a broad sentiment.

NBC, in 1:00 a.m. report, said McGovern had maintained his lead of 15% in raw stix, but in key precincts the race was "neck and neck." Chancellor said McGovern had made a "major gain" among black voters pulling even with HHH and McGovern was getting twice the Chicano vote of HHH -- another "breakthru," said John.
"The nomination is still elusive," said John. "McGovern hasn't got it locked up." Commenting on lively scene at HHH Hdqtrs, Chancellor said: "It looks like the nite the Lusitania didn't sink."

Utley reported from McGovern Hdqtrs that McGovern aides now see a closer race with McGovern winning by 5-10%, and they feel that polls may have caused overconfidence.

NBC estimated RN would get 90% of vote. (Smith on ABC said RN has nomination wrapped up -- he's safe, for those who were worried, said HKS.) Chancellor said 10% for Ashbrook indicates there could be a problem for RN in Nov. with disaffected conservatives. Reagan, on tape, represented RN at victory party and he warned against GOP overconfidence and said GOP must increase its registration figures.

Chancellor, on NBC, said "It does begin to look like McGovern's day." He indicated that McGovern would probably win, but by less than early margin of 15%. Brinkley said he didn't see why Calif. election officials were upset by nets projections; it's nothing new, he said, as newspapers have put out early election editions for a century. (Thruout evening, nets' frustration -- especially NET and NBC -- was evident over slowdown.)

McGovern, on NBC, said: "We're on the way to the nomination." He cited support in industrial state of N.J. and diverse state of Calif. as proof of his appeal, and he said he'd probably win on 1st ballot. He said blacks were voting for him in greater numbers because they were beginning to recognize him and what he stood for. And he said that after N.Y. primary, he'd begin to go after uncommitted delegates.

HHH, on NBC, pointed out that he'd won several primaries, and he said the nominee will be named at convention, not in Calif. He'll go on to Miami, no matter the result in Calif. He said he'd spent $11,000 in N.J. while McGovern had spent $250,000. He said Wallace had done well in primaries, including New Mex., and he "may be the balance of power" at convention. Finally, he pointed out that Texas, Missouri, and some border states haven't been heard from yet.
Later NBC showed various polls which reflected McG's gains in recent weeks. Still he trailed RN -- 55-45 in Gallup -- in all but one and that was a new Quayle Poll of Calif. which found McG leading RN 51-49. And w/Field showing the 2 at 41-41, Chancellor pointed to Calif's barometer reputation saying these polls could be important and they also show that McG would not represent the disaster Goldwater-type year which has been suggested by some.

After film of McG's speech laden w/humor -- "We Can't Believe We Won the Whole Thing" -- and sorrow -- over RFK -- Chancellor noted that McG had picked up many of RFK's supporters, and now, 4 years after that death, he "almost has" the nomination picking up 370 new delegates Tuesday.

In a 10 minute special at 11:30 abbreviated from planned 30 min, CBS said McG won S. Dakota and seems to be leading elsewhere. With 1% in -- Orange and San Mateo Counties -- McG led 51-36. A CBS survey of 2,000 voters statewide found McG ahead by 5 points, not by as much as the 15-20% margins in polls. And Mankiewicz was predicting a 5-6% win. Still, said Cronkite, almost all elements of the electorate backed McG -- all across the board except for the aging and aerospace workers. (Survey also showed Prop. 9 -- the strong anti-pollution bill -- going under 2-1.)

CBS came on again around 1:20 and went til 3:30. Note several times of Wallace's surprisingly strong New Mex. showing where he'll split delegates 9-9 with McG. CBS predicted McG, after N.Y., will have 1,266 delegates. And tho he won all 4 contests Tues, they weren't the runaways expected.

HHH on CBS/NBC before a happy cheering crowd as he went on for seeming hours -- good filler for nets whose film libraries were obviously low -- thanking virtually everyone who had worked for him in Calif and pointedly directed cameras to his young supporters.

McG on film accepting congrats for record 4-primaries in a day and for birth of grandson. Chances now better than 50-50, said George, recalling Muskie/HHH descriptions of Calif. as the decisive contest. He then emphasized Dem unity and his hopes for a Muskie or HHH endorsement tho he won't push either man.
From Houston, Mike Wallace w/late owls Lucey, Hearnes, Carter and Mrs. Geo. Wallace. She stressed the popular vote of her husband and said it's certainly not all wrapped up for McG. Hearnes reiterated that he's more for Muskie than Muskie. Carter voiced concern at McG having delegates all out of proportion to his popular votes and the Ga. gov. emphasized McG's knowledge of reform rules and hopes for challenges. Several times Carter emphasized that Dem govs were united in wanting to beat RN and he feels the Pres. is vulnerable. He also noted McG did say he'd run on platform of party even if it differs from some of his programs. (Carter suggested McG, Muskie, HHH and Wallace play key role in platform preparation -- especially important that Wallace be so included.) Note by Mike Wallace that only 3 of 25 or 28 Dem govs had McG could beat RN in their states -- Lucey, Anderson (Minn.) and S.D.'s gov. Lucey's only response was that poll wasn't unscientific. The Wisc. gov. emphasized McG is a reasonable man, govs who'd never met him before now know that and he'll get the POWs back.

Mike Wallace noted similarity of Dem govs' inability to agree with position of GOP govs in '64 and '68 -- that's right, said Cronkite, those liberal govs couldn't decide who they wanted and as a "consequence," they got BG in '64 and RN in '68.

Teddy White on CBS said if margin is as close -- 2-5% -- as sample precincts indicate, then HHH will have scored in debates by forcing McG to defend his programs. Schoenacher of CBS said 4-5 pt. margin would hurt McG's momentum. White suggested such a result could be claimed by HHH as his "moral victory." Still, don't mourn for McG, said Teddy, as he was with but 7% in polls a few months ago and this March of McGovern has been one of most astounding factors ever in US politics. Cronkite added that we shouldn't sneeze at a 4-5 point margin.

Schoenacher said a McG aide told them they'd not press for an actual figure in platform for DOD budget cut nor would they push $1,000 income grant. Asked what welfare stand would be, the aide said -- clean up the mess. White sees platform as rescue operation for McG -- get him on more thought-out ground.

White noted concern for RN in 70-20 McG over HHH in initial survey of Calif's youth voters -- there'll be 2-1/2 M this fall and 88% of new registrants are in that group. Schoenacher said there
are 2 general thrusts in McG effort: (1) alienation; (2) a generational changeover -- the old simply must go. Note of McG's many under-30 operatives. As for McG in Miami, White said 3 McG calls -- to Chisholm, Hearnes and Daley -- could wrap it up for McG if he were another man and if "old politics" still existed. Can't do today, tho, said Teddy. He also predicted ill, delegate battle will go to floor and McG can't control insurgents on that issue. Nor can he avoid a stand on busing -- so it's by no means wrapped up, said White who warned if Dems started playing w/racial quotas in delegations on the floor, they'd be dealing w/social dynamite.

NET special (11 p.m. - 3:15 a.m., but not all of it monitored) opened with MacNeil saying that what we may be witnessing is not only winner of Dem nomination, but -- "it seems to be becoming less bizarre everyday" -- a possible new Pres -- i.e. McGovern. He said the "special mood" of electorate-alienation seems to be aiding George.... Vanocur said IIII's Calif. campaign was "one of the more heroic efforts" he'd seen, as IIII had no organization and had to "carry the whole campaign on his back."

McGovern, on NET, said "every indication we've seen" in Calif. "indicates a decisive McGovern victory." He said he'd assured Dem govs he'd listen to their views. He said all the govs "felt much better," and that Gov. Carter had told many people that he was reassured. McGovern also said he won't write off the south, and felt he'd carry some Southern, border, plains, and Western states if he were nominee.

Haynes Johnson of Post on NET pushed his thesis of the alienated citizen w/considerable fervor. Public is anti-institution, anti-party, anti-Establishment. McG is seen as quiet, trustworthy,
honest. He's a quiet man in a time when public wants quiet. John Mitchell can't really believe only Dems. are alienated from each other, said Johnson who also said GOP primaries mean nothing. RN is vulnerable to current spirit of public -- and he's beatable. War, crime, inflation and other problems of '68 which helped elect him still exist. Johnson also said a broad coalition will be needed to win. And he asserted that RN also is hurt by lack of emotional hold on public and connection of minority GOP to big business.

Lucey, Gary Hart and ManKiewicz, all on NET, had full opportunity to tell us honesty, trust, credibility would be the key issue. Hart said country is ready for a man who tells the truth. ManKiewicz said public doesn't want "politicians" and RN is the "quinessential politician."

Frank said campaign's key word will be honest, not radical. ManKiewicz said McG wasn't type to make backroom deals etc but Jess Unruh said those deals would certainly be made by McG but if pulled the usual ticket-balancing act re: VP, he'd be in trouble as he has very little room to backpedal where it's visible. And if he goes to old geo./ideol. way of balancing ticket, he'll destroy a great deal of his credibility, said Unruh. The mustachioed ex-Big Daddy also said McG had obscured and obfuscated issues and it's unlikely he can do this in the 3 national campaign months.

When informed of NBC's projection of McG as winner, NET mistankenly, said McG was heading for 60%. "Fantastic, just fantastic," said Vanocur. Concluding the show, Liz Drew, admittedly pontificating, said we may look back on last few weeks as a truly historic period (mind you, she was referring to the California "debates," not Moscow -- observer). The voters heard the major issues argued out and they made a decisive choice. Vanocur retreated to some mysterious Mt. Olympus to tell us that you just can't use labels anymore. There's something almost mystical -- it's like trying to understand War and Peace as a young man, said Sander -- there's "a mystical force" driving ahead in this society. (Apparently some NET producer concluded that the 4 hours of bright lights had overcome the increasingly intense Vanocur as the show was called to a quick halt to the surprise of the anchormen.)

With 39% counted in California, it's 47-37 for McG. ...In New Jersey, early estimates of 81 of 109 delegates for George were scaled down to 63.
Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM TO: Jeb S. Magruder
FROM: DeVan L. Shumway
SUBJECT: Plans for the Evening of the California Primary - June 6

Due to the lateness of the hour of reporting returns from the California Primary, we plan no extensive manning of the press section this evening. My estimate, based on years of covering the California Primary as a political writer, is it will be midnight or after before we are able to get any substantial returns.

However, we have arranged for Senator Dole to appear on NBC's election analysis program beginning at 11:30 p.m. It is my feeling that at this stage we should utilize that appearance simply to say that the President has won more primaries than anyone else, thus showing that the people support and respect his presidency. Dole will undoubtedly also want to take a couple of minor jabs at Humphrey, but I think we should discourage him from any all out assaults until a determination is made on a strategy. I will speak with him today on this subject.

As a follow-up we hope to issue statements from Dole and Frank Dale early tomorrow. The formulation of those statements will be relatively broadbrush -- again pointing to the victories of the President. I would suggest we use Dole in this case to add a little confusion to the Democrats by pointing to the stop McGovern movement that has developed already among the Southern governors and predict that it will continue to enlarge until it includes other governors, senators and representatives. The Dale statement should, of course, hit the 'grass roots' theme for the President and point to voter satisfaction as evidenced by the latest polls taken in the middle of his Russian trip. (I intend to get together with Cliff Miller on these points today and try to refine them somewhat).

Governor Reagan plans a 10:00 a.m. PDT press conference in California to furnish voters there with an analysis and again to praise the President's popularity. I will be in touch with either Jack Easton or Lyn Nofziger to assist them in developing a line, but again I suggest the Governor indicate only that the McGovern victory is not terribly significant in a state with a traditionally low vote in primaries leading to a choice of more liberal, far out candidates.
The next follow-up on the California Primary will come on Thursday with Mr. Mitchell's press briefing of selected members of the Washington press corps. We are preparing questions and answers for him now and I would suggest that we sit down with him tomorrow to discuss the line he may want to promote.

The final element in this week will be Mr. Mitchell's appearance on Face the Nation on Sunday which gives us a nationwide audience to begin whatever strategy we develop.

cc: Ann Dare
    Cliff Miller
    Powell Moore
    Gordon Strachan
Cal - 30 delay
Most Dec SF + LA + Or Cnty
HH wins in LA + Or,
closing in SF are

\[ 9a - 79.8 \]
\[ \text{McG} 45.8 \]
\[ \text{HH} 38 \]
\[ \text{Wax} 6 \]
\[ \text{Mus} 5 \]
\[ \text{Forty} 2 \]
\[ \text{Mc} 1 \]
\[ \text{Jan} \]

Dent

Rep 90-10

Cal Count completed nest 2 hrs
LA surprised HH ahead 4y
\[ 36,000 \text{ LA cnty} \]
\[ 2,520 \text{ SF cnty} \]

numbers of Cal vote
\[ \text{% of SF vote} + \text{Or Cnty} \]
\[ \text{numbers} \]
\[ \text{% of Turnout} \]
\[ \text{3 Ht Projcs} \]
latest Results.

- 3 net papers:
  - WA areas not in + Abe
  - might change figures

Go: Joan +

Cal Turnout -
N.J. Del situation

nbc -
Cal - an ABC poll: 82% 46 to 38

3:30 a.m. CBS last poll? ABC - no poll

Bent - no 10% of turnout "good"

P -> Bent 945
JUBILANT GEORGE MCGOVERN TOLD HIS CHEERING SUPPORTERS LAST NIGHT THEIR "SPIRIT, EFFORT AND VISION" WILL "CARRY US TO VICTORY IN MIAMI AND THEN TO THE WHITE HOUSE."

"I CAN'T BELIEVE WE WON THE WHOLE THING," MCGOVERN JOKED WHEN HE APPEARED AT THE HOLLYWOOD PALLADIUM SHORTLY BEFORE MIDNIGHT.


HE CALLED ON THE AUDIENCE TO "WORK TOGETHER" TO "PULL THE ENTIRE NATION TOGETHER," AND ADDED, "I AM CONFIDENT THIS FRESH SPIRIT, EFFORT AND VISION WILL CARRY US TO VICTORY IN MIAMI AND THEN TO THE WHITE HOUSE."

MCGOVERN SAID HIS SUCCESS WAS TINGED WITH AN ELEMENT OF "SADNESS," RECALLING THAT SEN. ROBERT KENNEDY WAS ASSASSINATED ON THE NIGHT OF THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY FOUR YEARS AGO.

"...WE REMEMBER THAT NIGHT FOUR YEARS AGO THIS VERY DAY, BUT WHAT WE'LL REMEMBER LONGER ARE THOSE WORDS HE SAID: 'WE CAN CHANGE THE DIRECTION OF THIS COUNTRY IF ONLY WE HAVE THE COURAGE TO STAY INVOLVED'."

ASKED EARLIER ABOUT HIS PROSPECTS, MCGOVERN SAID HE HAD A 50-50 CHANCE OF WINNING THE NOMINATION ON THE FIRST BALLOT IF ONE OF THE OTHER CANDIDATES WOULD ENDORSE HIM. OTHERWISE, MCGOVERN ADDED, HE WOULD HAVE TO WORK ON 200 UNCOMMITTED DELEGATES.

ASKED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF GETTING HUMPHREY'S SUPPORT, MCGOVERN SAID, "HE AND I KNOW HOW TO TALK TO EACH OTHER ON A MAN-TO-MAN BASIS."

"WE HAVE A HIGH REGARD FOR EACH OTHER," HE ADDED. "I THINK MAYBE SOMETHING CAN BE WORKED OUT."

6/7--GE858A
WASHINGTON—REPUBLICANS BELIEVE SEN. GEORGE MCGOVERN WILL WIN
THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION. THEY ALREADY ARE PLANNING TO
ATTACK HIM BY USING THE CRITICISM OF SEN. HUBERT HUMPHREY.

"THE MCGOVERN RECORD AND HIS PARTY PLATFORM WILL STAND IN SHARP
CONTRAST TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF PRESIDENT NIXON," REP. JOHN
RHODES, R-Ariz., CHAIRMAN OF THE GOP PLATFORM COMMITTEE, TOLD A NEWS
CONFERENCE TUESDAY.

"WE CAN LOOK FOR A DEMOCRAT PLATFORM THAT WILL, IN THE WORDS OF MR.
HUMPHREY, 'SCARE THE COUNTRY HALF TO DEATH WITH BILLION DOLLAR
SCHEMES NOBODY WILL ACCEPT',," RHODES SAID.

RHODES' LIBERAL USE OF HUMPHREY STATEMENTS, MADE DURING THE
MINNESOTA SENATOR'S CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY CAMPAIGN AGAINST
MCGOVERN, REFLECTED THE GOP'S ZEST OVER CAMPAIGNING AGAINST A DIVIDED
DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND ITS ANTICIPATION THAT MCGOVERN'S PROPOSALS WILL BE
VULNERABLE TO REPUBLICAN ATTACK.

RHODES DISMISSED THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM COMMITTEE'S REGIONAL
HEARINGS AS A "TRAVELING CIRCUS" AND SAID REPUBLICANS WERE INSTEAD
POLLING MORE THAN 60,000 AMERICANS BY MAIL ON ISSUES RANGING FROM
BUSING TO VIETNAM AND TAX REFORM.

HE SAID THE 108-MEMBER REPUBLICAN PLATFORM COMMITTEE WOULD STUDY
THE RETURNS, THEN CONVENE IN MIAMI BEACH A WEEK BEFORE THE GOP
NATIONAL CONVENTION BEGINS AUG. 21. RHODES SAID THE COMMITTEE WOULD
HEAR TESTIMONY FROM "THE LARGER ORGANIZATIONS AND THOSE OF CABINET
RANK IN THE ADMINISTRATION" ON AUG. 14, 15 AND 16.

6/7-GE910A
LOS ANGELES--GEORGE MCGOVERN TODAY BEAT HUBERT HUMPHREY IN THE CRUCIAL CALIFORNIA PRIMARY--AND SWEPT PRIMARIES IN THREE OTHER STATES--TO MOVE FAR OUT IN FRONT AS THE CANDIDATE TO BEAT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

BUT MCGOVERN'S MARGIN OF VICTORY IN CALIFORNIA, LESS THAN HALF THE 23 PER CENT PROJECTED BY POLLS, MAY NOT HAVE BEEN BIG ENOUGH TO LAUNCH A BANDWAGON BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MCGOVERN'S TOTAL OF DELEGATE VOTES CLIMBED TO 926.75, WITH 271 FROM CALIFORNIA; AT LEAST 59 AND POSSIBLY MORE FROM NEW JERSEY; 17 FROM HIS HOME STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA, AND 10 FROM NEW MEXICO.

MCGOVERN SAID THE QUARTET OF VICTORIES "SET THE STAGE FOR A VICTORY IN MIAMI BEACH" BUT HUMPHREY REFUSED TO GIVE UP.

UNDAUNTED BY HIS LOS IN CALIFORNIA, BEING SHUT OUT IN NEW MEXICO, AND PICKING UP ONLY 4 DELEGATES (HE IS ALSO COUNTING ON 17 UNCOMMITTED) IN NEW JERSEY, HUMPHREY SAID, "I AM NOT DISHEARTENED, I AM NOT DISCOURAGED, I AM GOING TO MIAMI AND WE ARE GOING TO GET THIS NOMINATION."

GEORGE WALLACE PULLED A STARTLING UPSET IN NEW MEXICO AND WAS RUNNING THIRD IN CALIFORNIA WITH A WRITE-IN EFFORT.

WALLACE RAN A CLOSE SECOND TO MCGOVERN IN NEW MEXICO, PUSHED HUMPHREY INTO THIRD AND PICKED UP EIGHT UNEXPECTED DELEGATES.

PRESIDENT NIXON CLINCHED A FIRST BALLOT NOMINATION BY WINNING ALL FOUR PRIMARIES TO CONTINUE HIS UNDEFEATED SKEIN. HE ADDED 163 DELEGATE VOTES TO GIVE HIM A TOTAL OF 818. IT TAKES 674 FOR THE NOMINATION.

A GLANCE AT THE FOUR RACES:

CALIFORNIA--MCGOVERN WON BY CARRYING ALL BUT EIGHT OF THE STATE'S 58 COUNTIES, BUT HUMPHREY POLLED BIG MAJORITIES IN TWO OF THE STATE'S MOST POPULOUS COUNTIES, LOS ANGELES AND ORANGE.

NEW JERSEY--MCGOVERN EDGED HUMPHREY FOR THE SEVEN AT-LARGE DELEGATES IN THE ONLY STATEWIDE RACE BUT CASHED IN ON ORGANIZATION TO SCORE HEAVILY IN CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS. HE PICKED UP 59 DELEGATES AND HIS MANAGERS CLAIMED THE TOTAL WOULD GO TO 80.

NEW MEXICO--MCGOVERN, WITH 96 PER CENT OF THE PRECINCTS REPORTED, EDGED WALLACE 33 PER CENT TO 29 PER CENT. MCGOVERN TOOK 10 DELEGATES AND WALLACE 8.

SOUTH DAKOTA--MCGOVERN NOT CHALLENGED.

IN CALIFORNIA, WITH 64 PER CENT OF THE PRECINCTS REPORTING, MCGOVERN HAD 46 PER CENT; HUMPHREY, 38 PER CENT; YORTY, 1 PER CENT; MUSKIE 2 PER CENT, JACKSON 1 PER CENT; CHISHOLM, 5 PER CENT; LINDSAY 1 PER CENT; MCCARTHY 1 PER CENT; AND WALLACE 5 PER CENT.

6-7--PA 9474ED
I

UPI-8

(HUMPHREY)

BEVERLY HILLS--SEN. HUBERT HUMPHREY STILL IS CONFIDENT HE WILL WIN THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION AT MIAMI.

"I AM NOT DISHEARTENED, I AM NOT DISCOURAGED," HE TOLD A TV AUDIENCE LAST NIGHT AT A TIME WHEN HE TRAILLED GEORGE MCGOVERN IN THE EARLY RETURNS FROM THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY ELECTION.

"I AM GOING TO MIAMI AND WE ARE GOING TO GET THIS NOMINATION. WHILE THIS IS A GREAT PRIMARY, THE IMPORTANT DECISION WILL BE MADE IN MIAMI."

HUMPHREY FLEW TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE AT HOUSTON LATE LAST NIGHT BEFORE FINAL RETURNS WERE TABULATED AND WAS SCHEDULED TO HOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE THIS MORNING TO DISCUSS THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY.

BEFORE HE LEFT, HE TOLD A TV INTERVIEWER:

"AS I SAID BEFORE, NO MATTER WHAT HAPPENED IN CALIFORNIA, I WOULD NOT DROP OUT. I'M GOING TO THE GOVERNORS' MEETING AND ASK THEM, 'WHO CAN DO THE BEST JOB AGAINST RICHARD NIXON?'"

"AND I'LL SAY THAT I CAN," HE ADDED.

IN A TELEPHONE CALL TO HIS SUPPORTERS IN NEW JERSEY, WHERE HIS DELEGATES CAME IN SECOND TO THOSE PLEDGED TO MCGOVERN, HUMPHREY SAID HE FELT HE DID PRETTY WELL THERE.

"DON'T BE SURPRISED IF WE SURPRISE A LOT OF PEOPLE," HE SAID IN THE TELEPHONE CALL. "I FEEL THAT WE WILL DO MUCH BETTER THAN THE PUNDITS HAVE INDICATED. THIS THING IS WIDE OPEN YET. NO ONE HAS LOCKED IT UP."

6/7--GE902A

UPI-9

(NIXON)

THURMONT, MD.--PRESIDENT NIXON WORKED IN SECLUSION AT HIS CAMP DAVID MOUNTAIN RETREAT TODAY, GIVING RISE TO SPECULATION HE MIGHT BE PREPARING FOR HIS FIRST NEWS CONFERENCE IN MORE THAN 10 WEEKS.

NIXON FLEW TO CAMP DAVID BY HELICOPTER TUESDAY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE, ACCOMPANYING HIM WAS H. R. Haldeman, WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF, WHO CARRIED A BULGING BRIEFCASE. AN AIDE SAID NIXON WOULD BE "CONCENTRATING ON DOMESTIC MATTERS."

LOS ANGELES--PRESIDENT NIXON OFFICIALlY WON ENOUGH DELEGATE VOTES IN TUESDAY'S PRIMARIES TO ENSURE RENOMINATION AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN AUGUST.

HIS CALIFORNIA VICTORY OVER REP. JOHN ASHBROOK GAVE NIXON 96 DELEGATES, SWELLING HIS TOTAL TO 729. IT TAKES 674 TO WIN THE NOMINATION.

NIXON ALSO WON 14 DELEGATES WITHOUT CHALLENGE IN SOUTH DAKOTA AND TOOK 13 OF THE 14 DELEGATES ELECTED IN NEW MEXICO. THE 14TH WENT TO REP. PAUL MCCLOSKEY.

McCLOSKEY'S NEW MEXICO DELEGATE WAS HIS FIRST. ASHBROOK HASN'T WON ANY.

6/7--GE905A
CALIFORNIA TABS

LOS ANGELES (UPI)--HERE ARE THE LATEST CALIFORNIA PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY VOTE TABULATIONS:

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT
PRECINCTS REPORTED: 96 PCT.

MCGOVERN 876,343 47 PCT.
HUMPHREY 705,864 38 PCT.
WALLACE 100,194 5 PCT.
CHISHOLM 80,235 4 PCT.
MUSKIE 43,181 2 PCT.
YORTY 24,673 1 PCT.
MCCARTHY 19,923 1 PCT.
JACKSON 16,859 1 PCT.
LINDSAY 15,887 1 PCT.

(WINNER TAKES ALL 271 DELEGATES.)

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT
PRECINCTS REPORTED: 96 PCT.

NIXON 1,102,038 90 PCT.
ASHBROOK 119,191 10 PCT.

UPI 06-07 06:03 AED

CORRECTION DAY LD CALIF LOS ANGELES 070A 2ND PGH BONG: DISMISSED AS, READ IT XXX MCGOVERN EMERGED FROM VICTORIES (INSERTING FROM)

UPI--NEW YORK

UPI 06-07 06:04 AED
LOS ANGELES (UPI)--HERE ARE THE LATEST CALIFORNIA PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY VOTE TABULATIONS:

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 73 PCT.

MCGOVERN L 141,394 46 PCT.
HUMPHREY 949,275 38 PCT.
WALLACE 116,565 5 PCT.
CHISHOLMN 10,182 5 PCT.
MUSKIE 54,699 2 PCT.
YORTY 33,356 1 PCT.
MCCARTHY 25,474 1 PCT.
JACKSON 21,036 1 PCT.
LINDSAY 29,328 1 PCT.

(WINNER TAKES ALL 571 DELEGATES.)

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT

PRECINCTS REPORTED: 70 PCT.

NIXON 1,384,329 90 PCT.
ASHBROOK 151,461 10 PCT.

UPI 06-07 07:30 AED
CALIF 6-7
1ST DAY LD 370A
BY STEVE GERSTEL

LOS ANGELES (UPI)--GEORGE S. MCGOVERN TODAY BEAT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY IN THE CRUCIAL CALIFORNIA PRIMARY--AND SWEP'T PRIMARIES IN THREE OTHER STATES--TO MOVE FAR OUT IN FRONT AS THE CANDIDATE TO BEAT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

BUT MCGOVERN'S MARGIN OF VICTORY IN CALIFORNIA, LESS THAN HALF THE 20 PER CENT PROJECTED BY POLLS, MAY NOT HAVE BEEN BIG ENOUGH TO LAUNCH A BANDWAGON BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MCGOVERN'S TOTAL OF DELEGATE VOTES CLIMBED TO 926.75, WITH 271 FROM CALIFORNIA; AT LEAST 59 AND POSSIBLY MORE FROM NEW JERSEY; 17 FROM HIS HOME STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA, AND 10 FROM NEW MEXICO.

MCGOVERN SAID THE QUARTET OF VICTORIES "SET THE STAGE FOR A VICTORY IN MIAMI BEACH" BUT HUMPHREY REFUSED TO GIVE UP.

UNDAUNTED BY HIS LOSS IN CALIFORNIA, BEING SHUT OUT IN NEW MEXICO, AND PICKING UP ONLY 4 DELEGATES (HE IS ALSO COUNTING ON 17 UNCOMMITTED) IN NEW JERSEY, HUMPHREY SAID, "I AM NOT DISHEARTENED, I AM NOT DISCOURAGED, I AM GOING TO MIAMI AND WE ARE GOING TO GET THIS NOMINATION."

BUT AT 61, HUMPHREY'S 12-YEAR QUEST FOR THE WHITE HOUSE MAY HAVE ENDED, ALTHOUGH HE NOW STANDS SECOND IN DELEGATE VOTES WITH 311.35, HE HAD BANKED HEAVILY ON PICKING UP MOMENTUM FROM A WIN IN CALIFORNIA.

GOV. GEORGE C. WALLACE, HOSPITALIZED WITH PARTIAL PARALYSIS FROM A WOULD-BE ASSASSIN'S BULLET AND UNAWARE OF THE RESULTS, PULLED A STARTLING UPSET IN NEW MEXICO AND WAS RUNNING THIRD IN CALIFORNIA WITH A WRITE-IN EFFORT.

ALTHOUGH UNABLE TO CAMPAIGN, WALLACE RAN A CLOSE SECOND TO MCGOVERN IN NEW MEXICO, PUSHED HUMPHREY INTO THIRD AND PICKED UP EIGHT UNEXPECTED DELEGATES.

PRESIDENT NIXON CLINCHED A FIRST BALLOT NOMINATION BY WINNING ALL FOUR PRIMARIES TO CONTINUE HIS UNDEFEATED SKEIN. HE ADDED 163 DELEGATE VOTES TO GIVE HIM A TOTAL OF 818. IT TAKES 614 FOR THE NOMINATION.

A GLANCE AT THE FOUR RACES:

CALIFORNIA--MCGOVERN WON BY CARRYING ALL BUT EIGHT OF THE STATE'S 58 COUNTIES, BUT HUMPHREY POLLED BIG MAJORITIES IN TWO OF THE STATE'S MOST POPULOUS COUNTIES, LOS ANGELES AND ORANGE. NONSTOP CAMPAIGNING BY HUMPHREY--AND POSSIBLY THE THREE DEBATES--CREATED A LAST-WEEK SURGE FOR HUMPHREY.

NEW JERSEY--MCGOVERN EDGED HUMPHREY FOR THE SEVEN AT-LARGE DELEGATES IN THE ONLY STATEWIDE RACE BUT CASHED IN ON ORGANIZATION TO SCORE HEAVILY IN CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS. HE PICKED UP 59 DELEGATES AND HIS MANAGERS CLAIMED THE TOTAL WOULD GO TO 80.

NEW MEXICO--MCGOVERN, WITH 96 PER CENT OF THE PRECINCTS REPORTED, EDGED WALLACE 33 PER CENT TO 29 PER CENT. MCGOVERN TOOK 10 DELEGATES AND WALLACE 8.

SOUTH DAKOTA--MCGOVERN WAS NOT CHALLENGED.

IN CALIFORNIA, WITH 64 PER CENT OF THE PRECINCTS REPORTING, MCGOVERN HAD 46 PER CENT; HUMPHREY, 38 PER CENT; YORTY, 1 PER CENT; MUSKIE 2 PER CENT; JACKSON 1 PER CENT; CHISHOLM, 5 PER CENT; LINDSAY 1 PER CENT; MCGOVERN, CELEBRATING

UPI 06-37 PGH 370A: MCGOVERN, CELEBRATING
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHARLES COLSON

The outcome as of 9:00 a.m. this morning in California with 78% of the vote in -- with McGovern at 45% and Humphrey at 38% -- is even better from our standpoint than the early vote totals we discussed last evening. McGovern winning is good for us, but he made no where near the showing that was expected. This should cut his momentum considerably. In fact, it is the best of all outcomes because he will not create from this the invincible image that he was gaining in recent days in the media.

Your showing in California, I think, is extremely good and better than I personally had expected it to be -- also better than most of the commentators expected it to be.

The New Mexico results will further retard the momentum of McGovern. No candidates visited the state except for McGovern who went there once and yet he barely squeaks out a win over Wallace.

In New Jersey, which was strictly a delegate fight, he did as he has done in all delegate fights this year, had the superior organization to win and he got just about the predicted total (actually slightly less according to the 9:00 a.m. figures -- 70 delegates).

In conclusion, it was in my opinion, at least, a good day for us.
O'Neil - 739 mtg:

Don't reseal after I left for CO + read it w/P at latest date.

- Comments on hair's testimony - pass
  - Klein panel vote at 40 +
  - Follie at 50
  - Offer of 80% matching
    - Environ in $200
  - Publ. Pldg - unconst proc
    - passed 1/24

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<tr>
<td>Meg</td>
<td>323</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wee</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Me</td>
<td>162</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jae</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>Carl</td>
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<td>Faunt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>1/2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Best guess 1300; CBS 1266
UNDATED—PRIMARIES ROUNDUP (2)

He captured a solid majority of the 109 New Jersey delegates, swept the 17 of his native South Dakota without opposition and edged Wallace in a tight New Mexico race that gave McGovern 10 delegates and Wallace eight.

California, however, was the big prize. Both McGovern and Humphrey had predicted the winner would capture the presidential nomination though Humphrey modified that in recent days as polls showed him far behind in the state. The California vote count was delayed when a federal judge in San Francisco ordered polls kept open an extra three hours to handle delays caused by an unusually long local ballot. Secretary of State Edmund G. Brown Jr. then ordered the statewide tally held up until San Francisco polls/closed.

A few votes were counted before Brown’s order was received, mainly in the north where McGovern was running well, and then the tally stood still for more than two hours, until after 2 A.M. EDT.

As the tally started to mount, McGovern told reporters, “I realize there’s nothing certain in politics, but I think these four victories probably set the stage for my victory in Miami Beach.”

He said he planned to talk with Humphrey in the next few days, adding, “He and I know how to talk to each other on a man-to-man basis. We have a high regard for each other and I think something can be worked out.”

JC840AED JUNE 7
GROUNDED SUPPORTERS AT THE BALLOT BOX

DESMOND CHILDRESS, AND SAYS: "I THINK ALL OF US

SHOULD BE UNITED ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

IT WAS THE LATE FREDRICK ING
AND HIS VISION OF A

NEW WAY OF LIFE TO THE NEW COUNCILORS AND TO THE

CITIZENS.

SAY IS CLEAR PROPOSITION WILL CALL

THE CALL FOR PREDICTION CALL: "IT ENCOMIUM,

IT LAUERANCE WILL STAY WITH IT, GIVE IT THE

CALL."

CHILDRESS: "IT'S THE PREDICTION IS PRECISELY--I SEE

AND CALL THE CALL, BUT AS WELL AS IT LIFTS THE

CALL, IT WILL CALL FOR AND WE'LL COMPLY WITH IT,"

CHILDRESS, CALIF., TO MOW TODAY WITH JUDICIAL

AND REMEMBER WHAT I'VE SAID.

IT WAS A 2-1 VICTORY OVER HIS CONGRESS.

III, IN THE RACE FOR VILLAerinU, TO RE-

BECOME ONE OF THE I4 SOP RELATIVE, TO REP.

DESMOND CHILDRESS, CALIFORNIA, WHO LONG AND

THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE AND PRONOUNCED TO AS WINNING A

BETTER THE STATE FOR REPUBLICANS TO THE HOUSE.

CHILDRESS WILL APPLY FOR THE LAST OF THE LONG PRIMARY SEASON

AND THE LONG PRIMARY TWO WEEKS FROM NOW.

GRAHAME JUNE 7

GROUNDED SUPPORTERS (12)

GROUNDED SUPPORTERS TODAY, THE ADJUSTER CORPORATION.

ADJUSTER CORPORATION TODAY, IN NEW MEXICO, GATHERING SUPPORT AT

THE BALLOT BOX, RECROTTED TO THE HINT AND WITH THE ADJUSTER HINT OF

THE NEW YORKER WHO CALLED FOR PROFESSIONAL

GROUNDED SUPPORTERS TODAY, ONE TO DEFEND THE JOB FOR THE

MAJOR CORETTA, RECORD ALONG THE HINT FOR THE

GROUNDED SUPPORTERS TODAY, RECORD AND YOUR CASE

GROUNDED SUPPORTERS TODAY, WITH 2% PER CENT, PERCENT

ADJUSTER CORPORATION, DESPITE THE PROTESTS OF NOW, CALM, KIND

ADJUSTER CORPORATION TODAY, JOSEPH P. KENNEDY, JUNIOR, JUNIOR


GROUNDED SUPPORTERS TODAY, THE ADJUSTER CORPORATION.

GROUNDED SUPPORTERS TODAY, THE ADJUSTER CORPORATION, TODAY, THE ADJUSTER CORPORATION.

GROUNDED SUPPORTERS TODAY, JOSEPH P. KENNEDY, JUNIOR, JUNIOR

GROUNDED SUPPORTERS TODAY, THE ADJUSTER CORPORATION.
TRENTON--GEORGE MCGOVERN TUESDAY WON THE MAJORITY OF NEW JERSEY'S 109 DELEGATES TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION FROM SEN. HUBERT HUMPHREY, WHO WAS BACKED BY SCANDAL-ROCKED PARTY REGULARS.

INCOMPLETE RETURNS GAVE MCGOVERN 61 DELEGATES, AND ALL BUT ASSURED HIM AN ADDITIONAL 7 STATEWIDE AT-LARGE DELEGATES. HUMPHREY WON 11 DELEGATES, WITH ANOTHER 17 UNCOMMITTED BUT LEANING TOWARD HIM.

DANIEL MORGAN, DIRECTOR OF THE MCGOVERN FORCES IN THE STATE, PREDICTED THAT MCGOVERN WILL HAVE ABOUT 80 DELEGATES FROM THE EIGHTH LARGEST BLOCK AT THE CONVENTION.

REP. CORNELIUS GALLAGHER, INDICTED ON TAX EVASION AND PERJURY CHARGES, WAS BEATEN BY A 4-1 MARGIN BY REP. DOMINICK DANIELS IN THEIR DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY. THEIR DISTRICTS WERE MERGED INTO ONE BY REDISTRICTING.

IN THE SENATORIAL RACE, FORMER REP. PAUL KREBS EASILY DEFEATED THREE OTHERS FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RACE. HE WILL RUN AGAINST SEN. CLIFFORD CASE, WHO HANDYLY BEAT A VIETNAM WAR HERO OPPOSING CASE'S ANTIWAR STANCE.

6/7--GE959A

ALBUQUERQUE--GEORGE MCGOVERN LED THE POPULAR VOTE IN NEW MEXICO'S FIRST PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY TUESDAY, BUT A SURPRISING TURNOUT FOR GEORGE WALLACE GOT HIM UNEXPECTED DELEGATE STRENGTH.

MCGOVERN GOT 10 DELEGATES AND WALLACE 8. HUBERT HUMPHREY CAME IN THIRD IN THE SIX-MAN FIELD AND GOT NO DELEGATES.

PRESIDENT NIXON EASILY WON 13 REPUBLICAN DELEGATES WITH 89 PER CENT OF THE VOTE. BUT REP. PAUL MCCLOSKEY OF CALIFORNIA, WHO DROPPED OUT OF THE RACE IN MARCH, WON ONE DELEGATE TO THE GOP NATIONAL CONVENTION -- HIS FIRST OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

WITH 95 PER CENT OF THE VOTE COUNTED, MCGOVERN HAD 33 PER CENT, WALLACE 29 PER CENT AND HUMPHREY 26 PER CENT. EDMUND MUSKIE POLLED 5 PER CENT, HENRY JACKSON 3 PER CENT AND SHIRLEY CHISHOLM 2 PER CENT.

6/7--GE1002A
A telephone poll was conducted with 450 Democrats in Los Angeles and Orange County from May 12-26, 1972 with the following results:

- McGovern: 34%
- Humphrey: 24%
- Muskie: 9%
- Jackson: 4%
- Yorty: 3%
- Chisholm: 1%
- Undecided: 25%

Another poll conducted in Los Angeles and Orange County from April 14-May 26, 1972 of 700 Republicans produced the following results:

- Nixon: 75%
- Ashbrook: 8%
- Undecided: 17%
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

May 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT: Minnesota Poll

Attached are some results from the last statewide poll the Republican party had done in Minnesota. Dave Krogseng gave them to me.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY
**Trial Results**

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nixon Approval</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixon Disapproval</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Opinion</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is his opinion that we have no chance in Minnesota against Humphrey, but against McGovern it would be possible to carry the state if the President was running reasonably strong nationally. He points out that the DFL has a severe internal split exemplified by the fact that Hubert Humphrey only got 51% of the delegates.

While this is a fairly optimistic picture for Minnesota, I doubt that we have much chance to carry Minnesota and would not recommend moving it on our list of priority states.
MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER

SUBJECT: California Event

It appears that the previously proposed country and western event for Bakersfield is not feasible, according to Jon Foust. We therefore propose another event, this one in Orange County, California.

On Sunday afternoon, June 4, 1972 the Orange County GOP Central Committee is sponsoring "Team '72" at the Anaheim Convention Hall. They have sold 1,500 tickets, and each adult is asked to bring "a youth". Several sports figures will be on hand to encourage younger people to take an active part in the Republican Party.

Vic Andrews, the Orange County Nixon Chairman, has been in contact with Tom Rogers, the Orange County GOP Chairman regarding the possibility of "co-sponsoring" this event. We would arrange to have Secretary Volpe appear at "Team 72" as the principal speaker, decorate the Hall with Nixon posters, and help sell additional tickets. The tickets defray the costs of the Hall, hot dogs, beer, etc.—this is not a fundraiser.

Bob Mardian, Lyn Nofziger and Jeb Magruder agree that this is a good event. Our tour office would have responsibility for Secretary Volpe's appearance, arrange a press conference at the site, and ensuring that the two committees work together.

With your approval, we will proceed with the planning necessary for this event in Anaheim, California on June 4.

APPROVE ________ DISAPPROVE ________ COMMENT ________
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 5/11

TO: H.R. Haldeman
FROM: Gordon Strachan

This will be sent to John Mitchell for decision.
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Vietnam Poll

Attached are the results of a survey I did for a private client on Vietnam. I will be going over it with him this weekend. He may be willing to fund some similar studies of this nature if we felt it would be helpful.

I have promised this individual that we would not use this data other than for our own internal use without clearing it with him first.
National
May 12-14, 1972
1,019 Interviews

VIETNAM
SURVEY

Registered voters: **80%**
Will register: **12**
Will not register: **8**

Most important problem facing the country:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam/War</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflation/Cost of Living/Economy</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment/jobs</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Racial problems</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollution/ecoology/environment</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General unrest/protests/demonstrations</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not reported</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feel things in country generally going in the right direction today or feel pretty seriously gotten off on wrong track:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right direction</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrong track</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Approve/Disapprove way Nixon handling job as President:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approval</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approve</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>11%</td>
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Why? (Approve):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>War/Vietnam</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Something else</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>2%</td>
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Why? (Disapprove):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>War/Vietnam</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Something else</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Approve/Disapprove way the President is handling the Vietnam situation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approval</th>
<th>55%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See or listen to the President's speech on Vietnam situation last Monday night:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>58%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personally support or oppose President's decision to mine Haiphong and other North Vietnamese harbors?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Support</th>
<th>57%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>20%</td>
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</table>

Think that the President's offer withdraw all American troops from Vietnam within four months of an internationally supervised cease fire and after all U.S. prisoners of war are released is fair and reasonable or should we make further offer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fair and reasonable</th>
<th>77%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Further offer made</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several courses of action our government might follow in dealing with problem -- which one most favor:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Withdraw all troops regardless of N. Vietnamese actions</th>
<th>10%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Withdraw all troops only after our prisoners of war have been released</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continue as we are now</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use whatever air and naval power needed to stop the North Vietnamese offensive</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use whatever air and naval power is necessary including more U.S. troops to stop offensive</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mining of the North Vietnamese harbors and bombing will speed up end of war, delay end of war or not make any difference:

- Speed up end of war: 25%
- Delay end of war: 16%
- Not make any difference: 24%
- No opinion: 15%

Upset you or doesn't matter if Russians cancelled summit meeting:

- Upset: 41%
- No difference: 47%
- No opinion: 12%

Personally think war will or will not be over six months from now:

- Will: 19%
- Will not be over: 68%
- No opinion: 13%

Approve/Disapprove of statements and responses about Vietnam made by Democratic candidates for Presidency:

- Approve: 20%
- Disapprove: 44%
- No opinion: 36%

Under current circumstances in Vietnam - all public officials should or should not support the President:

- Should: 74%
- Should not: 17%
- No opinion: 9%

Agree/Disagree with people who have publicly demonstrated opposition to President's decision to mine harbors:

- Agree: 22%
- Disagree: 69%
- No opinion: 9%

Those demonstrating against the President's actions in Vietnam should/should not be allowed to continue:

- Should: 42%
- Should not: 40%
- No opinion: 9%
Vietnam continued:

Trial Heats:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wallace</td>
<td>12%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>15%</td>
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Past Voting:

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<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Straight Democratic</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Democratic</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few more Democrats than</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About equally for both parties</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few more Republicans than</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Republican</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straight Republican</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

National
May 12-14, 1972
1,019 Interviews
Market Opinion Research Primary Day poll for Detroit News  May 16, 1972
In deciding who to vote for, which single issue was most important to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>All Democratic Primary voters</th>
<th>All Republican Primary voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busing of school children</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General unrest in the country</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest against things as they are</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In deciding who to vote for, which single issue was most important to you?

Nixon Voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>39 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General unrest in the country</td>
<td>11 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflation</td>
<td>9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busing</td>
<td>7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National defense</td>
<td>4 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**In deciding who to vote for, which single issue was most important to you?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Busing</td>
<td>35 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General unrest in the country</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest against things as they are</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflation</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In deciding who to vote for, which single issue was most important to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General unrest in the country</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest against things as they are</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busing</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflation</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In deciding who to vote for, which single issue was most important to you?

Humphrey Voters

Vietnam 22%
General unrest in the country 9
Inflation 9
Taxes 9
Race problems 8
Unemployment 6
Busing 5
Comments on importance of issues

Democratic primary

McGovern is a one issue candidate in the sense that the majority of his supporters (55%) name Vietnam as the issue most important to them. No other issue gets large mention by McGovern voters. Next is general unrest in the country 8%.

Wallace is more than a one issue candidate. While busing is the prime concern to 35% of those who voted for him, his supporters name a variety of other issues as well: Vietnam 11%, general unrest in the country 11%, crime 10%, taxes 8%, inflation 6% and protest against things as they are 6%. Humphrey voters show 22% mention of Vietnam as the most important issue, but spread their next mentions evenly over general unrest, taxes, and inflation at about 9% mention each.

Republican primary

Nixon voters cite Vietnam as the most important issue (39%), followed by general unrest at the 11% mention level and inflation at 9%, busing 7%, and taxes 6%.

Issues as influencers of vote

Thus as issues, Vietnam concern draws voters toward McGovern while busing and concern about general unrest pull for Wallace. Sixty-nine percent of the Democratic primary voters cite consider Vietnam a most important
issue in chasing a candidate, chose McGovern. Half of the voters who consider general unrest most important, pick Wallace and 82% of those whose prime concern is busing pick him.

Overall, a larger percentage of Republican primary voters name Vietnam as their number one issue than do Democratic primary voters (39% among the Republican voters compared to 28% among the Democratic ones). It appears, however, that those most concerned with busing voted in the Democratic primary. The busing issue tops the list for 19% of Democratic primary voters but for only 6% of Republican primary voters. This bears out pre-election speculation that busing concerned Republicans would cast crossover votes.
Who would be your second choice as a presidential candidate this year?

**Nixon Voters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>33 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskie</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCloskey</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other or no second choice</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100 %

Base: 123
Who would be your second choice as a presidential candidate this year?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wallace Voters</th>
<th>McGovern Voters</th>
<th>Humphrey Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskie</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wallace</td>
<td>Wallace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other or no second choice</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100 % 100 % 100 %

Base 194 133 64
In the last general election in which you voted, which answer on this card (HAND POLITICAL CARD) best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

(Republican Primary Voters)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core Republicans</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticket Splitters</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Core Democrats</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never voted before</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Base: 129
In the last general election in which you voted, which answer on this card (HAND POLITICAL CARD) best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

### Cross Over Effect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Vote for all Democratic Candidates</th>
<th>Wallace Vote</th>
<th>McGovern Vote</th>
<th>Humphrey Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core Democrats</td>
<td>45 %</td>
<td>36 %</td>
<td>48 %</td>
<td>67 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticket Splitters</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Core Republicans</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never voted before</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### How Primary Voters Voted By Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Wallace</th>
<th>McGovern</th>
<th>Humphrey</th>
<th>Other Candidates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 24</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>41 %</td>
<td>37 %</td>
<td>8 %</td>
<td>14 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>38 %</td>
<td>35 %</td>
<td>10 %</td>
<td>17 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>40 %</td>
<td>33 %</td>
<td>19 %</td>
<td>8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>50 %</td>
<td>26 %</td>
<td>15 %</td>
<td>9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 59</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>51 %</td>
<td>19 %</td>
<td>14 %</td>
<td>16 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and over</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>33 %</td>
<td>29 %</td>
<td>27 %</td>
<td>11 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## City/Suburban/Outstate Split of Voters for Democratic candidates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wallace Voters</th>
<th>McGovern Voters</th>
<th>Humphrey Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City of Detroit</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburban Detroit</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outstate</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100% 100% 100%
Democratic candidate support by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wallace Voters</th>
<th>McGovern Voters</th>
<th>Humphrey Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wallace and Humphrey draw their support more from males than females. McGovern, however, has a larger proportion of women voters.

Democratic candidate support by race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wallace Voters</th>
<th>McGovern Voters</th>
<th>Humphrey Voters</th>
<th>Chisholm Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/not stated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Young (Age 18-24) Wallace Voter

34 voters out of 106
in age group = 32%

In deciding whom to vote for in this presidential primary, which single issue was most important to you?

- Busing: 29%
- Vietnam: 26%
- General unrest: 12%
- Crime: 9%
- Inflation: 6%
- Taxes: 6%

Who would be your second choice as a Presidential candidate this year?

- McGovern: 47%
- Nixon: 35%
- Humphrey: 9%
- Muskie: 6%

What is the occupation of the head of your household (note that for this age group head of household could be self, spouse, or parent):

- Skilled craftsmen/farmers: 26%
- Operatives/kindred workers (unskilled): 15%
- Officials/business owners: 15%
- Professional/technical: 12%
- Student: 9%
- Clerical/sales: 6%
- Service workers/laborers: 6%
- Housewife: 3%
- No answer: 6%
The Young (Age 18-24) McGovern Voter

Base:
31 voters out of 106
in age group = 29%

In deciding whom to vote for in this presidential primary, which single issue was most important to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busing</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other</td>
<td>3% or less</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Who would be your second choice as a Presidential candidate this year?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskie</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisholm</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is the occupation of the head of your household (note that for this age group head of household could be self, spouse, or parent)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional/technical</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers/laborers</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled craftsmen/foremen</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/sales</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials/business owners</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives/Kindred workers (unskilled)</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Young (Age 18-24) Nixon Voter

Base: 22 voters out of 106 in age group = 21%

In deciding whom to vote for in this presidential primary, which single issue was most important to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflation</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busing</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Who would be your second choice as a Presidential candidate this year?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskie</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCloskey</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is the occupation of the head of your household? (Note that for this age group head of household could be self, spouse, or parent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/sales</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials/business owners</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled craftsmen/foremen</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/technical</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives/kindred</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers/laborers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm owners/agents</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MEMORANDUM

May 12, 1972
10:00 a.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER AND FREDERIC V. MALEK

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Since the last report was issued on Wednesday afternoon, 1701 has undertaken the following activities with emphasis on generating telegrams and letters to a list of nineteen Senators provided by Bill Timmons.

Additionally, various campaign divisions have now undertaken efforts to execute the approved portions of the 38-point Chapin laundry list. What is accomplished in this area will be reported below and also in another report next week.

1. Political. Our political coordinators concentrated on generating letters and wires to the 19 Senators through the Nixon organizations in the states represented by those Senators.

   The state Nixon operations are organized in such a way as to be an excellent vehicle for getting to the Senators and the results are attached at Tab A.


   a. The Press section activated its press secretaries and others behind the Hill operation, continued its audio/video distributions (eight separate cuts), placed people on talk shows, scheduled press conferences and distributed speech inserts to surrogates. Ted Williams' endorsement was sent in a press release to 1300 sports editors and the Press office involved Hill sports buffs (Representatives Ford, Mathias, and Kemp) in publicizing the Williams statement. See Tab B for details.

   b. Our advertising staff contacted over 200 leaders in the ad business to generate wires and letters. Positive respondents (70%) were re-called to make certain telegraph and letter campaigns were organized as promised.
Ad copy and lay outs were put together in case the decision is made to place advertising. Bumperstickers (e.g., "Support the President for Peace") are being developed to take the place of the standard campaign bumpersticker for the next few weeks.

c. Betty Nolan hit 4 of the Senators with 195 letters. In addition, early yesterday morning she had over 70 letters sent to The New York Times protesting its May 10 editorial. (All other staffers were instructed at the May 11 staff meeting to write similar letters to The Times).

d. The scheduling and tour offices concentrated on 7 of the Senators. It is thought that in excess of 500 letters and/or telegrams were generated by the scheduling apparatus.

e. Our White House/Administration wives program contacted 292 more people on Wednesday bringing the total contacted to 1,094. More than 60 wives participated in Ken Rietz' vigil.

3. The Citizens/Voting Bloc Divisions concentrated their efforts on generating telegrams and letters to key Senators; organizing the vigil on the Capitol steps; and obtaining endorsements.

a. Telegrams and Letters. All of the Citizens and Voting Bloc Directors worked on generating telegrams and letters to the key Senators. Over 3,000 calls were made, many by the Youth Division with a resulting flood of telegrams.

b. Capitol Hill Vigil. A coordinated effort of several Citizens/Voting Bloc Divisions led by Youth and including Women, Blacks, Spanish-Speaking, Lawyers, and Older Americans resulted in a highly visible and successful rally at Capitol Hill yesterday noon. Over a thousand people turned out, and television cameras were present. Full coverage on last evening's news programs (including the networks) was given to the demonstration, with favorable comparisons to the Cranston demonstration which was held at 6:00 a.m. yesterday morning. Even before the vigil occurred, it had received a positive mention on the TODAY show which helped to counter the effectiveness of Cranston's demonstration. The vigil was also covered on this morning's news shows (e.g., TODAY).
c. Endorsements. All Citizens/Voting Blocs continued to work on obtaining endorsements from prominent individuals and national and local groups. Just a few examples of the many endorsements received:

Youth: Ten of the 13 members of the Denver City Council.

Spanish-Speaking: Five Spanish-Speaking community leaders in each of five key States; all Cuban radio stations in Florida; President of the Spanish-American Business Association of Chicago (a Puerto Rican organization).

Women: Presidents of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women, General Federation of Women's Clubs, and Women's National Republican Club.

Veterans: All American Legion Department Commanders have been requested to go to the media in their state with endorsements; Veterans organizations in 15 cities have passed resolutions and placed these resolutions in local media.

Lawyers: Independent Lawyers Committees in support of the President's Vietnam Policies have been formed and have tentative plans to place ads in The Evening Star and The New York Times.

d. Plans. The Citizens/Voting Bloc Divisions will now place maximum effort on staging events (vigils, rallies, etc.) which would receive coverage on a local or regional basis. Positive demonstrations of support are already planned at several campuses (including USC), and we will try to counter adverse demonstrations whenever desirable.

In addition to stimulating local efforts, the Citizens/Voting Bloc Groups are arranging visits to Capitol Hill offices by groups of constituents. As one approach, a schedule of all conventions in Washington for the next week has been obtained, and the Citizens/Voting Bloc Directors are working with the convention directors to organize out-of-town conventioneers to visit their Congressmen.
FLORIDA

Tommy Thomas contacted the 150 members of the Republican State Central Committee, which includes the presidents of the YRs, the CRs, and the Women's Federation. In addition, Thomas asked the 38 Republican State Representatives and the 15 Republican State Senators to generate pressure on Senator Lawton Childs. Incidentally, four newspapers in Orlando, Jacksonville, Tampa and Tallahassee endorsed the President's Indochina policy. The only negative editorial comment came from St. Petersburg.

NORTH CAROLINA

By 5 p.m. yesterday all 55 members of the Nixon Steering Committee in North Carolina were notified. The Republican State Central Committee contacted the Republican County Chairmen. The President of the Women's Federation and the YRs were asked to generate pressure on Senator Everett Jordan.

WEST VIRGINIA

The Republican State Central Committee planned to contact all 55 Republican County Chairmen. In addition the Women's Federation promised to mobilize its resources in the effort to influence Senator Jennings Randolph.

VIRGINIA

Yesterday Alan Rains, The Executive Director of the Republican Party of Virginia, sent out a special mailing to the 134 City and County Unit Chairmen in the state. This list includes the 10 Congressional District Chairmen, the President of the Virginia Federation of Republican Women and the President of the YR Club. Gerry Bemiss contacted several prominent supporters of Senator Spong and will also personally call the Senator and urge his support of the President.

ARKANSAS

Judy Petty contacted the Arkansas Federation of Republican Women, the YR leadership, and the CRs. The Republican State Central Committee will contact the 75 County Republican Chairmen. Incidentally, the CRs, who in the past have been quite critical of the Nixon Administration, unanimously endorsed the President's most recent action in Indochina. Western Union in Arkansas reports that this is the greatest deluge in response to a Presidential action to date.

KENTUCKY

GOP Chairman John Kerr is contacting all District and County Chairmen to mount a campaign against Senator Harlow Cook's position. He will call Cook personally as well.

GEORGIA

State Chairman Shaw will duplicate telegram program to use with Senators Gambrell and Talmadge. Nixon Chairman Jack Ray will contact the Talmadge people he knows to phone Talmadge personally and/or write letters.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Nixon State Chairman Henderson will mount a letter campaign by the South Carolina Committee against Hollings. Also, the textile people in South Carolina have been mobilized to assist in the effort.
Russell Merriman, the Nixon Chairman and Republican State Committee Chairman contacted Senator Stafford's key supporters in his home county. This group included a former Governor. In this fashion Senator Stafford's supporters and staffers were mobilized to convince Senator Stafford to support the President. Incidentally, WSSR radio talk show in St. Alban's County, a Democrat stronghold had to keep on the air an extra 1/2 hour to accommodate the onslaught of phone calls in support of the President.

Mayor James Taft, the Nixon Chairman, notified the National Committeewoman and the Edgewood Council of Republican Women. In addition Tucker Wright the Republican State Committee Chairman contacted the 39 city chairmen and asked them to generate pressure on Senator Pastore. Wright also planned to mobilize the Women's Federation and the College Republicans.

We notified Paul Cronin our Nixon contact in Massachusetts. Cronin is now candidate for Congress and therefore, unable to devote much time to a project of this sort. We tried to contact Bob Hahn, Republican State Committee Chairman, but were unable to reach him as late as 8:30 p.m. last night. Because of the sensitive nature of this project we decided not to discuss this matter with the staff at the Republican State Central Committee.

We contacted Chip Andrews, the Executive Director of the Republican Party and Charles Coe, the Executive Director of the Nixon campaign. Both Andrews and Coe consulted with Governor Meskill and reported that an orchestrated campaign would backfire and Senator Weicker could conceivably hold a press conference and denounce such an effort. We then discussed this with Clark MacGregor and he concurred with that judgment. No campaign took place.

Tom Houser, incidentally Senator Percy's former campaign manager, agreed to an all out effort. Houser has an elaborate network at his disposal from his former association with Senator Percy and the Nixon organization in Illinois is well on the road. Houser's efforts should be quite extensive.
NEVADA

Cliff Young was contacted and said he would direct the efforts of his people against Senators Bible and Cannon with a telephone/telegraph/letter campaign and a letter-to-the-editor operation.

TEXAS

Fred Agnich activated the Harris County Republican organization in a letter-writing campaign. He also contacted influential Democratic supporters of the President and some of Senator Bentsen's Democratic contributors asking them to personally bring pressure to bear.
As requested at Tuesday's staff meeting, the press section called press secretaries in the states outlined asking them to generate letters and wires to the designated senators reported to be "fence sitters" on the so-called End the War Amendment. As could be anticipated they agreed to begin the action.

For example, the executive director of the Arkansas Republican Party called a noon meeting of about twenty people to start the telegram process to direct it at Senator McClellan, who incidentally had said on state wide television Tuesday night that he was 100 percent behind the President.

In Texas the press division reported a good response to its request for telegrams and arranged to have its heaviest volume come from the valley area which represents Senator Bentsen's home base and where Bentsen would recognize some of the names as community leaders.

In Rhode Island our press director and the Republican State Chairman immediately activated about twenty persons to work on this project and in Georgia our press director estimated that several dozen telegrams had been sent by 5 p.m.

Our press director in Nevada indicated that at least 150 telegrams, and possibly double that amount, had been sent to both senators.

The press section also picked up immediately on the Washington Post story of Wednesday morning in which Ted Williams praised the President's action in Vietnam. We issued a press release which was sent to 1300 sports editors around the country and contains comments from Congressman Ford, Congressman Mathias and others in response to Williams. In addition, we arranged for Ford to put the article in the Congressional Record for future mailing purposes as required. We are also optimistic that Sports Illustrated will mention Williams' support in its upcoming issue.
We also issued a press release on a group of youth leaders who have voiced their support of the President's position. It was sent to the usual Washington run as well as to college newspapers around the country.

Our audio-video division cut and distributed films of Senator Buckley backing the President. Eight separate cuts were distributed by the audio division with good pick up from UPI Audio, the Inter-Mountain Network and the Texas state network who in turn fed them to local stations around the country as part of their own programs. A newsman in Connecticut told our press relations man there that the feeds he was getting from our operation represented the only pro-Nixon material he had received all day.

Our people are continuing their efforts to place state leaders on talk shows and getting favorable statements. For example, in North Dakota a number of women were instructed to call the call-in talk shows around the state.

We also are continuing our program for the regular surrogates, getting them on radio and television and before press conferences. Our material and speech inserts went to Secretaries Richardson and Morton, Counsellor Rumsfeld and Senator Goldwater. However we need substantially more surrogates to get this type of exposure.
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK

SUBJECT: Priority Ranking of the States for the Campaign

This memorandum summarizes the decisions made in the strategy meeting of April 28, regarding current priority ranking of the states, for the purpose of developing strategy and resource allocation for the campaign. A brief rationale is presented with each state or grouping of states.

CATEGORY I - SAFE STATES - (Have supported the President by large margins in the past. Should be won in 1972.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
<th>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>+12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota *</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Would not be safe if George McGovern is on the ticket.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
<th>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>+20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
New Mexico 4 +12
Colorado 7 +9
Montana 4 +9
Nevada * 3 +8

*Nixon lost Nevada by 2% in 1960. With a Democratic registration edge of 58%-35%-7%, it is the least "safe" of these states.

**Border States** (Recent polls suggest the President has increased his margin from 1968, particularly if George Wallace does not run.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
<th>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>+16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>+10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>+10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**New England States** (Will not be "safe" if Muskie or Kennedy is on the ticket.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
<th>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine *</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*L*ost in 1968 with Muskie on the ticket; won in 1960, against a New Englander, JFK, by 14%.
1968 Nixon

**Midwest States**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
<th>Margin (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total "safe" states: 24 (163 electoral votes)

**CATEGORY II - WALLACE STATES**—(States won by Wallace in 1968. The President may win some, even with Wallace in the race; if Wallace is out, they should be relatively safe.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
<th>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>+8 (Nixon Second)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>+20 (Nixon Third)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+40 (Nixon Third)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>+47 (Nixon Third)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>+12 (Nixon Second)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CATEGORY III - PRIORITY STATES**—(Close election expected; intensive campaign must be run including maximum organizational effort within the states. These will undoubtedly be Democratic target states).

**Top Priority**—(Maximum allocation of resources and focus of management attention. "Must win" states.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
<th>1960 Margin (%)</th>
<th>1968 Margin (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>+0.2</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>+6</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Second Priority**—(High allocation of resources and management attention.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
<th>1960 Margin (%)</th>
<th>1968 Margin (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York *</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania*</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland *</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**CONFIDENTIAL**

### State Electoral Votes 1960 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michigan *</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut *</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>116</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Third Priority** - (Lower allocation of resources and management attention.)

### State Electoral Votes 1960 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Missouri **</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin **</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia *</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Although past electoral behavior would indicate an uphill battle for the President, recent polls suggest he has a good chance at this time to carry these states. Ultimate strategy will depend on the Democratic nominee. These states must be watched closely during the campaign, to be sure that they are treated as target states only so long as they remain winnable.

**States with the most apparent erosion since 1968.**

### CATEGORY IV - PROBABLE LOSS STATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT H. TEETER
SUBJECT: California Corey Research

Cliff Miller has obtained a copy of the Huskie research conducted among California Democrats, and he asked that we summarize the data for you. Several trends are important for our campaign:

1. Vietnam significantly increased in importance from our studies conducted in January. 44% of the Democrats name it as the leading issue compared to 35% in January. Vietnam will undoubtedly increase in importance following the President's recent actions.

2. The President receives his highest ratings on:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Rating</th>
<th>President's Handling Good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Defense</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Rights</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and Order</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms Control</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bussing</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab-Israeli Conflict</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The President does better on handling drugs than has been indicated in our other studies. On handling of women's rights, arms control, and the Arab-Israeli conflict, the President rates comparatively well.
The issues where the President receives his poorest ratings are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Rating</th>
<th>President's Handling Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inflation</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price Controls</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage Controls</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reducing Tension</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aerospace Employment</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making Government Responsive</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This study shows a significant change in the inflation rating from favorable in January to the current unfavorable April position.

3. The Democratic primary shows an even race between McGovern and Humphrey at 31% each with Wallace and Muskie trailing at 10%.

4. Humphrey is generally perceived as better able to handle more issues than McGovern. Humphrey does better on economic issues while McGovern is rated highest on Vietnam.
In the most recent Political Matters Memorandum you asked for a sample copy of Peter Dailey's analysis of the Democratic contenders.
March 31, 1972

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

Attached is the "Competitive Analysis Report," number 5, covering the period from March 25, 1972 through March 31, 1972.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table of Contents</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWS ITEMS</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLLS AND SURVEYS</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANDIDATES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskie</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGovern</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashbrook</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ATTACHMENTS
SUMMARY

The "new" aggressive Muskie has been much in evidence in Wisconsin - cutting up Nixon, Humphrey, McGovern, Wallace, et al. His campaign strength there seems to have taken a sharp downward trend in the last week or so and it doesn't look as though he will be able to stage a comeback fast enough or strong enough to win the primary.

All smiles and handshakes, HHH is not saying anything really unkind about anybody. He apparently has, at long last, discovered his position on busing. His strong labor support and great appeal among the blue-collar workers and the blacks may help put him over the top in Wisconsin next Tuesday.

Hitting the issues, and candidates, hard and speaking out on inflation, the war in Vietnam, unemployment, agriculture, and tax reform. His campaign has shown a new surge of strength in the last two weeks - a surge that coincides with Muskie's decline and HHH's upswing. McGovern may make a stronger showing here than anticipated.

Not campaigning very hard but still throwing dandy rallies - and still drawing the biggest crowds. May be he'll come in second on Tuesday if the vote splits widely.

About had it. His last-ditch effort to win cross-over Republican votes is almost pathetic. He hopes for third and 17% of the vote, he'll be lucky to get fifth and 10%.

Also hitting the issues hard and strongly critical of Nixon Administration, but not drawing the crowds. Still has a recognition problem and will probably place fifth ahead of Lindsay.

Proposing programs right and left, but still waiting out the bloodbath.

Goofed in Indiana and is not on the ballot there. Has said he would drop out if Nixon would only fire Kissinger and a few other White House aides.
**NEWS ITEMS**

Delegates Won to Date *(NYT 3/28)*

- Muskie: 97.5
- Wallace: 75
- McGovern: 39.5
- Humphrey: 7
- Lindsay: 6
- Chisholm: 7
- Mills: 1
- Uncommitted: 123

Muskie picked up 14 additional delegate votes from Iowa and one additional vote from the 13th Congressional district in Illinois. This changes the Illinois count to 60 delegates pledged to Muskie and only 13 pledged to McGovern. McGovern picked up 12 votes in Iowa; 8 more are uncommitted there.

Hartke Withdraws *(NYR 3/27)*

Senator Hartke has withdrawn from the race and thrown his support behind Humphrey.

Census Predicts Voter Turnout *(NYT 3/28)*

The Census Bureau estimated that 85 million Americans will vote in the Presidential elections in November.

California *(NYT 3/25)*

McGovern, Muskie, Lindsay, Humphrey and Ashbrook will appear in that order on the Democratic ballot in the California primary, June 6. Ashbrook forces said they would qualify him to oppose President Nixon there on the Republican ballot. California has a “winner-take-all delegate rule; thus the state-wide winner receives 271 pledged delegates to the Democratic convention and the delegates must support their candidate until he releases them, or until he gets less than 15% of the vote on the convention floor.

Indiana *(Chicago Tribune 3/24)*

Only Muskie, Humphrey and Wallace will be on the Indiana ballot. Jackson failed to enter the contest, much to the disappointment of many Democrat leaders there who felt he had a chance to upset Muskie. Lindsay didn’t enter the Indiana primary because he felt the mood of the state was too conservative.

Kentucky *(NYT 3/28)*

Kentucky became the first state to certify a Presidential-Vice-Presidential ticket when it placed the names of Governor George Wallace and T. Coleman Andrews.
Democrats Telethon
(L.A. Times 3/21)

The Democratic National Committee is planning a national ABC network telethon to raise campaign funds the day before their national convention. The telethon will begin at 7 p.m. PDT, on July 8 and run until 3 p.m. the next day. Broadcast live from Los Angeles and Miami Beach, with regional centers set up to receive pledges, the telethon is expected to raise contributions well in excess of the $1 million cost of producing it.

Vietnam
.Broadcasting, 3/27

"There is Still a War going on in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, Whether You Know It or Not," is the theme of a second public-service advertising campaign by a segment of the nation's advertising community under the auspices of Clergy and Laymen Concerned, a New York based ecumenical peace group. The first such campaign, "Help Unsell the War," was announced last spring and was spearheaded by David McCall, president of McCaffrey & McCall, New York. More than 350 radio and nearly 80 TV stations used the commercials created at that time.

The new campaign is a continuation of the "Help Unsell the War" theme and will be conducted by a West Coast group headed by Ralph Carson, Chairman of the Board of Carson/Roberts division of Ogilvy & Mather; Louis Honig, president, Honig-Cooper & Harrington; James C. Nelson, Jr., executive vice president and creative director of Hoefer, Dieterich & Brown; and Maxwell Arnold, president and creative director of The Maxwell Arnold Agency. The new ad material will be distributed in April and May through CALC to 150 or more citizen groups.
The South Carolina Democratic party elected 32 uncommitted delegates to the national convention. The 32-member delegation included 11 blacks and seven women. According to the state chairman, about half of the delegates are Muskie supporters.

Vice President Agnew said he has not made up his mind about running for re-election but sincerely hopes the Democrats will nominate Humphrey for president and Muskie for vice-president, "why break up a losing combination?"
Section III.

Quayle Poll for Labor
(NYT 3/30)

A poll conducted by Oliver Quayle, March 24-26, for the Wisconsin branch of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations showed:

- McGovern: 23%
- Humphrey: 18%
- Muskie: 13%
- Wallace: 12%
- Jackson: 11%
- Lindsay: 1%
- Chisholm: 1%
- McCarthy: 1%
- Kennedy: 1%
- undecided: 19%

The poll canvassed by phone 455 prospective Democrat voters.

Harris Poll: Humphrey vs. Nixon
(Wash. Post 3/27)

A Harris Poll taken between 2/28 and 3/7, of a cross section of 1,365 likely voters showed that, in a race between Nixon, Humphrey and Wallace:

- Nixon: 48%
- Humphrey: 35%
- Wallace: 12%
- "not sure": 5%

The Nixon lead over HHH in March, 1972, is the widest since April, 1969.

In releasing his latest poll, Harris also juxtaposed poll ratings on the above three dating back through 1969:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RN</th>
<th>HHH</th>
<th>GW</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb. '72</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. '69</td>
<td>48%</td>
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</table>
With respect to Humphrey, the latest poll showed that by 70 to 12% people thought HHH is "warm, decent, friendly." By 46 to 31% they thought he "belongs more to the past than the future in American politics." By 53 to 11% they thought he "had courage to say he was wrong on Vietnam." By 51 to 38% they think Humphrey's "long experience in government qualifies him for the presidency." By 53 to 27% they feel that HHH is "unafraid to speak his mind on controversial subjects." But by 53 to 38%, voters think he is "too long-winded when he speaks." By 46 to 31% they believe he was "too closely connected with President Johnson's mistakes in Vietnam." And by 45 to 39% they feel that HHH suffers from a "not very attractive personality."

The same Harris Poll, taken between February 28 and March 7, showed that, in a race between Muskie, Nixon and Wallace:

- Nixon 47%
- Muskie 35%
- Wallace 12%
- "not sure" 6%

This means that Muskie is now exactly where he was last September. In releasing the latest poll, Harris also juxtaposed poll ratings on the above three dating back through 1969:

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<td>40%</td>
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Section III., cont'd.

Harris Poll: Muskie vs. Nixon
(Wash. Post 3/30)

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With respect to Muskie, the latest Harris Poll also showed that last September 39 to 20% of the people agreed that "he is the kind of man you can trust." Since then, the number who express "trust" in Muskie has risen only 1%, while the number reaching the opposite conclusion has risen 7%, and fully one-third of the voters have not responded one way or the other. 39% agree with Muskie's criticism of the President's Vietnam policy announcements, and 40% disagree with that criticism. In fact, when voters were asked to say with whom they agreed more regarding Vietnam, 45% named President Nixon, while only 24% named Muskie.

Perhaps the most telling result of these polls is that in no case was a majority of the voters able to coalesce behind any view about Muskie, positive or negative. Despite the fact that he is now known by 83% of the electorate, the number of voters who simply do not have a firm enough view of Muskie to make any sort of definitive judgment on a whole series of statements about him will vary from 25 to 40%.
Harris Poll: Nixon
(Chicago Daily News 3/24)

Results of the recently completed Second Annual Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, conducted by Louis Harris, indicated that Mr. Nixon comes across as "a more cool type" and "old shoe" to a majority of the women interviewed. The three-month study, involving 3,000 women and a balance group of 1,000 men, also revealed that women generally find Muskie "straightforward;" Wallace "narrowminded" and "tricky;" Humphrey "old shoe" but "a good family man" and "intelligent" like Mr. Nixon.

The poll further revealed that women rated both Edward Kennedy and John Lindsay high in the "handsome" category, and gave both considerable credit for being "open-minded to new ideas." Kennedy, however, got an unusual 7% in the "not a good family man" category, where most other candidates didn't score at all.

More than 60% of the women interviewed were unable to register any opinion about Senator McGovern.
THE CANDIDATES

Section IV.

MUSKIE

A. ISSUES

Environment
   (NYT 3/25)

Speaking at a meeting of the Wisconsin Resources Conservation Council in Madison, Muskie sharply attacked Nixon's environmental policies, saying that Nixon has sacrificed environmental protection in the wake of pressure from corporate lobbyists and that the Administration's environmental budget represented "a blueprint for environmental neglect."

Big Business
   (NYT 3/27)

Muskie says the Administration has a "blatant bias toward big business."

Kleindienst
   (Wall St. Journal 3/28)

Will not support Kleindienst's nomination because his role in the ITT affair raised too many questions in Muskie's mind.

Campaign Donors
   (NYT 3/28)

Released a list of 13,982 donors who contributed $2,027,840 to Muskie's campaign during the 15-month period that ended January 31. About 69% of his funds, or $1,406,505, came from large contributors. His list was considered predictable, with a roster of "establishment" Democrats, Jewish philanthropists and wealthy liberals in banking and manufacturing. There was puzzlement among newsmen and others over the Senator's previous refusal to make the list public since there appeared to be no major Republican contributors on his list.

Aid to Schools
   (NYT 3/29)

In a new proposal on Federal aid to schools, Muskie outlined his plan for the Government to give the states $7.2-billion to help them provide every elementary and secondary school pupil (including those in private and parochial schools) with the same quality of instruction.
Section IV.

MUSKIE

Aid to Schools cont'd.
(NYT 3/29)

His plan, the Quality Education Guarantee program, calls for direct grants of $100 per pupil in basic aid and $250 additional per pupil from a low income family. Under the basic grants, the states would get $100 per student after the first year, only if they made "substantial progress," as measured by the U.S. Commissioner of Education, toward equalization of school spending. He estimated that the basic grants would cost $5.2 billion the first year and proposed that the amount automatically increase as the cost of living rises.

B. MEDIA

*Expenditures

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adlai Stevenson, Jr.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>drawing a parallel between Lincoln and Muskie.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Commercial, WITI-TV, 3/24</td>
<td>(Commercial attached).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Birch Bayh (Sen. Ind.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>saying Muskie is the one man that can pull the Democrats together and beat Nixon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Media figures from November Group Staff.
Competitive Analysis
Report #5

Section IV.

MUSKIE

Creative cont'd.

Commercial, WOKY, 3/23
Muskie saying that people want to believe in the President. (Commercial attached).

Muskie has been running 30 and 60 second spots in fringe and prime time and trying to schedule them during newscasts. He has bought a one-page newspaper insert.

Comment

Muskie's media spending in Wisconsin totals $106,974 out of total campaign spending there of $278,730. **Contributions from that state total $272,410. His commercials, at least in good part, are still the usual blend of endorsements from well-known political leaders and vague "trust me" spots. Where is the aggressive "new" Muskie on TV?

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Hopes for Lindsay Endorsement
(NYT 3/26)

One of his senior aides said Muskie was hopeful that Lindsay would endorse him if and when Lindsay withdrew from the contest.

Women's Rights
(Chicago Sun-Times 3/23)

Muskie took time out to vote for the Equal Rights for Women Bill in the Senate last week.

Senate Roll Calls
(Christian Science Monitor 3/29)

The Monitor reported that Senator Muskie did not vote or announce his position in 1971 on 145 of the Senate's 423 roll calls.

**Wisconsin Capital Times Report.
Secretary of State's Office, preliminary estimates filed for spending and contributions.
A strong front-runner in Wisconsin only a month ago, Muskie appears to have lost considerable ground in the last few weeks. He just about threw in the sponge last Sunday with his statement on national television that if he comes in third in Wisconsin, it "won't be so bad." A third place for Muskie here would not be just bad, it would be disastrous. Muskie needs a win in Wisconsin, not only to keep him going financially, but also to show that he can beat the competition in a crowded field. The steep decline of Muskie, however, and the ensuing rise of Humphrey here are indications of how the vote will go next Tuesday. Even McGovern is closing fast in a new surge of strength.

True to his promise to present himself more clearly and aggressively on the issues, Muskie has been jabbing at Humphrey, Nixon and McGovern. He has tended to leave Wallace alone for the past few days and has not linked Nixon and Wallace once in his speeches since last week.

Wisconsin, then, remains a bit of an enigma as April 4 draws near. The voters here, traditionally independent and having the privilege of crossing party lines to vote for whomever they please, will no doubt hand the candidates a few surprises next Tuesday. Best bet is that Muskie will come in third if the Wallace vote is not too heavy. If Wallace shows stronger than expected, and he might, Muskie may drop to fourth place behind Humphrey, Wallace, and McGovern.
A. ISSUES

Law Enforcement  
(NYT 3/25)

In a speech (3/24) before the University of California's Hastings College of Law, Humphrey charged that the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration "has become one of the nation's greatest and costliest scandals." He asserted that nearly $2-billion in crime-fighting money has been wasted by the men who preach law and order," and concluded that some 92% of the Federal agency's funds in fiscal 1971 "have not reached local law enforcement agencies but are still tied up in state capitols."

The Aged  
(NYT 3/29)

Speaking at a senior citizens home in Wausau, Wisc., HHH denounced as inadequate President Nixon's recent message to Congress on older Americans, and called for a 25% increase in benefits rather than the 5% proposed by the Administration.

B. MEDIA

*Expenditures

<table>
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<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Wisconsin, space purchased: $700</td>
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*Figures provided by November Group Staff.
Section IV. cont'd.

HUMPHREY

Creative

Milwaukee, 3/24, station WITI-TV, commercial - Humphrey the People's Democrat: a quick listing of bills created by the Senator (i.e., medicare, the Job Corps).
(Commercial attached).

HHH's radio commercials have been using Lorne Green in a voice-over. Humphrey is running 15-minute, 5-minute, 1/2 hour, and 30-second commercials. The 5-minute spots are scheduled for the last five minutes of the news. He has a 1/2 hour live television show in which he answers questions telephoned in by viewers. (Note: he requested, but couldn't obtain, 15 and 1/2 hours of 1/2 hour spots in Rhinelander).

Comment

Humphrey’s media expenditure in Wisconsin totals $44,973 against total campaign expenditures of *$105,145 and a reported $53,000 received in Wisconsin campaign contributions. He continues to emphasize, in both media advertising and in speeches, that he is the "People's Democrat."

Humphrey is also running an expensive computerized direct mail and telephone campaign similar to his Florida operation.

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Hartke Backing
(NYT 3/27)

Hartke's withdrawal from the race and his endorsement of Humphrey may have little effect on the outcome in Wisconsin, but observers think it will have a significant effect on the Indiana primary (Hartke's native state). Another Indiana Senator, Birch Bayh, already has endorsed Muskie.

*Wisconsin Capital Times Report, Secretary of State's office, preliminary estimates filed for spending and Wisconsin contributions.
Section IV. cont'd.

HUMPHREY

Something for Everyone
(Wall St. Journal 3/28)

Humphrey's strategy seems to shift with each group of listeners and from area to area. In the heavily Catholic Fox River Valley (Wis.), which was strongly pro-Kennedy in 1960, HHH repeatedly links himself to the late President. In labor halls, he promises more jobs. In the dairy lands, he proposes higher milk price supports. Before blacks, he backs off the anti-busing stand he took in Florida and emotionally reminds a receptive audience of his decades-long duty in the civil rights cause. Everywhere, an array of big-spending plans come tumbling forth, yet Humphrey tells business audiences that tax reform and bank-type financing schemes will pay for it all without higher taxes. Indeed, he offers that new Federal aid will allow reductions in local property taxes, a particularly hot issue in Wisconsin. To young people, he says he would set up a Cabinet-level department of youth affairs. He advocates the same for the aging. HHH is, in fact, promising something to everyone to a degree not matched by any other candidate.

D. ANALYSIS

Humphrey's Wisconsin campaign organization, which until only about three weeks ago was practically non-existent, has suddenly blossomed into a veritable bee-hive of activity. Funds, the lack of which have been a recent plague to most other contenders, do not seem to present much of a problem for the Humphrey group, although he is keeping a watchful eye on his spending. His commercials do not appear to have changed from the Florida scene and he is, to all outward appearances, as ebullient as ever. Labor, in a panic to stave off a good Wallace showing in the state, has been touting Humphrey widely, though not officially endorsing him or any other candidate, and is about to distribute thousands of anti-Wallace brochures.
As for Humphrey himself, he is not saying anything new. In fact, it is difficult to weed out from his myriad conflicting statements just what he is saying. His acrobatics on busing are a splendid illustration of the political animal at play: In Florida, he emphasized that he was dead set against "forced busing for racial balance." Then he endorsed President Nixon's busing statement, even going so far as to claim credit for having influenced the President's policy. A couple of days later, HHH scuttled that gambit, saying after reading the "fine print" that the plan looked unconstitutional to him. Next day, at a Green Bay press conference, he said he was "reserving judgment" on the President's specific bill for a moratorium on new busing. Last Sunday, on ABC's "Issues and Answers," he finally seemed to settle on a position, and called Nixon's proposed moratorium, "unacceptable." If that isn't "waffling" on the issues, as Jackson earlier put it, don't rightly know what is.

But, as long as dairy farmers don't hear his business speeches, as long as blacks don't watch ABC, as long as property owners don't realize that the money for more Federal aid has to come from somewhere (like tax money), and as long as labor still loves him, Humphrey ought to win the top spot in the Tuesday contest. It's doubtful, though, that he will win with more than 30% of the vote.
A. ISSUES

POW'S (NYT 3/29)

McGovern accused President Nixon of "shabby" treatment of the families of prisoners of war by failing to answer letters from them if such letters contained criticism of his Vietnam policies. He said, "the truth is that only by ending the war can we get our prisoners of war released."

Tax Reform (Milwaukee Sentinel 3/27)

Revealing his plan for plugging tax loopholes before a crowd of 3,000 University of Wisconsin students, McGovern said he would limit inheritances to $500,000, require everyone with income of $50,000 a year or more to pay 75% of what the Federal income tax table calls for regardless of tax write-offs, and would re-establish 1960 corporate tax levels. The $28-billion thus earned plus the $32-billion he would save through drastic defense spending cut-backs, would raise $60-billion a year which, if committed to the home front, would do more, he said, to fight inflation than Nixon's wage-price controls.

Campaign Donors (NYT 3/30)

McGovern disclosed that his campaign raised more than $240,000 from 2,984 contributors in the six weeks between January 31 and March 11. The additional funds bring his total campaign contributions to $1,515,801. The latest McGovern report shows a sharp acceleration of income and a new dominance of large contributions over the $10 and $15 donations that sustained his campaign in its first year. Gifts of $1,000 and more totaled $194,000 in his second report.
Section IV. cont'd.

MCGOVERN

B. MEDIA

**Expenditures**

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<td>$9,660</td>
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*Figures provided by November Group staff.

*Creative*

- Commercial, WTV, 3/25
  McGovern saying he'd never sneak around advocating something in secret.
  (Commercial attached).

- Commercial, WISN-TV, 3/22
  McGovern saying he told the Senate "we were making a mistake in backing that corrupt political regime in Saigon" several years ago.
  (Commercial attached).

- Commercial, WISN-TV, 3/22
  McGovern saying he's fully committed to the farmers and that his record shows it.
  (Commercial attached).

McGovern is running 15-minute, 1/2 hour, 5-minute, 60, 30 and 10 second spots and has bought an 8-page newspaper insert.

A McGovern spokesman said they are trying to portray, as legitimately as possible, George McGovern in a situation where he's just talking to people. He also said no changes have been made in the McGovern material since the earlier primaries.
Competitive Analysis
Report #5

Section IV. cont'd.

MCGOVERN

Comment

McGovern's media expenditures in Wisconsin total $86,345, against total campaign expenditures there of $243,405, with $204,000 having been raised in Wisconsin contributions.

His commercials attempt to show him as honest and open. The commercials also seem to be directed to special segments of voters, like the farmers, the young people (i.e., anti-Vietnam) on specific issues. Any films showing him "just talking" with people will probably be a good thing since he comes across warmly on television.

C: STRATEGY and TRENDS

Women's Rights
(Chicago Sun-Times 3/23)

Endorsement
(NYT 3/28)

Predicts Win
(Wisc. Journal 3/23)

McGovern missed the Senate vote last week on the Equal Rights for Women Bill.

Representative Robert W. Kastenmeier's endorsement of McGovern will be a big plus in the University of Wisconsin district which Kastenmeier represents and which is strongly pro-McGovern.

McGovern recently predicted for the first time that he will win in Wisconsin and added that anything but a win would be a severe setback to his campaign.

**Wisconsin Capital Times Report, Secretary of State's Office, preliminary estimates filed for spending and contributions.
Section IV. cont'd.

D. ANALYSIS

McGovern has hit the issues, and the opposition, hard in Wisconsin. He has consistently spoken on the war, inflation, unemployment, tax reform, property taxes, farm subsidies and farm take-overs by businesses for tax write-offs. He has opposed the Project Sanguine in the north of Wisconsin as wasteful and disastrous to the environment. He has said time and again that busing is not the issue, but rather quality education and has hit Nixon particularly hard on that issue. He has not let Eugene McCarthy's backbiting bug him. He has handled his approach to Wallace with great aplomb and probably, in so doing, wooed away a few Wallace supporters. He has stayed with his campaign slogan that McGovern is "right from the start." His campaign organization in Wisconsin has been labeled by outsiders as the most efficient and best run outfit the state has ever seen. His campaign there has been tireless, he has never once lost his temper or his cool, and he has talked with the man in the street more frequently than anyone else (with the possible exception of Lindsay who went so far as to spend the night with a typical blue-collar family). In short, McGovern may have out-campaigned all the other campaigners.

All of these things have been working in McGovern's favor. His strength in the home-stretch has broadened considerably in the last weeks, putting him right up there with Humphrey and Muskie. He expects to win in the state and has publicly said that less than a win will hurt his campaign. McGovern is coming on strong now and hopes to see the race narrowed after Tuesday to a one-to-one battle between himself and Humphrey. It may well happen, but best bet is that McGovern will come in second after Humphrey if Wallace doesn't walk off with a strong vote. If Wallace supporters come out in strength, McGovern may be edged over to third place. In any event, it is not likely that the percentage points separating the winner from the rest of the pack will be very great.
Section IV. cont'd.

WALLACE

A. ISSUES

Campaign Donors
(NYT 3/30)

Wallace disclosed (3/29) campaign contributions that covered the last three years and totaled less than $1-million. About 30,000 persons have contributed $727,000 since March, 1969, with an additional $197,000 raised at campaign dinners and rallies during the same period. The amounts ranged from $1 to $10,000 (only 23 persons donated $1,000 or more).

Tax Reform
(The Capital Times 3/24)

On tax reform, Wallace says, "And I say to you, if you vote for George Wallace and he wins in Wisconsin, something will be done about tax reform even before the election."

B. MEDIA

*Expenditures

TV
Wisconsin, time purchased: $44,342.

Radio
Wisconsin, time purchased: $6,811.

Newspaper
Wisconsin, space purchased: $4,665.

Creative

Wallace's forces have been placing 1/2 hour commercials, and 60 and 10-second spots, using the 10-second spots primarily to promote the 1/2 hour commercials, his speeches, and rallies.

WITI-TV, commercial, 3/24
Taxes: A vote for Wallace will be a message to the National Democratic Party that we want tax exemptions removed.
(Commercial attached)

*Figures provided by November Group Staff.
WALLACE

Wallace's total media spending in Wisconsin amounts to only $44,342, which is about par considering that his more normal medium is the "rally" and his Wisconsin rallies have been drawing huge crowds.

C. STRATEGY AND TRENDS

Seeking "Fed-Up" Vote
(Wash. Post 3/24)

Wallace is making repeated appeals to the Northern "working man" to show, with votes, that he (the working man) is as fed up as his Southern cousins with the way things are.

Critical of Opponents
(Chicago Tribune 3/24)

Has consistently criticized his competitors here for (1) jumping on the tax reform bandwagon after he had talked about it for years (2) making a big mistake on the Vietnam War (3) being out of touch with how much busying as an abstract issue affects people's daily lives. He has further chastized the several Senators in the race, saying "they have been in Congress 109 years total. Why didn't they do something about tax reform then?"

Indiana
(Chicago Tribune 3/24)

The Indiana race is expected to become something of a stop-Wallace drive, particularly if he makes a creditable showing in the Wisconsin primary.

Wallace is extremely popular in Indiana. In 1968, when Indiana gave President Nixon his largest state majority, more than 13% of the state vote went to Wallace as the candidate of the American Independent Party. In the 1964 Democratic primary there, Wallace took 30% of the vote in a one-on-one contest with former Governor Matthew E. Welsh, a stand-in for LBJ. Much of the fight this year will center on Gary's Lake County, which cast 12% of the state's Democratic vote in 1968. Wallace took 51% of the Lake County vote.
Section IV. cont'd.

WALLACE

Indiana cont'd. (Chicago Tribune 3/24) primary vote in 1964, without even campaigning in the county. He has a strong following among blue collar workers in the state.

D. ANALYSIS

From all reports, Wallace appears to have approached the Wisconsin test with caution and reserve. He apparently does not expect to do well here, where the debate over busing is not a hot issue. Plus, he says, he did not have the time necessary to marshal his forces as he did in Florida and that really Maryland and Michigan will be better states in which to test his ability to attract Northern votes. He has not fully exploited the time available to him, however, between Florida and Wisconsin, claiming that he doesn't need to campaign so hard since the Florida primary gave him a new respectability with the national media and the party leaders that he had not enjoyed in the past.

He has followed the same rally-route as he did in Florida, although the country-western-revival style seems a bit incongruous in Wisconsin. He has received excellent press coverage here, a notable testimony to (1) his upsurge as a result of Florida, (2) the panic his Florida showing has created among his opponents (who mention him often in their speeches), and (3) the fact that he remains, of all the candidates, a crowd-pleaser, attracting 4,000 to 6,000 people at his rallies.

Although Wallace loudly proclaims he was the first to talk about tax reform, he has offered not a single proposal along those lines. He is, however, urging people to vote for him because he knows they are "fed up" with taxes. What he would do about taxes if (God help us) he ever were elected, is anybody's guess. His stand on the issues is emotional, fiery and several other explicatives, but he doesn't offer any solutions. He does, however, appeal to a lot of people who may go out on April 4th and vote for him because he seems to understand their discontent.
His record as Governor of Alabama is hardly a showpiece of statesmanship; in fact, it demonstrates most admirably just the opposite. His entire career has been built around his defiance of the establishment. He is, in fact, a past master in the art and uses of defiance. He has been able to thrust himself into national politics not by doing or proposing anything concrete but by strident defiance of what he pictures as a massive new wave of busing - exactly the kind of defiance his constituency wishes it could voice. Similarly, Wallace does not need to develop a tax reform program when all he has to do is to proclaim as his own the anger and defiance of all those who feel themselves overburdened by state, local and Federal taxes. He made a big thing out of standing in a school doorway years ago in defiance of the laws of the land, but it was only for show - he removed himself from that doorway before he could be arrested but not before he had made his point through an act of pure defiance.

The fear that the Government has gotten out of hand is precisely the kind of fear that Wallace feeds and grows on. And his defiance of the Government, the system, taxes, busing, etc., is fodder to his followers.

Defiance, then, is the man. And therein lies his appeal.
Section IV. cont'd.

LINDSAY

A. ISSUES

Unemployment
(Milwaukee Journal 3/20)

Lindsay proposed a Federal Job Creation and Adjustment Commission to nurture new jobs and retrain the unemployed.

Credit on Property Taxes
(NYT 3/25)

Called on Congress to give "immediate emergency" relief to property taxpayers through an income tax credit, effective April 15, amounting to 30% of the property tax bill. He also proposed that the 30% figure be used for property owners whose gross income is less than $30,000 annually. He would give a 15% break to those with incomes of $30,000 to $40,000, and none to those with incomes above $40,000.

Mass Transit Aid
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/22)

Riding Milwaukee's controversial freeway issue, Lindsay said the nation has been on a highway construction "binge" and that what we need is more mass transit facilities. Further, he would provide block grants to local communities for local mass transit projects that adopt pollution control techniques, and provide for a 10-year national investment to stop the decline of public transportation in the cities. He also would provide operating subsidies to help roll back fares in communities where transit costs have become unmanageable.

B. MEDIA

* Expenditures

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C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Paul McCloskey
(Wash. Post 3/30)

Republican Paul McCloskey appeared with Lindsay this week in Wisconsin to help in an appeal for Wisconsin Republicans to cross-over in the Democratic primary.

Lindsay Image as President
(NYT 3/29)

Lindsay has been saying, "If I get to be President, I'll be back in the street and neighborhoods where I began..." He repeatedly attempts to project the image of a man who is strong, unafraid and who cares about and understands the problems of the poor and the powerless as "that whole crowd in Washington" never could.

**Wisconsin Capital Times report, Secretary of State's office, preliminary estimates filed for spending and contributions.
Section IV. cont'd.

LINDSAY

Would be Happy with
Third Place
(Milwaukee Journal 3/21)

Lindsay aides confided they would be pleased with a third place finish in Wisconsin and about 17% of the primary vote.

D. ANALYSIS

The recurring theme of Lindsay's Wisconsin campaign is that he understands the plight of the "little man." In the dairyland center, he said it is a case of the little farmer versus the farm conglomerates. In the smaller cities, it is the case of the little property owner and worker fighting to at least keep even in today's economy. His appeals have been directed primarily to the blue-collar workers and, more recently, to the Republican voters to cross-over in the Democratic primary.

In spite of the polls which have consistently placed him fifth and sometimes sixth here, and in spite of serious financial problems, Lindsay says he intends to pursue the nomination through several more primaries. He has more or less ignored the pleas of several of his New York colleagues to quit the race and attend to business at home.

Lindsay is not now and is not going to be a viable Democratic candidate this year. Many observers think all this hulabaloo in the primaries has been for some reason other than seeking the Presidential nomination - like maybe the vice-presidential spot or, possibly a shot at the New York governorship. In any case, best Lindsay can hope for Tuesday is sixth place after Jackson and the others. He'll be fantastically lucky if he gets 10% of the vote much less the 17% he says he'd be happy to receive.

*****
Section IV. cont’d.

JACKSON

A. ISSUES

Price Supports: Dairy
(Milwaukee Journal 3/21)

Jackson attacked the Administration for failure to maintain dairy price support levels at 85% of parity for the new marketing year and said he would back legislation to provide the support.

Vietnam
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/22)

Speaking to a group of University of Wisconsin students, Jackson said he favored a negotiated withdrawal from Vietnam, but one that hinged on the release of U.S. prisoners-of-war. He also revealed, for the first time during this campaign that after the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, a flareup of the war would not prompt him to send the troops back.

Unemployment
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/22)

Jackson disclosed that his target rate for unemployment is 3% ... a new revelation.

Environment Labs
(NYT 3/29)

Says Federal Government should set up a network of national laboratories to conduct research into the problems of environment.

Property Taxes: Welfare
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/20)

Says property taxes have the most bruising impact on middle income Americans - a theme repeatedly emphasized in his speeches. Says persons on welfare would be much better off receiving pay checks instead of welfare checks and advocates massive public works projects and expanded day care programs - also repetitive themes.
Competitive Analysis
Report #5

Section IV. cont'd.

JACKSON

A. ISSUES cont'd.

Wage & Price Control
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/21)

Strongly criticized the Nixon Administra­tion's wage and price control program, saying the system was un­fair because some wage increases are approved while others of equal merit are denied; that the controls are faulty because enforcement is lax and very few cases of illegal price violations are prosecuted.

Campaign Contributors
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/27)

Still refusing to disclose his national campaign contributors, Jackson branded as "ridiculous" charges by the Washington Democratic Council (affiliated with the new Democratic Coalition) that his campaign is heav­ily financed by Republican business interests. He will, as he did in Florida, disclose all Wisconsin contrib­utors, as is required by Wiscon­sin law.

B. MEDIA

*Expenditures

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Jackson is planning a series of news­paper ads signed by "Independent Re­publicans" proclaiming their support for him. The ads will probably ap­pear the weekend of April 1. (Wash­ington Post 3/29).

Figures provided by November Group Staff.
Competitive Analysis
Report #5

Section IV. cont'd.

JACKSON

B. MEDIA cont'd.

Creative

Jackson is getting wide use of a 30-minute TV film which can be re-
vised and edited to reflect vary-
ing local voter interests and cam-
paign developments. It is being 
shown on a staggered schedule in 
every TV media market around the 
state.

Comment

Jackson's media effort seems geared 
to (1) overcome his recognition 
problem (2) woo the potential Re-
publican cross-over votes and (3) 
relay his major campaign messages 
in a way that relates to local is-

sues.

Estimated media program in Wisconsin 
which includes radio spots: about 
$7,000 per week. His media has been 
moving at a consistent pace since 
February 18. (Milwaukee Sentinel 
3/23). Total media expenditures: 
$88,474. Total Wisconsin campaign 
expenditures: $111,432. Total Wis-
consin contributions: $219,954.

C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Cross-over Votes
(Wash. Post 3/29)

A major portion of Jackson's Wiscon-

sin strategy has been devoted to woo-
ing potential Republican cross-over 
votes.

Issue Emphasis
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/21)

Jackson has consistently hammered 
away at his major campaign themes 
in Wisconsin:
- the need to maintain a strong nu-
clear capability as a deterrent 
for would-be aggressors and a lever 
to eventually gain worldwide disarm-
ament
- the necessity of stimulating the 
economy and reducing unemploy-
ment by initiating massive public works programs
C. STRATEGY and TRENDS

Issue Emphasis cont'd.
(Milwaukee Sentinel 3/21)
- the need to reduce the property tax burden by federalizing welfare and increasing federal aid to schools.
- busing is not the answer to quality education (Jackson has used his anti-busing theme repeatedly here, despite the fact that busing is not a major problem or issue in the state; however, many observers feel that his anti-busing views led to his good showing in Florida and it may be that what’s good in one place is just as good in another.

Equal Rights: Women
(Chicago Sun-Times 3/23)
Jackson missed the Senate vote last week on the Equal Rights for Women Bill.

D. ANALYSIS

Jackson seems to be something of an enigma on the issues. Here is a man with an impressive liberal rating striking out on a path that places him to the right of many of his Democratic opponents. He disagrees with most of the other candidates on the issues: forced school busing to achieve racial integration is wrong; law and order is a legitimate issue and not a code word for racism; large cuts in defense spending are folly; etc. Some observers think that the relatively conservative image Jackson has projected so far in Wisconsin will draw Republicans to him, especially if they feel there is no need to protect President Nixon in the GOP primary there.

In spite of Jackson's long and rather strong media campaign, he still does not seem to be able to draw big or enthusiastic crowds at personal appearances. This was also true in Florida, yet he received 13% of the vote there. As always, his stands on the issues are precise and clear-cut. That may have been a decided advantage in Florida where everyone (except Wallace) appeared a bit fuzzy on the issues.
Wisconsin is a different story. The other candidates have made notable and noticeable efforts to clarify stands, dig up new issues, and hedge their bets on unpopular views. Thus, Jackson may not stand out as neatly here as he previously appeared to and this may affect his showing at the polls. He probably will pick up a segment of Republican cross-over votes, but surely not enough to place him higher than fifth. Jackson, for all his clarity and vision is simply not going to be a viable candidate for the Democrats come July.

*****
Kennedy has proposed that the Federal Government provide financial aid to state and local governments to expand and revamp their voter registration programs in the wake of the Supreme Court's decision striking down long residency requirements for voting in state and local elections. He offered his bill as an alternative to the national voter registration measure killed a couple of weeks ago in the Senate.

Comment
More and more articles are appearing, conjecturing over Ted Kennedy's political future vis-a-vis the White House. Will he be drafted in July? Will he let himself be drafted then? Would he opt for a second place on the Demo ticket? Will he stay out this year and try for it in 1976 when it'll be a whole new ball game?

Well, a lot will depend on the Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Oregon and California primaries. In spite of the enormous pressure Kennedy must be under from some of his colleagues to jump in, he is biding his time, waiting to see which way the wind is going to blow. He's smart, that one - or else he's listening to someone who is.
California: Ashbrook's campaign to win California's Republican primary began last Saturday with personal appearances in Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco. (L.A. Times 3/25).

Indiana: Ashbrook filed on time there for the primary, but failed to obtain the correct number of certified signatures in two or three districts and thus will not be listed on the primary ballot May 2. (Republican headquarters in Indiana, 3/29).

Wisconsin: Has not campaigned here and never planned to. His efforts in the state so far have consisted largely of an ill-fated fund solicitation based on a mailing list of long-time Nixon supporters. (Milwaukee Sentinel 3/20).

Comment

The only noteworthy thing Ashbrook has said recently is that he would drop his challenge to President Nixon if Nixon fired Henry M. Kissinger and some other White House aides. (The Providence Journal 3/25 - Rhode Island).
March 24, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

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
ADVERTISING

Advertising schedules for Wisconsin were terminated. This decision was made because Ashbrook is making no major effort in the state and McClosky has dropped out.

A recall test on man-in-the-street commercials is being conducted in Milwaukee on March 23. Five youth posters are being tested on March 25 and 26. Direct mail copy is being developed for the California and Massachusetts primaries and promotional materials have been provided for a youth drive in Wisconsin.

Advertising media activities were coordinated with press media activities to insure maximum placement of press releases. Analysis of the audience of paid political programs from 1961 to 1970 was prepared.

Coordination of convention materials and services with Committee activities was discussed with Bill Timmons.

AGRICULTURE

Yeutter met with Secretary Butz, John Whitaker, Bryce Harlow, Fred Malek, Des Barker, and Claude Gifford to discuss the agricultural campaign plan. Necessary follow up revisions will be made next week, and a condensed version of the plan will be available for selective distribution the following week.

Yeutter delivered the major address at the annual convention of the Midwest Feed Manufacturers Association. The audience was about 400 representatives of feed manufacturing companies from a 12 state area.

Several "Farm Families for the President" chairmen have now been selected (in cooperation with the overall Nixon chairmen), and others are expected to jell soon.

Gary Madison, presently serving as Legislative Assistant to Congressman Findley of Illinois, will join us on April 1. He will be in charge of our field operations effort. Gary not only has an excellent reputation on Capitol Hill, but has traveled widely in the midwest and has many agricultural contacts. He should be very productive in his new post.

We received a briefing from representatives of Interior and EPA on their new predator control regulations. This has been a highly controversial topic in the northern Great Plains and will continue to be such in the coming weeks.
BLACKS

In addition to revamping the general campaign plan a statement was prepared for inclusion in the State Chairman’s manual (to acquaint them with the Division’s support structure and provide guidelines for State counterparts).

We met earlier with key Black elected and appointed officials attending the National League of Cities Convention. In connection with the Florida Primary contact was made with Miami supporters (at the request of planners of the Miami rally).

We conferred with Newark, New Jersey, Democrats and Independents in preliminary efforts to line up support in a key state.

Financial contributions from Blacks were obtained and turned over to our Finance Division to establish a special fund for Division activities.

We worked on strategy for, and attended, the National Black Political Convention, Gary, Indiana, and Operation PUSH, Chicago.

In continuing contacts with agencies, a meeting was held with a SBA representative and a listing of SBA contractors secured.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

We visited with the Business and Industry State Chairman and Nixon State Chairman of South Carolina. During this discussion and a further discussion with the Business and Industry State Chairman of Florida, it was decided to split former Region IV into two regions. Region IV will now consist of Kentucky, North and South Carolina, and Tennessee, under the Chairmanship of Fred Dent. Region V, under the Chairmanship of Laurence F. Lee of Jacksonville, Florida, will now consist of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Mississippi.

It was also decided in subsequent discussions with Chairman Donald Kendall and the Regional Chairman of former Region X to split that region into two parts. Region X now includes Arizona, Southern California and Hawaii. Region XI now includes Northern California and Nevada. These actions, we feel, will make more workable regions in the areas approved.

We plan to visit this week with the new Chairman of Region III, who accepted his appointment last week.

ELDERLY

During the week we completed the package of materials for our state chair-
man with the exception of detailed computer mapping for which we are still waiting. This will go to all Nixon State Chairmen for the use of their Older American operatives and includes a campaign manual (Tab K of overall plan); RNC campaign manual; computer printout of key counties (in key states); inventory of federally supported projects and programs by state; list of WHCOA delegates and some background statistical information on the elderly as a group. As soon as the Presidential message is transmitted, we will also send out a summary as well as an update of administration initiatives.

Todd continued to spend the bulk of his time on the Message and the Amendments to the Older Americans Act. The Message is due Wednesday and the OAA Amendments were sent to the Hill yesterday. HEW is apparently having difficulty securing a sponsor for the latter and the former apparently will not contain any new initiatives.

We have completed the identification of prospective staff members to be added and continue to wait for budget approval. This step must be expedited if we are to be expected to get the field organized.

Todd also met with Dailey, Dore, Novelli and Van Renssaler to further develop media and PR overall plans. Dore and Novelli will develop the outlines. Negotiations were conducted with Morgan to establish direct mail procedures for California.

**JEWISH**

Larry Goldberg attended several meetings from Thursday through Sunday of this past week in which the preparations of the Jewish community to organize their request to President Nixon to include the item of Soviet Jewry on the summit agenda were discussed.

**LEGAL**

We conferred with Robert Chase of RNC concerning the Muskie potato-sugar beet plant environmental legislation in the State of Maine.

We conferred with James Reinke, Vice President of Eastern Airlines, concerning the "single entity" charter provisions of the Civil Aeronautics Board regulations.

Much time was spent advising various divisions of the Committee on respective aspects of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

For Mr. Sloan, we reviewed the proposed contract between the Finance Committee and TNT Communications, Inc. and revised language of certain portions thereof.
We conferred with Mr. Sloan on the legal problems involved in reorganization to conform to the necessary requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act upon the effective date (April 7).

Presidential filings were completed to qualify to have the President's name placed on the ballot in the Michigan, District of Columbia, and Indiana primaries.

PHYSICIANS

We have our Physicians' Committee firmed up in 30 states and are proceeding to contact Nixon state chairmen to coordinate our program in the states with theirs.

SPANISH SPEAKING

In daily meetings with Jerry Jones we reviewed the campaign plan for resubmission this week, and gathered additional data to be included in the plan.

PR/MEDIA

Van Shumway met with visiting journalists of the USIA Foreign Employer Program as well as with journalism students from Syracuse University. He was interviewed by the Los Angeles Times and Newsweek and had meetings with two other journalists. Van met with Mr. Mitchell to discuss the latter's statement for the Senate Judiciary Committee and also to arrange for a retraction of the picture of Mr. Mardian who was misidentified as an ITT head with Mr. Mitchell.

We issued releases on the Maine, New Mexico and New Jersey Committee announcements. Releases were also prepared to announce the appointment of two finance chairmen as well as a fund-raising group for the Spanish-speaking community. Statements were written on busing for five surrogates, on the Florida primary victory and two stock 30-minute speeches for state campaign people. A Q&A on busing was prepared and several state chairmen were briefed on the President's speech. We also produced Mrs. Mitchell's remarks in Milwaukee and arranged for Harry Dent to have three radio interviews in North Carolina to discuss the Administration and the campaign.

We sent news monitoring kits to the following states: Illinois, North Carolina, California, Connecticut, Indiana and Nebraska. We also sent "Campaign Package, 1972" to members of the Cabinet and to White House
staff members. We arranged for a press conference in Lansing, Michigan, at the time of the President's letter filing for the Michigan primary. We worked with press secretaries of Senators Taft and Gurney to have editorials included in the Congressional Record. Both appeared on Friday, March 17.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

Sandra Cram joined the Spokesmen Resources Division as the Congressional Scheduler. Sue Davis has come onboard as an advancewoman and has participated in the New Hampshire and Florida Appreciation Day activities. Ed Cowling has replaced Bruce Rogers as the manager of the Scheduling Operation's tour desk.

Curt Herge, Bill Minshall, and Ed Cowling met with Ann Dore and Joan Donnelly of the Press Office. Individual areas of responsibility were discussed and defined in order that Scheduling and Press can better coordinate their activities and work more effectively.

Curt Herge met with Fred Hartley of Wisconsin to discuss the scheduling of principals in that state.

VOTERS' RIGHTS (BALLOT SECURITY)

We now have a total of 19 state Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) chairmen. Two new chairmen added this week are:

- Wisconsin: William J. Haese
- Vermont: Frank G. Mahady

WOMEN

Mrs. Hutar attended the Federal Women's Award Dinner which honored six outstanding Federal career women. Many of the key women leaders from around the country were present so the evening was most worthwhile.

A meeting was held with Fred Hartley, Wisconsin Re-election Committee. We discussed a program to reach into the rural communities which is being developed by a top-flight woman leader in Wisconsin. This is an idea that can be shared with other states.

Material was prepared on volunteer activities for insertion in the State
Chairman Handbook being prepared by Harry Fleming's division. Also, we are preparing roughs of materials for the Volunteer Handbook for use by volunteers at the local level.

On Friday Mrs. Hutar flew to Spartanburg, South Carolina, with Mrs. Anne Armstrong to attend the funeral of the husband of Mrs. Connie Armitage, NFRW President. Mrs. Armitage seemed pleased that we had made the effort to be with her.

Mrs. Roger Milliken arranged a luncheon for Mrs. Armstrong and Hutar at the Deering-Milliken executive offices prior to the funeral services. Mr. Hal C. Byrd, Re-election Chairman, hosted the luncheon. Also in attendance were the Re-election County Chairman John Baires from Spartanburg and Ray Smith, Republican County Chairman from Greenville. Mr. Roger Milliken stopped in briefly to speak with us but was unable to stay because of a conflicting appointment.

Plans for the Re-election Committee efforts seem to be running smoothly. However, currently, everyone in South Carolina is gearing up for the State Convention on March 24-25. There are hotly contested races for state chairman, national committeeman and national committeewoman.

POLLING AND RESEARCH

Attached are updated charts of the preference among Democrats for the Democratic Presidential nomination (Gallup), and the head-to-head results of Nixon, Muskie, Wallace and McCarthy (Harris).

On the Democratic voter choice, Kennedy's name has been dropped from the list and Humphrey has spurted ahead of Muskie. This poll was taken on March 3-5, before the New Hampshire and Florida primary elections.

The four-man head-to-head contest shows that the President has expanded his lead over Muskie since this time last year.
9:40 Mitchell - 60 people

Process of organizing the camp, by and large a pretty good job to get where we are now.

- Goal: squeeze out every possible vote for R. 11 on Nov 7.
- Don't forget the big meals, media, fun stuff - Nuts & Bolts - Fore on the G
- Keep on Reagan + Courting
- Provide upper to deliver the troops are tough, dedicated people in one + we're on for more
- N. G. wives + dedicated troops squeezed out votes

Reagan + Folker on is the cue
The programs are to organize the troops concentrate on this - Reagan + F. U. All dedicated effort safe

Urgent - turn from planning to Activism.

Fore

McCormack - rule an. 10-7
by May be 20-40,000

volunteers in precincts

3 Idahos, 140 Store Frats - 7 days wk
Me & staff — not hippies, cleave semi pros — canvassing
- used computer ideas in LA
- printed out items by St. Waldo
- canvassing done by store fronts rather than precinct organizers
instead say 4Ars for 4 yrs to get Volunteers

Telephone bank supplement duplicated canvassing — not in some office as one front.

Personalized computer letters afterwards.

Next will for re-canoas of

not at home & undecided
Volunteers not invited to rallies

Daley — 25 min brief on McG

Allen Kayzenan — Reports first action plan

TM — a somber time & a chilling report
40 mil unregistered — one Party
only 475,000 Rep registered
only 170,000 Reps by Rep Party

Only 6% ever asked to camp
3% accept — Meet dead

Ill — Action Plan approved by TM
- Completed Jay & Voter Registration
- Party leaflet to assigned to all Ann pump